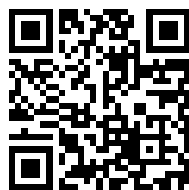


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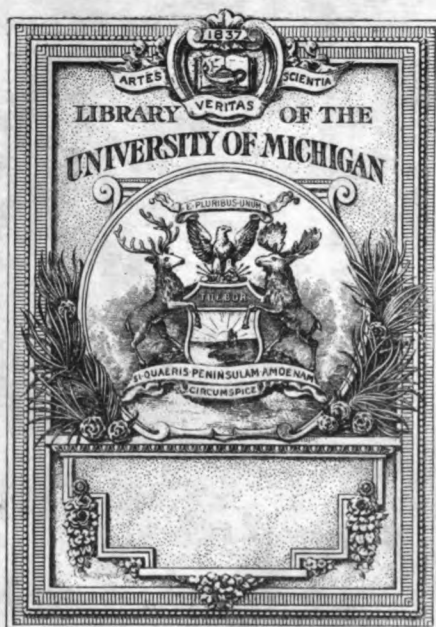
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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 57.

## I.—THE DRAMATIC SATURA AND THE OLD COMEDY AT ROME.

It has long been observed that many of the events reported by Roman historians are so closely paralleled by fact and fable from Greek history and poetry as to preclude the possibility of belief in them as independent events, and to make the assumption of their derivation from Greek sources inevitable. Isolated observations of this fact were made by the ancients themselves; as, for example, when Gellius, after narrating (IV 5) the story of the perfidy of the Etruscan soothsayers in the matter of the statue of Horatius Cocles, gives the verse which was said to have been composed upon this occasion (*malum consilium consullori pessimum est*), and adds: *videtur autem versus hic de Graeco illo Hesiodi versu expressus*, ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη,—or when Dionysius, in narrating the story of the capture of Gabii and the communication of plans between the elder Tarquin and his son Sextus by the episode of the staff and the poppyheads, concludes thus: ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέλυσε τὸν ἄγγελον, οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος πολλάκις ἐπερωτῶντι, τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Μιλησίου διάνοιαν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, μμησάμενος.<sup>1</sup> In modern times, while instances of this parallelism have been noted since the revival of classical studies, it required the revelation of the character of early Roman history to set scholars fairly upon the track of them, and accordingly we find that the relation of such statements to their source has, for the most part, been pointed out only since the time of Niebuhr.

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius, IV 56. Cf. Zonaras, VII 10: Ὅμοιον δὲ τι τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, Herodotus, V 92, 6.

While it is doubtless true that the most flagrant violations of historical truth produced in this way belong to the period of Roman history for which the Romans themselves had no authentic records, the examples are by no means confined to it. For to the rhetorical historians of antiquity, to whom *concessum est ementiri in historiis ut aliquid dicere possint argutius*,<sup>1</sup> the requirement of embellishments for facts sufficiently well known would appeal with a force quite as great as the need of events to fill out periods of history for which there were no records. We find therefore, for instance, in Livy's account of the Second Punic War many descriptions which betray the influence of Greek writers, who have not only contributed picturesque details and adornments of one sort and another to similar events, but even—though much less often—the events themselves. Examples of the former class are the descriptions of the fall of Saguntum,<sup>2</sup> of the plague at Syracuse,<sup>3</sup> of the battle of Cirta.<sup>4</sup> Of the latter class is, probably, the story of Scipio's acquisition of three hundred volunteers from the young men of Sicily in a manner so similar to the device of Agesilaus at Ephesus for reinforcing his expedition to Asia, as to cast serious doubt upon the historical truth of Livy's narrative.<sup>5</sup>

The credit of bringing together the widely scattered observations of this character in the field of historical prose, and of considering them, not as individual and isolated instances, but as the manifestation of a phase of Rome's literary development, belongs to Eduard Zarncke.<sup>6</sup> The time at which most of these imitations of Greek history crept into Roman literature is

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, Brutus 42. Cf. also 43, where, after stating that the rhetorical writers of history chose the tradition that Themistocles had taken his own life, instead of the better-attested statement of Thucydides that he died a natural death, Atticus adds: *hanc enim mortem rhetorice et tragice ornare potuerunt, illa mors vulgaris nullam praebebat materiem ad ornandum.*

<sup>2</sup> Livy, XXI 8, 5. Manifestly influenced by a description of the capture of Halicarnassus by Alexander, which Arrian follows.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, XXV 26; Thucyd. II 51. This and the preceding example are cited by Zarncke (see *infra*, note 6), pp. 42 and 40.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, XXX 11 and 12. Corresponding to the battle of Cunaxa, as the expedition of Masinissa to Numidia was not unlike that of Cyrus against his brother. Observed and elucidated by Zieliński, *Die letzten Jahre des zweiten punischen Krieges*, p. 150 (Leipzig, 1880).

<sup>5</sup> Livy, XXIX 1. Cf. Zieliński, l. l., p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Einfluss der griechischen Litteratur auf die Entwicklung der römischen Prosa*, in *Commentationes philologicae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses*, pp. 269–325, Leipzig, 1888.



defined with approximate accuracy by him as the latter half of the second century B. C., the period in which the principal writers appeared who served as sources for the historians whose works are preserved; a period too which represents the first considerable efforts of the Romans in artistic and rhetorical prose. Indeed, in this fact lies the explanation of these resemblances; for where the only models of rhetorical prose which existed were Greek, it was inevitable that, along with stylistic adornments, not only descriptions and illustrations, but even events should be transferred.

In the field of literary history the same explanation of the transference of the facts of literary development from Greece to Rome would be, of course, inadequate, but whatever the true cause may have been<sup>1</sup> (and the number of instances which have as yet been recognized is perhaps too small to make a generalization possible), here also we find a parallelism, which resulted sometimes in the assumption of misleading analogies, and sometimes in the introduction into the history of Roman literature of forms which never had any real existence at Rome and which served only to fill out a parallel. An instance of the latter kind it is my purpose to discuss here.

The review of the beginnings of the Roman drama which Livy presents in the second chapter of his seventh book has attracted an amount of scholarly attention commensurate with its importance, but with results by no means worthy of the efforts bestowed upon it. It is not my purpose to review the history of the fruitless interpretations and hypotheses to which this passage has given rise, since most of them have been made without questioning the historical faithfulness of the account, and all of them in ignorance of the fact, observed by F. Leo,<sup>2</sup> that we have not in this review the genuine data either of history or tradition, but a series of statements derived for the most part from Aristotle's account of the development of Attic comedy. Before Leo, O. Jahn<sup>3</sup> had pointed out that this account displays a sharpness of division into periods attributable rather to philological combination than to the authentic record of facts, and he at the same time called attention to its aetiological character.<sup>4</sup> Kiessling also, while apparently

<sup>1</sup> An explanation of the case in question is suggested on p. 20. Cf. also p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Varro und die Satire, *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 76 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, 2 (1867), p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation of the peculiar form of the Roman *canticum* and of the privileged position of the *actores Atellanarum*.

attaching considerable importance to the description as a whole,<sup>1</sup> had expressed doubt as to the existence of a prehistoric dramatic *satura* as set forth by Livy, and had maintained that it was in all probability merely an effort to parallel the satyr-drama of the Greeks by a Roman analogy.<sup>2</sup> These suspicions of the untrustworthiness of the narrative of Livy received a confirmation as striking as it was unsuspected in the observation of Leo above mentioned.

The following attempt to throw further light upon the relation of Livy's account to Aristotle, as well as to the similar description of Horace (Epp. II 1, 145-60), accepts as its starting-point the brilliant results of Leo's investigations.<sup>3</sup> It will be my effort to show that a parallelism exists between Aristotle and Livy much closer and more extensive than Leo seems to have suspected; as a result of which it will appear, I believe, that the much-vexed *saturae* of Livy, the *satura* of Euanthius' treatise *de comoedia* and the *satura* of Naevius are but the Roman designation of an analogue to the old Attic comedy, and that thus all evidence for the existence of any branch of literature bearing the name *satura* before the time of Ennius disappears. I shall further endeavor to point out some analogies between the accounts of Livy and Horace which have apparently escaped observation, and also certain points of contact between Horace and Aristotle.

The occasion of Livy's review, it will be remembered, is the mention of the first *ludi scaenici*, which were introduced from Etruria and undertaken, *inter alia caelestis irae placamina*, in the hope of obtaining relief from the violence of a plague, with which the city had been visited for two years (365 and 364 B. C.): *Ceterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ad Hor. Epp. II 1, 139.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren, Einl., p. vii. Following Jahn, B. Grubel (de Satirae Romanae origine et progressu, Prog., Posen, 1883), pp. 3 and 4, had also rejected Livy's account and held that the history of satire begins with Ennius (p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Zarncke in Bursian-Müller's Jahresbericht, 73, p. 324, and Schanz, Röm. Lit., p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> The separation of dance and music from words seems to have been made, without reference to the natural or probable development (see Schanz, Röm. Lit. I, p. 14), for the sake of giving the Etrurians a distinct place in the

(5) *imitari deinde eos iuventus simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant.*

(6) *accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata.*

*vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; (7) qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem inconpositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant,<sup>1</sup> sed inpletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.*

(8) *Livius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum actor, dicitur, (9) cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. (10) Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coeptum, diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta. (11) postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco<sup>2</sup> res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat,*

*iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; quae exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt.*

In Livy as in Horace, the beginnings of the drama are connected with the *Fescennina licentia*.<sup>3</sup>

history of the Roman stage. That the tradition which assigned them such a place may have had elements of truth in it is possible, though it seems highly probable that aetiology was at work here also, in the effort to explain the word *histrion*, quia ister *Tusco verbo ludio* vocabatur (Livy, l. l., 6).

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps superfluous to say that the words *qui non . . . iaciebant* belong to the characterization of the *iocularia* of the preceding paragraph, as is shown by *sicut ante*.

<sup>2</sup> These words are practically the only characterization of the *saturae* of the preceding paragraph which the description of Livy affords, as Bernhardt pointed out (Röm. Lit., p. 394, An. 275). The phrase is parallel to *ab saturis* above. The development into a more artistic dramatic form is incorrectly attributed, however, solely (*lege hac*) to the external modifications introduced by Livius, while, in fact, the internal changes first introduced by him (*argumento fabulam serere*) must have been the real causes of development *ab risu ac soluto ioco*.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, Epp. II 1, 145, and Livy, l. l., 7, *Fescennino versu similem*, where see note 1. The derivation from *fascinus* (= φαλλός), which makes the *Fescennini* entirely parallel to the Greek φαλλικά, seems to be the prevailing explanation of the word, in spite of the energetic opposition of Teuffel-Schwabe (I, p. 4), who lay special stress upon the support which the analogy of the *Atellanae* (from *Atella*) gives to the derivation from the name of the

The crude beginnings thus made were developed by degrees until the dramatic performances passed into the hands of professional actors, who produced so-called satires. These much-discussed *saturae*, which have been awarded the dignity of classification as a separate and original form of Roman satire,<sup>1</sup> receive more light perhaps from Leo's discovery than any other portion of this account; but, while he has given us the material for a correct interpretation, Leo has not, I believe, discerned the true reason for the presence of *saturae* in this description. He says (l. l., p. 77): "Aus einer so offenbar construirten Darstellung ist kein Moment als historische Thatsache anzunehmen; der Litterarhistoriker hat augenscheinlich nur nach einen Ausdruck gesucht, der eine noch in freier Form sich bewegende Dichtungsart<sup>2</sup> schicklich bezeichnen könnte: er fand den von Ennius aus der Sprache des Lebens (*per saturam*) eingeführten Titel bezeichnend. Möglich auch dass er, der Etymologie *satura*—*σάτυροι* folgend, den Namen nach dem Aristotelischen *διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὅψ' ἐκ ἀπαισεμνύου* (Poet. 1449a, 20) bildete; sicher das er im folgenden diese *satura* in Analogie zum Satyrspiel setzt. Jedesfalls muss die vorhistorische *satura* aus der Geschichte der römischen Poesie in ihre Quellenkunde versetzt werden."

Etrurian town *Fescennium*. Instead of confirming the derivation, the analogy seems to me rather to give a clew to its origin. When the connection between *fascinus* and *Fescennini* had perhaps become somewhat obscured, nothing would have been more natural, after the introduction of the *fabulae Atellanae*, whether for the people or the philologists of Rome, than to construct a parallel explanation of the *Fescennini* on the same pattern. That Etrurian names and customs were an inexhaustible source for the explanation of all that was obscure in Roman life and language would only facilitate this process. Cf. Porphyrio ad Hor. Epp. II 1, 145.

<sup>1</sup> So Nettleship, *The Roman Satira*: its original form in connection with its literary development, Oxford, 1878; the historians of Roman literature and many others incidentally. The ancient critics distinguished but two forms of satire, the Ennian and the Lucilian. Diomedes (Suetonius, Reif., p. 20), p. 485, and Quintilian, X 1, 93.

<sup>2</sup> In interpreting the word as a somewhat colorless designation of a free and formless poetical genus like the *saturae* of Ennius, Leo seems to have been anticipated by Düntzer, *Kritik d. Hor.* IV, p. 284, note 2: "Hätte Livius ausdrücken wollen, diesen älteren, ungeordneten Spielen habe man den Namen *saturae* beigelegt, so durfte er nicht sagen: *non Fescennino etc. . . . peragebant*, wo *saturae* nicht in einem besondern, vielmehr ganz im gewöhnlichen Sinne genommen ist, für Mischgedichte, Quodlibet." But, of course, Düntzer does not question the existence of the stage of development described by this designation. Cf. also *id.*, vol. II, p. 6.

Of the two considerations here advanced by Leo in explanation of the designation *satura*, the first need not delay us now, since it will appear with sufficient clearness in the course of my discussion that a much more definite meaning and one more closely parallel to the Greek source is attached to the word. The second, however, which is identical with Kiessling's conjecture mentioned above, calls for a word of criticism before going further, since it can be shown, I am convinced, without reference to the true interpretation, that neither our source nor the narrative of Livy gives any support to the assumption of a relation between the *σάτυροι* and these *saturae*.

In the first place, if the compiler of this account was striving to represent an analogy to the Greek satyr-drama, it is hard to see why he should not have followed Greek sources relating to the *σατυρικόν*, instead of setting forth his parallel in words borrowed from the history of comedy. The latter case would only be conceivable if the words *διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν* (to which Leo appeals) were said of comedy and not of tragedy. Certainly no good reason can be given why Aristotle's account was made use of, unless the *saturae* were meant to parallel some phase of the development of Greek comedy, and not the satyr-drama. The further reason for believing that the *saturae* here described correspond to the *σάτυροι* is, according to Leo, the fact that in the words of Livy immediately following they appear in an unmistakable analogy to the satyr-drama. Leo is by no means the first to assert the existence of such an analogy—it is one of the commonplaces of the interpretation of this passage, and he deems it therefore apparently unnecessary to point it out in detail. Briefly stated, this view depends upon the assumption of a transition of the *saturae* to *exodia*,<sup>1</sup> which, as the form and significance of their designation, as well as their relation to the *Atellanae*,<sup>2</sup> indicate, were afterpieces in the manner of the satyr-drama. Let us examine the words of Livy to see with what justice this assumption is made. It has been well observed by

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel-Schwabe, I, p. 6 (1): "Einigen Halt bietet . . . der Uebergang in den Begriff *exodia*"; Fritzsche, Horatius Serm. Einl., p. 14; Bernhardt, p. 395: "Das exodium war eine dramatisirte *satura*." See note 2, p. 9, for the history of this view.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, I. I., 11: *exodia . . . conserta fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt*. Cf. also Lydus de mag. p. r. I 40: 'Ἀτελλάνη δὲ ἐστὶν τῶν ἱερομένων ἐξοδιῶν, and Diomedes (Suetonius, Reifferscheid, p. 14): *Atellanae, argumentis dictisque iocularibus similes satyricis fabulis Graecis*.



Jahn and others<sup>1</sup> that a sharp distinction is drawn between the performances of the Roman youth and the regular actors (*histriones*), but with a perversity of judgment in the face of clear statements which is quite incomprehensible, they have insisted that in this distinction the *satura* is assigned to the *iuventus*.<sup>2</sup> But if the distinction holds good once in this account (11) it should hold again, and it is very distinctly said (in 6) that the *saturae* (being no longer rude productions of Fescennine character like the earlier *iocularia* of the *iuventus*) were produced by *vernaculis artificibus* (*τεχνίταις*),<sup>3</sup> who were called *histriones*.<sup>4</sup> So far, then, as Livy's account informs us, with the development of *iocularia* into *saturae* the *iuventus* disappear<sup>5</sup> until the drama had finally begun to take on artistic form (*paulatim in artem verterat*), when the *iuventus* again, leaving to *histriones* the production of regular plays, began to produce ridiculous buffoonery by way of afterpieces to them, which were then called *exodia*. Now, as has been said, these *ridicula* (*exodia*) of the *iuventus* are commonly assumed to have been an outgrowth of and an advance upon the *saturae*. But the fact that these *saturae* were produced by *histriones*, as we have seen, would

<sup>1</sup> Jahn, l. 1., p. 225; Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. II<sup>6</sup>, p. 438, note.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn, l. 1.: "Der iuventus wird die formlose *satura* zugeeignet." Fritzsche (Hor. Einl., p. 12), apparently unable to free himself from this view and at the same time realizing that it is not contained in Livy's words, takes refuge in the absurd and entirely unwarranted statement that the *saturae* were first produced by regular actors and afterward by the *iuventus*!

<sup>3</sup> A. Müller, Die griechischen Bühnenalterthümer, p. 170, note 2 ad fin.: "Seit Philipp's Zeit tritt für ὑποκριτής die allgemeinere Bezeichnung τεχνίτης auf." The Lat. *artifex* is used in this sense absolutely in a good many places, e. g. Quint. XI 3, 73. Cf. also Gellius, XX 4.

<sup>4</sup> While Leo seems to share the common view of the relation of the *saturae* to the later *ridicula* (*exodia*) of the *iuventus*, he still has appreciated the fact that according to Livy the *saturae* are in the hands of professional actors and not of the *iuventus* (illustrating this point admirably from Aristotle). "Durch Uebung ward aus den Improvisationen eine Kunst, deren sich berufsmässige Künstler bemachtigten" (p. 77).

<sup>5</sup> A striking analogy to the disappearance of the *iuventus* at this point, and their reappearance when the *saturae* gave way to the more artistic comedy, is furnished by the history of the Attic drama. Cf. Wilamowitz, Herakles, vol. I, p. 55: "Aus den volkstümlichen tätzen geht die komödie hervor, und sobald sie da ist, verschwindet diese vorstufe." And in a note to these words: "Am bezeichnendsten ist dass die spiele der freiwilligen [*iuventus*] sofort wieder aufkamen, als der staat den vergeblichen versuch machte, die komödie zu unterdrücken . . . Kratinos erhielt keinen chor: da führte er seine Rinderhirten mit freiwilligen als einen dithyrambos auf" (v. Hesychius, s. v. πυρρεπύχει).

alone be sufficient to call this assumption into question, even were we without positive evidence of the relation of the productions of the *iuventus* to the earlier period. Livy says (11) that the *iuventus* . . . *inter se* . . . *ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit*, and that they did this *antiquo more* ('in their old way'). Now, looking back over Livy's account we find that the only other mention of the *iuventus* (5) tells us that they imitated the pantomime of the Etrurian players, at the same time *inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus*, a description as nearly identical with that of the later *ridicula (exodia)*, just quoted, as could well have been given without the repetition of the same words.<sup>1</sup> It appears, therefore, that the *exodia* are not a survival of the *saturae*, but rather of the rude, Fescennine-like productions which preceded them.<sup>2</sup> The history of the *saturae* after their abandonment by Livius Andronicus the account does not contain, but it does not imply that they absolutely ceased with Livius' innovation. Here they appear simply as a step in the development of the artistic drama, just as the *iocularia* of the *iuventus* were a step in their development. To conclude, therefore, this digressive criticism, it should be clear that neither our source (Aristotle) nor the plain interpretation of the text of Livy gives any support to the assumption of an analogy between the *saturae* and the satyr-drama.

<sup>1</sup> The same thing is described in similar phraseology in 6: (*histriones . . . qui non*) *sicut ante* (i. e. *sicut iuventus*) *Fescennino versu similem inpositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant*. The effort to give variety to the same description in these three places will scarcely escape the attentive reader, e. g. *fundentes* (5), *iaciebant* (7), *iactitare* (11); *inter se* (5), *alternis* (7), *inter se* (11); *iocularia* (5), *Fescennino versu sim.* (7), *ridicula* (11), etc.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I have been able to ascertain, Casaubon, in his famous dissertation *de satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira* ed. Hal. 1776, p. 183, was the first to advance this view of the relation of the *exodia* to the *saturae* which I have been at pains to refute, and scholars since his time have followed him without much, if any, dissent. Yet Casaubon's only reason for the assumption of their relation is trivial, and based upon inaccurate observation. He says, after quoting Livy, VII 2, 11 (*ridicula intexta versibus* etc.), "appellatione *versuum*, satiram, cuius paullo ante meminerat, intellexisse hic Livium, nequit ambigi." But why the designation *versus* should require us to refer the *exodia* to the *saturae* is not at all clear. Probably he meant that the use of *versibus* in 11 indicated the more developed form of poetry which the *saturae* are represented to be, as if the earlier and cruder stage were not in metrical form. If that is so, he curiously overlooked the fact that *versibus* is also used in 5 of the form of the original *iocularia* of the *iuventus*, and, as I have shown, it is to this description that section 11 reverts.

Comedy, says Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> had its origin in improvised phallic verses. Its early development was obscure because it was not seriously cultivated, but was produced by volunteers, and only received public recognition and a chorus from the archon comparatively late. The most important phase of its development was the introduction of the general plot, μῦθοι (*argumentum*), and the abandonment of personal censure and invective (ἡ ἱαμβικὴ ἰδέα). Epicharmus and Phormis in Sicily had been the first to make this change, but of the Athenians Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἱαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.<sup>2</sup> With this description of the work of Crates compare the words of Livy (8): *Livius . . . ab satoris ausus est primus argumento<sup>3</sup> fabulam serere*. That there is a relation here is obvious, and also that somehow or other the *saturae* are compared with the iambic ἰδέα—a phrase which describes the element of personal abuse (τὰ καθ' ἑκάστων<sup>4</sup>) which characterized the old comedy, in distinction from the μῦθοι or the μῦθος διὰ τῶν εἰκότων<sup>4</sup> of the new<sup>5</sup> comedy. ἡ ἱαμβικὴ ἰδέα serves, therefore, at once to designate and to characterize the old

<sup>1</sup> Poetics, 4, 1449a, 10 and 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Poetics, 5, 1449b, 7. Cited and compared with Livy by Leo, l. l., p. 78. It is surprising that Casaubon should have recognized the similarity of these two passages without suspecting a relation of dependence between them. That he had observed their resemblance is, I believe, sufficiently clear from the following (de sat. poesi, p. 181): "quemadmodum autem apud Graecos usurpationem τῆς ἱαμβικῆς ἰδέας, ut cum Philosopho loquamur, exceperit in scena dramatica post inventam . . . ab Epicharmo et Cratete comoediam: sic satiram veterem secuta est fabularum compositio; quarum auctor primus apud Romanos Andronicus etc."

<sup>3</sup> *Argumento*, as a *terminus technicus*, may require a little elucidation. Cic. de Invent. I 19 (27): *argumentum est ficta res* (μῦθος), *quae tamen fieri potuit* (διὰ τῶν εἰκότων, Poetics, 9, 1451b, 13, or καθόλου, as here; cf. *ib.*, vs. 8: *ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μὲν, τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποία ἅττα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πράττειν: κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον*). *huius modi apud Terentium etc.* Quintilian, II 4, 2: *argumentum, quod falsum sed vero simile comoediae fingunt*. Cf. also *id.* V 10, 9 and X 1, 100. *Argumentum* is therefore a very accurate rendering of καθόλου . . . μύθους. Concerning λόγους see Vahlen ad loc. The Greek technical equivalent of *argumentum* is πλάσμα, concerning which see p. 18, note 3. The passages cited would seem to indicate that *argumentum* was thus used chiefly of the new comedy.

<sup>4</sup> Poetics, 9, 1451b, 13 and 14.

<sup>5</sup> It need scarcely be remarked that Aristotle distinguishes but two kinds of comedy, the old and the new (καινή), the latter corresponding to the μέση and whatever of the νέα may have been known to him. This division is of course to be distinguished from the later twofold division of the Pergamene (?) critics. Cf. esp. Kaibel, Zur attischen Komödie, Hermes, 24, p. 59.

comedy, which Horace describes in the well-known lines at the beginning of the fourth satire of the first book, as follows :

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae  
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,  
si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,  
quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.*<sup>1</sup>

For the same qualities of aggressive personal attack, Lucilius appears in a relation of dependence<sup>2</sup> upon the old comedy in the verses which follow :

*hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus  
mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque etc.*

If a relationship was thus recognized between Lucilius and the old comedy because of common characteristics, what would be more natural than that a descriptive designation of the old comedy (ἡ ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα) should be interpreted by the name of the compositions of Lucilius (*saturae*)? Our conclusion therefore is that the term *satura* in Livy's account owes its origin to a transference of the word, in the sharply defined meaning given to it by the peculiarly aggressive quality of the poems of Lucilius, to an assumed Roman parallel to the old Attic comedy, and that it was chosen as containing the most significant suggestion<sup>3</sup> of the qualities of the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα.

<sup>1</sup> On the source of this description see Kiessling ad loc. and Platonius περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμ. (Dübner, I, vs. 7 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Was Horace the first to affirm this relation, as Kiessling holds? Probably not. Leo has shown with great probability that it goes back certainly as far as Varro, while F. Marx (Stud. Lucil.) conjectured that the relation was suggested by Lucilius himself, and more recently (Interpretationum hexas I, Prog., Rostock, 1888, p. 12) he has brought to the support of his hypothesis certain unmistakable traces of Aristophanic verses in the fragments of Lucilius. Certainly the dramatic element in Lucilius was very pronounced (cf. L. Müller, Leben und Werke des G. L., p. 23), nor does he seem to have been without a consciousness of it. Cf. vs. 889 Lach. (adduced by Marx, Stud. Lucil., p. 43). In Müller's edition (XXX, vs. 16) the line, as emended by Dousa, has quite a different form and meaning.

<sup>3</sup> The comprehensive conception of ancient satire which recent criticism has rendered current, has done much to obscure the fact that the use of the word *satura*—and ancient comment upon this form of literature—is very much narrower than the literature of satire itself. Horace's description of Lucilius, his own remarks about himself (esp. Sat. II 1), and the later use of the word

This conclusion should require no further confirmation unless there be something in the description of the *saturae* in this passage which makes their identification with an assumed stage of dramatic development corresponding to the old comedy wholly inappropriate. I have already shown how the almost universal confusion of the *saturae* with the *exodia* has led to incorrect conceptions and characterizations<sup>1</sup> of the former, and it will not therefore be surprising if, at first thought, to most students of Roman literature the analogy between the *saturae* as here described and the *ἀρχαία* shall seem too faint for the establishment of any relationship between them. Let us see, then, how far it is possible to get at the character of the *saturae* from this description, without the aid of the meaning which I believe the word possesses here (for it will be seen, if this is correct, that the essential characterization of them lies in the designation itself). First, as commentators on Livy point out, the words *impletas modis* are emphatic, distinguishing the *saturae* from the irregular, Fescennine-like form which had preceded—an antithesis which is still further emphasized by *non sicut ante* in the preceding sentence, and also by the words which follow, *descripto iam* (marking the contrast) *ad tibicinem cantu etc.* Add to this the

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or references to this literary genus convey, almost without exception, the idea of a literature of aggressive and personal attack. This was doubtless due very largely to the one-sided emphasis laid upon the polemical element in the satire of Lucilius, and is not only analogous, but probably also related to the similarly one-sided descriptions of Greek comedy by the character of the criticism presented in each period—the old (φανερῶς), the middle (αἰνιγματωδῶς) and the new (ἢ μὴδ' ὁλως τοῦτο ποιῶσα πλὴν ἐπὶ δοῦλων ἢ ξένων, Dübner, IXb, vs. 67). Cf. Leo, l. l., p. 71 ff. But even the best characterization of the real nature of satire (as Horace or Lucian practised it) may be paralleled by a description of the old comedy, for the *ridentem dicere verum* of Horace (concerning which see Kiessling, Hor. II, p. xiii) does not differ from the character ascribed to the writers of the old comedy in the most learned and best of the treatises π. κωμ. (Dübner, III), according to which παιδείας εὐτραπέλον γινόμενοι ζηλωταὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐποιοῦν.

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, *iambicus* = *scriptor saturarum* in Apuleius, Apolog. 10: C. Lucilium, quamquam sit *iambicus*, tamen improbarim quod Gentium et Macedonem pueros *directis nominibus* carmine suo prostituerit. *Directis nominibus* (= ὀνομαστὶ) was the manner of the old comedy.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Fritzsche, p. 13, note 2, uses the words *ridicula intexta versibus* (II), which are said of the *exodia*, to confirm a statement in his characterization of the *saturae*. He describes the latter also as "eine rein extemporirte Naturpoesie," and immediately afterwards refers to the words *descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu*!



fact that they are said to be produced by professional actors, and we must infer that a stage of thoroughly-developed dramatic form is herewith indicated,<sup>1</sup> even though not possessing a general plot (*argumentum*). The only other descriptive words are *ab risu ac soluto ioco*, in paragraph 11, which refer back to the *saturae*. Meagre as this description is, it must be confessed, I think, that it corresponds in general outlines to the brief characterizations of the old comedy contained in the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* prefixed to the scholia of Aristophanes. Throughout them the old comedy is characterized by two traits, a playful spirit of fun (*γέλως, τὸ χαρίεν*) and a license in the use of abusive jest (*ἄδεια τοῦ σκώπτειν, σκώμματα*),<sup>2</sup> qualities which are indicated here by the words *risus ac solutus iocus*.<sup>3</sup> By *impletas modis* may very well be suggested something of the manifold musical and metrical form of the parabasis.<sup>4</sup> The word *satura* itself, however, in the Lucilian sense, is the real characterization of the drama here described, conveying unmistakably the idea of *φανερῶς καὶ ὀνομαστὶ σκώπτειν* (*κωμῳθεῖν*), which is only faintly repeated in *soluto ioco*.

In striking and unexpected confirmation of this result (since Livy has commonly been supposed<sup>5</sup> to be our only authority for

<sup>1</sup> The language of Livy (*argumento fabulam serere = componere*, cf. 38, 56, 8) indicates that the designation *fabula* (play) might have been attached to the *saturae*, although they lacked the *argumentum* (*μῦθοι*) of the more artistic drama, founded by Livius.

<sup>2</sup> An. π. κωμ. (Dübner, IXa, vs. 72): Ἰδιον δὲ κωμῳδίας τὸ μεμιγμένον ἔχειν τοῖς σκώμμασι γέλωτα. Platonius π. διαφ. κωμ. (Dübner, I): ἄδειαν . . . εἶχον σκώπτειν κτλ. Idem π. διαφ. χαρ. (Dübner, II): ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπιτρέχειν τὴν χάριν τοῖς σκώμμασι ποιεῖ. Ibid.: Εὐπολὶς . . . ἐπίχαρις καὶ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα λίαν εὐστοχος. To the same effect is a Latin scholium of a Plautus MS of the Collegio Romano (4 C. 39), reported by Ritschl, Op. I, p. 7: Comoedias esse oportet refertas *cavillis* quae σκώμματα vocant Graeci et *cachinnis* quas γελασίας vocant.

<sup>3</sup> These last two words would not unnaturally receive a much milder interpretation when the meaning of *saturae* was not understood. How closely *solutus* might interpret *ἄδεια* appears from various legal uses of the word, noted in the lexicons, and in this connection especially from Caecina ap. Cic. ad Fam. VI 7, 3: *solutum existimatur esse alteri male dicere*. For *iocus* cf. Hor. Ep. II 1, 149 and the discussion of that passage below, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Platonius π. διαφ. κωμ. (Dübner, I, vs. 51): ἡ δὲ παράβασις ἐπληροῦτο ὑπὸ μελῳδρίῳ καὶ κομματίῳ καὶ στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν κτλ.

<sup>5</sup> So also Leo, who has seen so much deeper in these questions than any other scholar: "Eine solche *satura* vorhistorischer Zeit erscheint nur an dieser Stelle" (l. 1., 77). It has long been recognized that Valerius Maximus (II 4, 4) paraphrases Livy ignorantly.

this prehistoric *satura*) appears Euanthius in the treatise *de comoedia*, prefixed to the scholia of Terence.<sup>1</sup> Here a survey of the origins of tragedy and comedy is followed by some general considerations concerning the development of the latter, after which the author turns to the different stages of the history of comedy, beginning with the ἀρχαία, which he also calls ἐπ' ὀνόματος, *quia inest in ea denominatio civium de quibus libere describebatur. etenim per priscos poetas . . . res gestae a civibus palam cum eorum . . . nomine decantabantur*. But because the liberty granted this form of composition was abused, *ne quisquam in alterum carmen infame componeret lege lata siluere. Et hinc deinde aliud genus fabulae id est satyra<sup>2</sup> sumpsit exordium, quae a satyris, quos inlotos semper ac petulantes deos scimus esse, vocitata est: etsi <alii> aliunde . . . nomen prave putant*. A *satura* appears here as a *genus fabulae*, concerning which I am not aware that much has been said. A. Teuber,<sup>3</sup> who has touched on the subject incidentally, apparently represents the common interpretation in understanding *satyra* of the satyr-drama, in which view Scheidemann<sup>4</sup> acquiesces. But a closer consideration of Euanthius' words will show that this is wholly impossible. For, in the first place, a comparison of this etymological digression with Diomedes' (Suetonius<sup>5</sup>) discussion of the same word reveals, as has been seen, that they are from the same source, and makes the inference almost inevitable that by *satyra* some phase of Roman satire is referred to. Furthermore, with what propriety would the satyr-drama occupy any place in the history of comedy, and especially as here, intercalated between the old comedy and the new?<sup>6</sup> That is an absurdity which is not to be

<sup>1</sup> Euanthius et Donati commentum de comoedia ex rec. A. Reifferscheid, Prog., Breslau, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Euanthius certainly wrote *satyra*, as the MSS have it, and not *satira* (Reifferscheid). Cf. Marx, Interp. hexas altera, Prog., Rostock, 1889: "Tamen saeculo quarto demum et quinto p. Ch. *satura* forma eiecta est e litteris Latinis, illo scilicet aevo, quo Euanthius . . . Suetonium secutus docuit satyram a satyris vocitatam esse," etc. (p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> De auctoritate commentorum in Terent. quae sub Aelii Donati nomine feruntur, Prog., Eberswalde, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Quaestiones Euanthianae scripsit E. S., Diss. inaug., Lips. 1883, p. 11. Cf. also Reifferscheid, Suetonius, p. 12 (testimonia).

<sup>5</sup> Diomedes, p. 485 (Suetonius, Reif., p. 20): "*satura* autem dicta sive a satyris etc. . . alii autem dictam putant," etc. Cf. Marx, Int. hexas, II, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Euanthius (Reif., p. 5): *coacti omittere satyram aliud genus carminis νέαν κωμωδίαν . . . reperere poetae*.

credited even to the much-abused Euanthius. The position of this *satyra* between the old and the new comedy might in itself have aroused a suspicion that it is but a designation of the μέση (the absence of which Teuber censures and Scheidemantel seeks to explain), without the conclusive evidence of the words following: *haec satyra igitur eiusmodi fuit ut in ea quamvis duro et velut agresti ioco de vitiis civium tamen sine ullo proprii nominis titulo carmen esset*, an unmistakable reference to the αἰνιγματώδης κωμῳδεῖν of the middle comedy, as Leo has seen.<sup>1</sup> We find, therefore, *satura* in Euanthius as a designation—shall we say of the middle comedy or of a Roman parallel to the μέση? It is a matter of very little difference, for it does not appear that he distinguishes at all between the history of Greek and Roman literature.<sup>2</sup>

I have said that this passage affords a confirmation of my view that *satura* in Livy is the designation of a Roman parallel to the old comedy. But the confirmation is, at least, not complete, if the same word is used in Euanthius of the middle comedy. It is possible, however, to show quite conclusively, I believe, that in the source (whether immediate or not) of Euanthius' account *satura* was used of the old comedy, or rather of a Roman parallel to it. After narrating the causes for the decline of this middle

<sup>1</sup> I had observed this fact before noting that Leo had made the same observation. But Leo's incorrect interpretation of *satura* in Livy apparently prevented him from seeing that the *satyra* of Euanthius refers to the middle comedy, and, as will be shown immediately, must have been used of the old comedy in his source. The common interpretation of *satyra* in Euanthius is not shared by Leo and Marx, who apparently hold that it is used of Roman satire, and owes its characterization as a *genus comoediae* to the wider sense of the latter word, "cum κωμῳδεῖν et κωμῳδία voces ad quodvis fere ludibrii genus significandum usurpentur" (Wachsmuth, *Sillographi Graeci*, p. 25). But Euanthius testifies to the dramatic character of the *satura* which he has in mind by designating it first as a *genus fabulae* (afterwards *genus comoediae*), while it should be observed, further, that it is one thing to use *comoedia* as a Greek equivalent for *satura* in the manner indicated by Wachsmuth, but quite a different thing to employ (as Euanthius does) *satura* to designate a *genus fabulae*, which we have seen corresponds to the middle comedy, and it is this distinction which Leo and Marx have confused.

<sup>2</sup> This appears not only from this use of *satura*, but also from his reference to its etymology, his mention of Lucilius below in connection with it, and the following reference to the writers of the new comedy: *ut igitur superiores illae suis quaeque celebrantur auctoribus, ita haec vltā κωμῳδία cum multorum ante ac postea tum praecipue Menandri Terentiique est*. The same thing is observable elsewhere, e. g. Porphyrio ad A. P. 221. See below, p. 22, note 2.

comedy, in words which I shall quote below, he adds: *quod primus Lucilius novo conscripsit modo, ut poësin inde fecisset id est unius carminis plurimos libros*. From these words it would appear that Lucilius had written satire in the manner<sup>1</sup> of the middle comedy *sine ullo proprii nominis titulo*, a statement so directly opposed to the uniform testimony of antiquity concerning him that no one will believe it was contained in Euanthius' source; however, its relation to that testimony is not so remote as the character thus assigned to Lucilius is false. What the source did contain we may infer with certainty from the words of Horace concerning the relation of Lucilius to the old comedy (*hinc omnis pendet etc.*), already quoted, and from Diomedes' (Suetonius') definition of *satura* as a *carmen maledicum ad carpenda hominum vitia archaëae comoediæ caractere compositum, quale scripsit (scripserunt) Lucilius [et Horatius et Persius]*.<sup>3</sup> In short, the connection of Lucilius and satire with the old Attic comedy was a commonplace of literary criticism, and it is certain that Euanthius' source did not represent it otherwise.<sup>4</sup> *Satura*, therefore, must have appeared in it as the equivalent of the old comedy, with Lucilius' relation to it as usual.<sup>5</sup> To explain the peculiar disturbance of the original arrangement, by which *satura* was made to represent the middle comedy instead of the old, must be, of course, a matter of conjecture. The description of Livy will help us here, in which we observed that transition was made immediately from the *saturæ* to the more artistic drama introduced by Livius Andronicus—that is, from the old comedy to the new, or, in the words of Euanthius, *coacti omittere saturam aliud genus carminis νέαν κωμῳδίαν hoc est novam comoediam reperere poetæ*. Now, if we conceive of Euanthius as using for the source of his sketch of comedy some

<sup>1</sup>*Novo modo* does not, of course, refer to a new direction given to satire by Lucilius, but simply explains the fact that, whereas before Lucilius' time a single play (*poëma*) had been called *satura*, he gave this designation to his thirty books (*poësis*). Cf. Varro, Sat. Menip. 398 (Bücheler).

<sup>2</sup>Diomedes, p. 485; Sueton. (Reif.), p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Leo, l. 1., p. 69, and see p. 11, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>A somewhat similar confusion of usual relations, and apparently for the same reason, viz. to harmonize two conflicting accounts, is found in Lydus de mag. p. r. I 41, where Lucilius is put in relation with Rhinthon, while the later satirists (Horace, Juvenal) appear Κρατίων καὶ Εὐπρόκλος χαρακτήρα ζηλώσαντες.

<sup>5</sup>Leo also reckons this passage among those connecting Lucilius with the ἀρχαία (l. 1., p. 73, and Rh. Mus. 38, p. 327).

Roman account containing such a twofold division,<sup>1</sup> in which *satura* (= *ἀρχαία*) was followed by the new comedy, it will be easy to imagine that the most natural method of harmonizing<sup>2</sup> this view with the more common threefold division would be to leave the relation of *satura* to the *vía* unchanged, and to prefix a first stage, which of necessity would be the *ἀρχαία*.<sup>3</sup> The inevitable consequence of this would be to make *satura* appear in the place of the middle comedy, with a statement of its appropriate character as *αἰνιγματώδης*, quite regardless of the description given of its nature, which, as might have been expected, shows traces of its original application to the *ἀρχαία*.<sup>4</sup>

Having found thus an independent confirmation of the use of *satura* as an equivalent of the old comedy, we turn once more to Livy's account.<sup>5</sup> To trace its relation to Aristotle further will not, I think, be without interest in itself, and it will lead us to other results concerning the history of this word *satura*. Bernays, in one of the most admirable of his monographs,<sup>6</sup> has very clearly

<sup>1</sup> Such a division would correspond to the *παλαιά* and the *καινή* of Aristotle, as the passage of Livy shows. Elsewhere in Roman literature (Quintilian, X 1, 66; Velleius, I 16, 3; Suetonius, Reif., p. 9) a twofold division of comedy, the old and the new, is found, although not due, perhaps, to the immediate influence of Aristotle. Cf. Kaibel, Zur attischen Comödie, Hermes, 24, 59 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The treatise π. κωμ. V (Dübner) contains a contamination of the twofold and threefold divisions of comedy, as Kaibel has seen (l. l., p. 62).

<sup>3</sup> May there possibly be some trace of this process in the fact that Euanthius carries back the designation *ἀρχαία* to the *cunabula ipsa ortus sui*, a somewhat greater antiquity than was usually attached to this name?

<sup>4</sup> Attention is called to the supplementary note on p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> The meagreness of our record does not enable us to determine whether Caesius Bassus had reference to this *satura* or not in the following passage: Poeticae species Latinae. Epos sive dactylicum, epigramma, iambica, lyrica, tragoedia, *satyra*, praetextata, comoedia, tabernaria, Atellana, Rhinthonica, mimi (G. L. VI, p. 274). The fact that the *Atellana* is included, as well as the direct statement that these are *species Latinae*, makes it seem improbable that the satyr-drama is here meant, although its position next to tragoedia would suggest that possibility.

<sup>6</sup> Ergänzung zu Aristoteles Poetik, Rh. Mus. 8 (1853), p. 561 ff. In revised form it is the second of Zwei Abhandlungen über die Aristotelische Theorie des Dramas (Berlin, 1880). Cf. esp. pp. 148-53. To it apply most aptly Usener's words (Gesam. Abhandl., preface, p. v): "Aus den Edelsteinen, die sein Spürsinn und Finderglück aus dem Schutt der Ueberlieferung hervorgrub, liebte er und verstand es wie wenige, durch Schliff und Fassung kleine Kunstwerke zu gestalten."

shown the attitude of hostility which Aristotle assumed toward the old comedy,<sup>1</sup> and how his whole theory of poetry is based on the very antithesis of the personal element, which was its dominant characteristic. Accordingly, in his rapid sketch of comedy in the Poetics, of all the writers of the ἀρχαία, Crates alone is mentioned (the rest being comprehended in the censorious *ιαμβικὴ ἰδέα*), and for the reason that he was the first to give up the comedy of personal satire and to make the beginnings of a new form in accordance with more universal principles of art. In the Latin account Livius Andronicus is made to play the rôle of Crates, while the approbation with which the innovation of the latter is recorded by Aristotle is reproduced here in the words *postquam . . . ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat* (11). The considerations already advanced would suffice to show that these words are uttered in the spirit of Aristotelian theory, even without the confirmation afforded by the following schematic description from the excerpts *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, which form the basis of Bernays' *Ergänzung*, etc., and which go back, in part at least, to lost portions of the Poetics: *τῆς κωμῳδίας παλαιά, ἡ πλεονάζουσα τῷ γελοίῳ. νέα, ἡ τοῦτο μὲν προειμῆνη, πρὸς δὲ τὸ σέμνον ῥέπουσα*.<sup>2</sup>

But Crates, though the founder<sup>3</sup> of the new comedy, is always classed with the old, as one whose period of life fell chiefly within its limits and whose contemporaries still cultivated the *ιαμβικὴ ἰδέα*. Might a similar relation between Livius and his contemporaries have been recognized, by which more point would have been given to this comparison? For it will be seen that the analogy between Livius and Crates would appear much more complete, if younger contemporaries of the former could be likened to the writers of the ἀρχαία of and after Crates' time.<sup>4</sup> This place was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. esp. *Ethic. Nic.* IV 14, 1128a, 20; *Poetics*, 9, 1451b, 11, and the passage quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> π. κωμ. e cod. Coisliniano ad fin., Vahlen<sup>3</sup>, p. 80; Bernays, l. l., p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> In π. κωμ. V, Aristophanes appears as the inaugurator of the new direction in comedy, and for the same reason that Crates is represented as such by Aristotle: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτου δράμα ὁ Πλούτος νεωτερίζει κατὰ τὸ πλάσμα*, which is only a technical way of saying *πρῶτος ἤρξεν καθόλου ποιεῖν μίθους*. Cf. p. 10, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> That *saturae* were produced after Livius' abandonment of them, the language of the account implies (*primus . . . ausus est* etc.), although we shall not yet, perhaps, dare to affirm that we have other evidence to that effect. But see below concerning Naevius

supplied by Naevius, who probably did, in fact, strive to reproduce something of the spirit of the old comedy<sup>1</sup> and who, at any rate (which is the important and sufficient fact for our purposes), was put in relation with it by Varro, because he made use of the ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳθεῖν: *de Naevio quoque accepimus, fabulas eum in carcere duas scripsisse, Hariolum et Leontem, cum ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in principes civitatis de Graecorum poetarum more dicta in vincula Romae a triumviris coniectus esset. Unde post a tribunis plebis exemptus est, cum in his, quas dixi supra, fabulis delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante laeserat, diluisset* (Gellius, III 3, 15). Naevius thus being compared with the poets of the old comedy, the only natural classification for Livius, who was somewhat older, would be in the same category; while the palpable fact that Livius' comedies were of the character of the middle and the new, rather than of the old, comedy would be no obstacle to this classification, since the relation of Crates to his contemporaries was similar.

Does this throw any light on the perplexed question of the *satura* of Naevius? Our authority for attributing to him a composition, or compositions, thus designated is a solitary quotation preserved by Festus,<sup>2</sup> introduced by the words *ut Naevius in satyra*. It would be hazardous to trust implicitly any explanation of the character of a literary work the knowledge of which depends upon so slender a thread of tradition; but I believe that our investigation has put us in a position to venture a more plausible conjecture concerning this *satura* of Naevius than has, to my knowledge, been made. In the scant record of Naevius' literary activity nothing is brought out with more distinctness than his emulation of the ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳθεῖν of the old comedy. The character of his attacks and their result we know from the passage of Gellius already quoted, as well as from other sources, nor would a portion of Euanthius' account of the *satura* describe them inaccurately: *quod item genus comoediae multis offuit poetis, cum in suspicionem potentibus civibus venissent, illorum*

<sup>1</sup> See Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. I<sup>6</sup>, pp. 892 and esp. 900.

<sup>2</sup> Festus, p. 257: *Quianam pro quare . . . positum . . . apud antiquos, ut Naevium in satyra: quianam Saturnium populum pepulisti*. Concerning the metrical form of this line cf. Luc. Müller, Q. Ennius, p. 106, who observes that it cannot be determined. Birt, Zwei polit. Satiren, p. 18, note 1, calls attention to the anapaests in it.

*facta in peius descripsisse ac deformasse genus<sup>1</sup> stilo carminis.* But we have found *satura* here and in Livy used to describe and designate dramatic compositions corresponding to the old comedy, and what, therefore, is more probable than that in this quotation of Festus, *ut Naevius in satyra*,<sup>2</sup> we have the word in the same sense? Indeed, it would be in no way surprising if this description of Euanthius was originally a mere generalization from the career of Naevius. For, without denying that other causes may have been at work, I believe it entirely in accord with the aetiological methods of the literary historians and investigators, to whom this hypothesis of an old Roman comedy is to be attributed, that they should have assumed this division of Roman comedy, in imitation of the Greek, for the purpose of providing an αἴτιον for the ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν of Naevius,<sup>3</sup> in connection with the legislation of the XII tables against any form of composition *quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alleri.*

Parallel and related<sup>4</sup> to Livy's account is a well-known passage of Horace descriptive of the beginnings of the drama, which I shall here produce, for the immediate purpose of confirming and illustrating the proposed interpretation of *satura*, although some other points, affecting the relation of the two descriptions to each other and to their source, may not inappropriately be added—(Epp. II 1, 145 ff.):

*Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem  
versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,  
libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos  
lusit amabiliter.*

<sup>1</sup>*Deformasse genus* seems almost like a specific touch in allusion to Naevius' attacks upon the family of the Metelli.

<sup>2</sup>For the form of the citation (which is not in the usual manner of Festus in citing plays) cf. Varro, L. L. V 25: itaque eum *Afranius* Putilucos *in togata* appellat. Perhaps Festus did not understand the word correctly, considering it either the name of a play or else a satire. Cf. Gellius, VI 9, 1: *Q. Ennius in saturis*, and Quintil. IX 2, 36: *quas in satura tradit Ennius.*

<sup>3</sup>Cf. O. Jahn, *Hermes*, 2 (1867), p. 225: "Der Grammatiker, der wie Aelius Stilo bei Cicero (Brut. 205) antiquitatis et in inventis rebus et in actis scriptorumque veterum literate peritus war, musste namentlich anzugeben wissen, von wem, wann, wie jede Neuerung oder Erfindung, wie die Alten sagen, ausgegangen sei."

<sup>4</sup>See editors of Horace ad loc., esp. Kiessling, and Leo, l. 1., p. 81, note.



The close parallelism between this description and Livy's account of what preceded the *saturae* will not escape any one when the two passages are once compared, and was long since pointed out by editors of Horace<sup>1</sup> and Livy. But the relation of the following lines of Horace to Livy has been perhaps surmised,<sup>2</sup> but not understood, nor could it have been without the interpretation of *satura* here set forth. We shall see, however, that they contain a description of this same Roman parallel to the old comedy which we have found elsewhere:

*donec iam saevus aperlam  
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas  
150 ire domos impune minax. doluere cruento  
dente lacessiti, fuit intactis quoque cura  
condicione super communi; quin etiam lex  
poenaeque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam  
describi.*

What Horace describes is in fact the *ιαμβική ιδέα* of the old comedy—its *assidua maledicentia et probra in principes civitatis*, as Varro said of Naevius<sup>3</sup>—to express which a series of peculiarly appropriate words is used.<sup>4</sup> It is not therefore, I believe, either a matter of chance or of stupidity that the scholium of Porphyrio, which has seemed to the editors of Horace so strange or so absurd that they have ceased to refer to it, does, in fact, thus interpret it: *tam diu iocari per carmina licuit, donec per iocum multis impune laceratis dedissent omnes operam, ut lege caveretur, ne quis carmen infame componeret. qua re consilitula, silentium est impositum archaeae comoediae, in qua nominatim vitia (vita, Meyer) civium carpebantur (carpebatur, id.).* It is hard to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kiessling ad vs. 145.

<sup>2</sup> I observe that Heinrichs (Juvenal, vol. II, Einl., p. 9), and probably others, have suggested that the *saturae* of Livy's account were among the *mala carmina* described by Horace.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. Gell. III 3, 15, quoted above, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Saevus iocus* = σκώμματα, the *solutus iocus* of Livy. *Rabies*, cf. Hor. A. P. 79: *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*, and π. κωμ. II: *Κριτινος . . . τὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ζηλώσας*, and the description that follows of the virulence of his attacks. With *per honestas domos* cf. the σκώπτειν εἰς πλοῦσιους καὶ ἐνδόξους of π. κωμ. IV. *Impune* contains the ἄδεια τοῦ σκώπτειν (*describere*, vs. 154, "das eigentliche Wort für das persiflierende Abschildern," Kiessl., Sat. I 4, 3) of the old comedy. In *aperlam* (148) there is reference to the προφανῶς (φανερῶς) σκώπτειν (κωμῶδειν).

believe, in the face of so many specifically Roman allusions,<sup>1</sup> that Porphyrio or his source should have failed to see that this description is meant to apply to Rome, nor do I think that such dullness is to be attributed to him. The fact is that, like Euanthius (as above described, p. 15) and his own practice elsewhere, he does not distinguish consistently between Greek literature and actual or assumed Roman parallels to it<sup>2</sup>; so that here, if we have already established the point that there was an assumed Roman *ἀρχαία*, it is entirely legitimate to refer his words to it, which otherwise are thoroughly meaningless, and to confirm thus the proposed interpretation of this passage of Horace by direct evidence.

Concerning line 152 ff. (*quin etiam lex*), Kiessling has conjectured that the provision of the XII tables imposing capital punishment *si quis occentavisset sive carmen <malum> condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri* is put in this connection solely for the purpose of securing a Roman analogy to the legal restrictions imposed upon the *ὄνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* at Athens. That this, in fact, is the case is put beyond question (1) by the relation shown to exist between the descriptions of Livy and Horace and the old comedy, as well as (2) by a comparison of Horace's words with the following account of the check which had to be applied to the license of comedy at Athens: An. π. κωμ. (Dübner, IV 14), . . . κωμῳδεῖν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται ἀκωλύτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κακία προέκοπτεν (*donec iam saevus etc.*), οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες<sup>3</sup> μὴ βουλόμενοι κωμῳδεῖσθαι (*fuit intactis etc.*)

<sup>1</sup> Not to mention vs. 103, with which this part of the letter begins, *Romae dulce diu etc.*, observe the lines just preceding this passage, 143 ff.: *Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant, floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi. Fescennina per hunc etc.*

<sup>2</sup> An excellent illustration is afforded by Porphyrio's note ad A. P. 221: "mox etiam agrestis Satyros nudavit hoc est: satyrica coeperunt scribere ut Pomponius Atalanten vel Sisyphon vel Ariadnen." The parallelism of the *Atellanae* and the Σάτυροι was, however, by no means so close in fact as it was represented. Cf. also Suetonius (Reif.), p. 5. Again, on A. P. 281, *vetus comoedia* and *nova* are spoken of in the same sentence, the former referring to the Greek *ἀρχαία*, the latter to the Roman reproductions of the *vía*, as *haec* shows. Further, when Euanthius (p. 5) says that the poets of the old comedy produced *non ut nunc ficta penitus argumenta*, it is impossible to say whether *nunc* refers to the Greek or Roman *vía*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the leading citizens, to whom *cura condicione super communi* would naturally belong.

τοῦ μὲν φανερώς κωμῳδεῖν ἐκώλυσαν (*quin etiam lex etc.*).<sup>1</sup> This passage, it will be seen, is not paralleled in Livy's account. The omission is noteworthy. The transition from the old comedy to the new, Aristotle intimates, was not made under compulsion—indeed, it is unlikely that he would have admitted the motive of compulsion<sup>2</sup>—but was due to the insight of Crates. The treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* attribute it to the fear of the law, and this view Horace follows, whether because he found it so in his sources, or whether he combined Aristotelian theory with facts peculiar to Roman history, as, for instance, the recantation of abuse on the part of Naevius (cf. Gellius, III 3, 15, p. 19 supra):

*Vertere modum formidine fustis*

155 *ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.*

*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis  
intulit agresti Latio.*

*Formidine fustis* has already been considered. The full significance of verse 155 may not appear at first sight, nor its relation to Livy's description. At all events, its importance here has been wholly missed by A. Nauck and Luc. Müller,<sup>3</sup> who agree in considering it spurious, while other editors, who have touched on this point,<sup>4</sup> have not been more successful in showing its relation

<sup>1</sup> The same account in IXa and IXb, Dübner.

<sup>2</sup> Bernays, *Ergänzung*, etc., p. 152: "Ein Menander, z. B., würde nicht mehr zum *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* der alten Komödie zurückgekehrt sein, wären auch die dasselbe verpönnenden Psephismata plötzlich aufgehoben worden; strenger noch als von der athenischen Theaterzensur war ihm ein solches zurückfallen in das 'iambische Wesen' von den ästhetischen Gesetzen seiner Dichtgattung verboten, die mit Aristoteles das Poetische in dem Allgemeinen (*καθόλου*) erkennt."

<sup>3</sup> Ad loc. (annotated edition, Vienna, 1893). With what Müller says concerning the inappropriateness of the verse, if we think of Horace as attempting to represent an actual condition of primitive Rome, and not as following a model set by the best literary criticism of Greece (Aristotle), we may well agree, for it is probably true "dass der grösste Theil der Zuhörer, ihrem italischer Charakter Gemäss, gerade durch die früheren Schmähgedichte besonders ergötzt werden musste." The objections, from the editor's point of view, are well taken, but, instead of betraying a spurious line, they betray Horace's source, as will appear.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling (whom Orelli-Mewes quote with approval), Schütz and others compare the *exodia* of Livy's account with Horace's description of the change of tone—how incorrectly will be seen presently.

to Livy. Now, if this account is parallel to Livy's, we should expect that these words would refer to the transition from the old comedy to the new—that is, that they should correspond in general meaning to the words concerning the abandonment of *saturae* and the composition of plays with a general plot, which we have seen are used in harmony with Aristotle's account of the transition from the old to the new comedy. To show that they do, let us return for a moment to Aristotle's estimate of the artistic and ethical character of these two kinds of dramatic composition. To him the old comedy of abusive wit and of personal attack was not art. Even Homer, he saw, had grasped with better insight the real nature of comedy, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας. To the same effect are his rules concerning the γελοῖον,<sup>1</sup> preserved from the lost second book of the Poetics, of which Bernays says: "Sie sollen dem Komischen den Charakter des heiteren Spasses wahren, es abscheiden von dem groben, nackten Schimpfen, von dem persönlichen, bitteren Spott" (l. 1., p. 148). This will perhaps serve to make my meaning clear when I affirm that the words *vertere modum . . . ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti* reproduce the Aristotelian characterization of the transition from the old comedy to the new. For *ad bene dicendum*, employed merely as antithesis to *malo carmine*, suggests the *maledicentia*<sup>2</sup> of the former period—that is, the old comedy—while *delectandum* characterizes the new. This interpretation may seem at first to force unnatural significance into simple words, and if this account were not so closely allied to one which can be proven to depend upon Aristotle, the objection might be allowed; but whatever force it has ought to be removed by the following words of the Stagyrte himself, which, while ostensibly spoken of the σκώπτειν in general, are in fact, as the context shows,<sup>3</sup> said of the phases of it illustrated by the history of comedy: πότερον οὖν τὸν εὖ σκώπτοντα ("der wahrhaft komische Scherz," Bernays) ὀριστέον . . . τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα, ἢ καὶ τέρπειν; (Eth. Nic. IV 14, 7)—words which might pass for the original of Horace's verse. It appears, therefore, that to Aristotle's charac-

<sup>1</sup> Under the rubric ὁ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων γέλως, from the excerpts π. κωμ. e cod. Coisl., Vahlen, p. 79; Bernays, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Porphyrio ad loc.: bene dicendum autem non 'diserte dicendum,' sed 'non male dicendum' significat, hoc est 'non lacerandum ac vituperandum.'

<sup>3</sup> Ἴδοι ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν, ib. 6.

terization of the new comedy belonged, not only the plot (μῦθοι) with its general treatment (καθόλου)—both of which are contained in the technical *argumentum*—but also the result produced by this means, the *τέρπειν τὸν ἀκούοντα*. The former is set forth in Livy's account, the latter in Horace's; but somewhere, whether in Aristotle or in the common source of Livy and Horace, both were united,<sup>1</sup> for Euanthius presents them in this form in his description of the transition to the new comedy: *coacti omittere satyram . . . novam comoediam reperere poetae, quae argumento communi magis et generaliter ad omnes homines qui medicribus fortunis agunt pertineret et minus amaritudinis spectatoribus et eadem opera multum delectationis afferret etc.* That should suffice, I think, to support my contention that this line (155) represents the transition from the old to the new comedy in accordance with Aristotelian theory as clearly as Livy's description of the same thing.

It must now be clear, I believe, that the account of Horace is entirely parallel to Livy's, and that both reproduce the three stages of the development of comedy set forth by Aristotle: (1) the φαλλικά (*Fescennina licentia*), (2) the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα (*saturae, aperta rabies*), and (3) the true comedy of μῦθοι (*argumentum*), the object of which is to please (τέρπειν, *delectare*), and not to attack (μὴ λυπεῖν, *benedicere*). A somewhat different treatment is accorded to the same material in the two writers, Livy giving detailed and more technical points of reference, such as the relation of Livius Andronicus to this development, while Horace, as a poet, handles the subject in more general outlines. But in a general way the points of reference expressly given by Livy are indicated by Horace. For instance, the words *Graecia capta* play the same rôle in Horace's description as Livius Andronicus does in that of Livy. To be sure, commentators are not agreed as to their interpretation, but it certainly seems most natural to refer them to the conquest of Magna Graecia (as is done by Kiessling and many of the best interpreters of Horace new and

<sup>1</sup> A connecting link between these two elements is afforded by a scholiast's note on Aristoph. *Equit.* 538, which says of Crates, to whom Aristotle ascribes the καθόλου μύθους ποιεῖν: Σμικρὰ ἐποίει καὶ ἑτερπε τοὺς ἀκροατὰς, γράφων ἡδέα. Cited by Meineke, *Historia Critica*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Minus amaritudinis spectatoribus*, it is probably superfluous to say, is the μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα of Aristotle and the *benedicere* (i. e. *non maledicere*) of Horace.

old), the period from which the influence of Greek literature and culture began to be felt at Rome. With this interpretation (to the confirmation of which this comparison contributes) the relation between the part played by Livius Andronicus in Livy's account and the words *Graecia capta* may be pointed out as follows: From fear of punishment poets changed their tone, ceasing from personal attack and devoting themselves purely to amusing their audiences. At the words *formidine fustis . . . redacti*, Romans familiar with the history of their own literature must inevitably have thought of Naevius,<sup>1</sup> the one conspicuous example of a Roman poet whose *πῆπνος* cost him dear, and who was obliged to make the transition *ad bene dicendum delectandumque* in order to escape from prison. That carries us, to be sure, a step beyond Livius Andronicus, who was the inaugurator of the new departure in comedy, just as, for example, Aristophanes was considerably younger than Crates, but the next sentence brings us back to the period before Naevius, indicated by the words *Graecia capta*, i. e. Livius (who, as we know, was 'a captive Greek'), under whose influence the drama *in artem paulatim verterat*, and so in like manner *Graecia capta . . . artes intulit . . . Latio*. But there is no inconsequence in referring *Graecia capta* to a period earlier than that implied in the words *ad bene dicendum etc.*, as will be seen when it is remembered that the old comedy and the new overlapped, and that a description of the decline of the old and of its transition to the new carries us a generation beyond Crates and the beginnings of the new.

157                      *Sic horridus ille*  
                              *defluxit versus Saturnius et grave virus*  
                              *munditiae pepulere.*

*Sic* refers not to *Graecia capta* alone, as the punctuation of most editions indicates, but to the whole foregoing description of which these words introduce the last member, and Kiessling, Orelli-Mewes and others are therefore quite right in placing a period after *Latio*. "In the manner thus described (*sic*) the uncouth Saturnian metre (in which the *versus alterni* of the *Fescennina licentia* were uttered, as the demonstrative *ille* shows) gradually disappeared, and the refinement of taste which Greek art brought

<sup>1</sup> As the commentators *ad loc.* observe.

about, assisted by the legal restrictions imposed upon personal attack, drove out the *grave virus*<sup>1</sup> of the iambic *idæa*." In short, these words—*sic . . . pepulere*—are a résumé of the three periods described, the *Fescennina licentia* with its *horridus numerus*, the *aperla rabies* of the old comedy, which *grave virus* repeats so accurately as to preserve the same figure, and the *munditiæ* of the new era of the artistic drama. Parallel to this are the words of Livy, who, after narrating the development of the *Fescennini* to *saturæ* and the creation of the artistic drama by internal (*argumento*) and external (the peculiar form of the canticum) modifications, comprehends the progress to that point, before going over to an account of the survival of the ancient *Fescennini*, by the words *lege hac fabellarum* (which, as has been pointed out above, p. 5, note 2, should logically refer to the whole development to this point—that is, as Horace has it, *sic*) *ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat*.

*Sed in longum tamen ævum*

160 *manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.*<sup>2</sup>

To what do these words refer? Commentators are by no means agreed, some holding that by them is meant the survival of the Saturnian metre, others that they refer to the crudeness and carelessness of execution admitted even by great poets down to the end of the republic. The clue to their interpretation, how-

<sup>1</sup> For this interpretation of *virus* cf. Martial, VII 12, 5 ff.:

Quid prodest, cupiant cum quidam nostra videri,  
Si qua *Lycambeo sanguine* tela madent,  
*Vipereumque* vomat nostro sub nomine *virus*,  
Qui Phœbi radios ferre diemque negat?

Cf. also Mart. XIII 2, 8: qui se mirantur, *in illos virus* habe, and Mart. Capella, IX 988 (Eys., p. 371): iambus dictis est ab eo quod . . . *venenum* maledicti aut livoris infundat. For the epithet *grave* cf. Mart. I 87, 5, in addition to the examples given by Bentley.

<sup>2</sup> Porphyrio ad loc., *vestigia ruris: rusticitatis*. I have not observed that an apparent reminiscence of this passage in Ovid (A. A. III 127) has been pointed out:

Sed quia cultus adest, *nec nostros mansit in annos*  
*Rusticitas*, priscis illa superstes avis.  
.....  
*Munditiis* capimur.

ever, as has been seen, is the fact that *vestigia ruris* is clearly a reminiscence of the *opprobria rustica* of vs. 146. The *vestigia ruris*, therefore, should be *carmina Fescennina*, while the emphasis which is laid upon the 'rusticity' of these productions (*rustica, ruris*) perhaps has reference to their supposed origin in a country town of Etruria, as well as to their coarseness.<sup>1</sup> There was still another form of literature, which continued to be produced when Horace wrote, characterized by 'rusticity' in this double sense of origin and coarseness, viz. the *Atellanae*,<sup>2</sup> and it is, I believe, to these two forms especially that these words are meant to apply.<sup>3</sup> Now, it is scarcely a matter of accident that in Livy, after the transition from *saturae* to the new comedy of Livius Andronicus has been described, we are told that *ridicula*, like the old Fescennines (*more antiquo*), were taken up, and eventually passed over, for the most part (*potissimum*), into the *Atellanae*, the language implying, however, that they continued to exist apart from them—that is, as *carmina Fescennina*. It would appear, therefore, that Horace here also is following the same source as Livy, although for his purpose he gives it quite a different turn. For while in Livy the old *iocularia* of the *iuventus* are represented as revived in the *ridicula* (*exodia*) for the sake of explaining aetiologically<sup>4</sup> the privileged position of the *actores Atellanarum*, the *opprobria rustica* of the earlier period are represented by Horace as a reprehensible survival of bad taste in the face of a more artistic development, being thus put in line with the general contention of the letter. It is perhaps merely an accidental coincidence that Horace describes the continuance of the spirit of the ancient *Fescennini* in words almost identical with Aristotle's account of the survival of the *φαλλικά*, α

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Martial (X 19), who says of his tenth book, "mit seiner selbst bei M. beispiegellosen Frechheit" (Mommsen):

Nec doctum satis et *parum severum*  
Sed non *rusticulum nimis libellum*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Varro uses *rustici* of the characters in them without further definition (L. L. VII 96, cf. 84). Orelli cites Fronto (p. 70, R.) concerning their chief representatives, Novius and Pomponius *particulatim elegantes in verbis rusticis et iocularibus et ridiculariis*. Cf. also Pomponius, vs. 7 (Ribbeck).

<sup>3</sup> So also Orelli ad loc.: *hodieque*] praecipue in carminibus Fescenninis et in mimis Atellanisque.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 3, note 4, and O. Jahn, l. l.



ἔτι καὶ νῦν (*hodieque*) ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει (*manent*) νομιζόμενα,<sup>1</sup> or was this passage of Aristotle, in connection with another, perhaps the common starting-point for the version of Livy and Horace? At all events, the statement of the continuance of the φαλλικά, beside the regular development of comedy, and the fact that, as the beginnings of comedy, they were said to have been produced by ἐθελονταί<sup>2</sup> (*iuventus*) would afford just the combination of data to explain the position of the *actores Atellanarum*, which Livy's account presents.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the significance of the results we have reached for the history of Roman satire, which they affect in so far as they show that the employment of the word *satura*, to designate compositions before the time of Ennius, is a later transference of it in the Lucilian sense. But briefly it may be said that they confirm the view set forth by Kiessling—namely, that Ennius adopted this designation for a collection of his miscellaneous poems, under the influence of a number of usages of the adjective form *satura* containing the common underlying notion of variety, and that from this use of the word, adopted in the same sense by Pacuvius and, in the first instance, by Lucilius, it passed over into its later censorious meaning from the aggressive quality of the poems, which Lucilius comprehended under this title. This process we may perhaps illustrate by the transference of meaning that has taken place in the word *epigram*, from the colorless signification of inscription, to that of a thought wittily or tersely expressed; while, as was also the case with *satura*, the original use of the word has survived, as a less common one, beside the derived meaning. This view, it will be found, is in most complete harmony with the best (indeed, the only direct) evidence of antiquity on this subject, which does not carry us back of Ennius and which ascribes the aggressive element in satire to Lucilius.

In explanation of the reason for the assumption of a Roman comedy parallel to the ἀρχαία, I have suggested above (p. 20) that it may have been aetiological. Mere parallelism, however, is a factor of no small significance. But we are probably not yet

<sup>1</sup> Poetics, 4, 1449a, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Poetics, 4, 1449a, 9: (γενομένης ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς) . . . ἡ κωμῳδία . . . ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ (ἐξαρχόντων), and *ib.* 5, 1449a, 38: ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία . . . ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλαθεν· καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἀρχων ἐδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν.

in a position to give a final and certain explanation, which must await a more comprehensive knowledge of the methods of the earliest literary historians of Rome. For the present, to have furnished an illustration of them may suffice.<sup>1</sup>

MADISON, Wis.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

<sup>1</sup>Concerning the source to which this literary parallelism that we have discussed goes back, it is probably impossible for us to arrive at a definite conclusion and to distinguish Varronian from pre-Varronian property. The assumption is so monstrously unhistorical that one is inclined to doubt whether Varro can have been the author of it (though it seems probable that he adopted it), and to assign it rather to one of his less critical predecessors, as, for instance, Accius. It was natural that the earliest Roman philology should follow the lines of its Greek models with a childish faithfulness, in spite of the widely differing conditions, and that it did so is sufficiently well known. Accius was no exception to this rule, and his tendency to conform things Roman to Greek models is proved by examples adduced by Norden (in his recent Varroniana, Rh. Mus. 48 (1893), p. 536), as well as by the fragment from the Annales, preserved by Macrobius, I 7, 37, in which the Saturnalia are carried back to Attic origin. But, on the other hand, the designation of this assumed old comedy as *satura* cannot have arisen earlier than the time when the aggressive character of satire was thoroughly recognized and its analogy to the *ἀρχαία* pointed out. At the same time it is conceivable that the assumption may have existed before the name *satura* was attached to it. One other point deserves mention in this question of source, viz. the fact that the accounts of Livy and Horace, and the source of Euanthius, reveal the twofold, Aristotelian division of comedy, and not the Alexandrine (?) threefold division. But it is impossible to discuss the bearings of this, and other points here raised, at present, and to some I shall hope to return at a later time.

[NOTE, supplementary to pp. 16 (ad fin.) and 17. The confusion presented by Euanthius' identification of *satura* with the middle comedy is paralleled so closely by Tzetzes (in the *στίχοι π. διαφ. ποιητ.*, vs. 77 ff., Dübner) as almost to raise a suspicion of dependence: *τριττὴν νόει . . . τὴν κωμῶδιον· πρώτην, υέσην κτλ. . . . πρώτης μὲν ἦν ἰδιον ἐμφανὲς ψόγος· ἥς ἦν κατάρξας εὐρετῆς Σουσαρίων. ἥς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος, ἥς ἦν Κρατίνος, Εὐπολίου κτλ.* Here we have the comedy of Cratinus and the rest designated as the *μέση* and characterized as *αἰνιγματώδης* (*ψόγος κεκρυμμένος*), just as in Euanthius the *satura* is described as a comedy *sine ullo proprii nominis titulo*. In Tzetzes, as in Euanthius, the distortion of usual relations is due to an effort to harmonize the ordinary threefold division with the twofold, and apparently with the particular form of the latter division presented by Suetonius (Reif., p. 9), and elucidated by Kaibel (l. l., p. 64), in which the comedy of Susarion is distinguished from that of Cratinus and his successors. It was to this primitive (*vixdum incipiens*, Euanth.) comedy of Susarion (*εὐρετῆς*, Tzet.) that Tzetzes and Euanthius attached the *ἐμφανὲς ψόγος*, and thus compelled themselves to characterize the second period as *αἰνιγματώδης*.]

## II.—A COLLATION OF THE ANCIENT ARMENIAN VERSION OF PLATO'S LAWS. BOOKS V AND VI.

### BOOK V.

The first paragraphs of this book, pp. 726–32 B, are cited in Stobaeus, whose text conflicts in many points with the Paris MS No. 1807, e. g. in 726 E for τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων he gives τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ κτ.; 726 E for πάντ' ἐστὶ πᾶσιν : παρὰ πᾶσιν; 726 E ὥσπερ νῦν τὰ for ὅσπερ νυνδὴ τὰ; 727 B ὧδε πολλοῦ for ὁ δὲ πολλοῦ; 727 C ζῆν τοῦτο for τὸ ζῆν πάντως, Ficino: "hanc vitam"; 727 D ἡγούμενος for ἡγουμένης; 728 A παντός μὲν οὖν for πάντως μ. ο.; 728 A οὐδ' ὥς εἰπεῖν for ὥς δὲ εἰπεῖν; 729 C γενεθλίους for γενέσθαι οὗς, where the former is the true reading; 729 D εὐμενὲς for εὐμενεῖς; 729 D φίλων καὶ for φίλων τε καὶ; 729 E παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν for παρὰ τὰ τῶν; 730 B ὅς' οὖν for ὅς' ἄν; 730 B omits καὶ εὐμενεῖς; 731 C omits τῶν before αὐτοῦ; 731 D omits τὰ before κακὰ ἔχων; 732 B διώκειν αἰὲ for διώκειν δεῖ, the former being the right reading.

Here we have seventeen cases of conflict between the text of Stobaeus and that of the Paris MS. In fifteen of them the Paris text is probably right, and is followed by Schanz in his edition; in the remaining two cases the Paris text is wrong, and Schanz adopts the reading of Stobaeus. In all these seventeen cases the Armenian Version takes sides with the Paris MS against Stobaeus.

There remain, however, a number of passages in which the Paris text still conflicts with Stobaeus, but in which the Version is either neutral or agrees with Stobaeus. These are the following: 726 E the Paris MS has τῶν οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ δεσπόζοντα, Stob. has τῶν οὖν δύο τὰ δ., the Version τῶν οὖν τὰ δεσπ., "ex illis igitur quae imperant," the τῶν being rendered as a demonstrative pronoun. The reading which Ficino had cannot be certainly inferred from his rendering: "profecto quae dominantur prae illis quae serviunt, semper sunt honoranda." It accords best with the Armenian, omitting both δύο and αὐτοῦ.

727 A ἡ τισιν ὑπείξεσιν, Paris MS; ἡ τ. ὑπείξει, Stob.; ἡ τισιν ὑπείξας, Arm. Here Fic. goes with the Paris text "vel obsequiis."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Where the Armenian seems to yield a sound reading an asterisk is prefixed as in A. J. P. XIV 334 foll.

727 B *ἑξαιρῇ* in Stobaeus. So the Arm. and Ficino. The Paris MS has the corruption *ἑξάιρη*.

726 C. The Paris MS has *ὁπότεν . . . λύπας μὴ διαπονῇ καρτερῶν ἀλλὰ ὑπείκη, τότε οὐ τιμᾷ ὑπείκων· ἄτιμον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπεργάζεται*. Here *ὑπείκων* is superfluous. Stobaeus read instead of it *ἀτιμάζων*, which, as following *οὐ τιμᾷ* and preceding *ἄτιμον γὰρ*, is also superfluous. \*The Armenian reads *τότε οὐ τιμᾷ· ἄτιμον γαρ*, which is probably right.

\*728 B. The Paris text followed by Schanz has *καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι*; Stobaeus has *καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀποσχ.*, which is implied by the Arm. and by Ficino: "seque ipsum ab eis seiungat, improbis autem adhaereat." On the one hand the zeugma *τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς φεύγειν . . . καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι* is harsh; on the other, the second *μὲν*, coming before the first has been answered by a *δὲ*, is awkward. It is as likely that *τῶν μὲν* was added to avoid the first, as that it was omitted to escape the second. But if the interrelations of the sources throughout this 5th book be borne in mind, we must adopt the reading in which Ficino and the Armenian concur with Stobaeus. For that they both reflected in 729 C the corruption of the Paris text *γενέσθαι οὗς*, where Stobaeus has the true reading, constitutes them a single family as against him. If, then, two members of this family agree in reading *τῶν μὲν* with the opposite family, we may be sure that its omission in the Paris MS is a mere idiosyncrasy of that MS.

728 D. The Paris text reads *μηνύειν δὴ μοι*. Stobaeus omits *μοι*. The Arm. omits *μοι*, but also omits the stop after *νομοθέτου*. Ficino retains *μοι*, but omits the stop: "quorum differentia a legislatore declaranda mihi videtur: ut puta, honore dignum corpus esse non quod formosum aut robustum est."

The Armenian Version merits notice in the following passages:

727 A. The Paris MS has *θεῖον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν που τιμῇ*. Here Schanz conjectures *ψυχῇ* for *τιμῇ*; Stallbaum retains *τιμῇ* but conjectures *θειῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν*. Stobaeus and Ficino agree with the Paris text. The Armenian is equivalent to *θειῶν γὰρ τι ἡ τιμῇ δὲ* (or *οὐσα*). This in no way helps the text.

728 A. Schanz reads *πάντως μὲν οὖν λυπεῖ*. Stobaeus and the Paris MS have *παντὸς μὲν οὖν λείπει*, though the latter probably read originally *πάντως*, since there is an erasure after the *τ*. Ficino renders: "sed ab hoc longissime abest." The Arm. = "verum tamen ab hoc est omnino deficiens." The two translators must have read *πάντως μὲν οὖν τοῦτου ἐλλείπει*.

729 C. The words ταῦτοῦ φύσιν αἵματος ἔχουσιν are rendered as if ταῦτοῦ φύσεως (or φύσει) αἵματος μετέχουσιν. This is probably a mere device of rendering.

729 E. The Arm. has θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις instead of ἀνθ. κ. θ. The variant would not be worth noticing, but that Ficino also has it: "apud deos et apud homines."

730 A. The Armenian has ἔτυχεν, along with the Paris Codex, where Badham conjectures ἀπέτυχεν. For the rest the translator renders ἰκέτας ἰκέτης ἰκετεύσας as if they were οἰκέτας, etc. Perhaps the corruption was in his Greek.

730 B. The Arm. indicates ἀπεργάζηται, a less violation of the Paris text than is the omission of ἄν after ὅσα. It is also favored by Ficino: "ut non lex, sed laus . . . refrenet magis et obtemperatio ferendis legibus faciat."

730 D. Arm. reads νικηφόρος ἀρετῇ, with the Paris Codex.

730 E καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τις ἐκτεταται δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν μεταδιδόντα κ. τ. λ. Here ἐκτεταται δυνατὰ must be wrong, and Schanz conjectures δύναται and αὐτὸς; Petavius κέκτηται καὶ δύναται and also αὐτὸς. The Arm. = "et quae alia bona potuerit quis acquirere, non solum eum habere sed et alios participes efficere." This implies κεκτήσθαι δύναται and αὐτὸν, which last depends upon χρῆ in the preceding clause. The editors, in suggesting αὐτὸς, do not seem to have seen this, though the Arm. translator so took it. The sense is then as follows: "This same praise it is necessary to speak also about temperance and wisdom, and whatever other goods any one can make himself possessor of (it is necessary) that he not only should himself have them, but that he should also impart them to others."

Stobaeus and Julian read κέκτηται δυνατὰ; so also did Ficino, who also translates as if he had had ὅς instead of ὅσα: "Et qui aliis bonis abundat, quae in alios quoque transfundi possunt, si ceteros participes efficit, tanquam vir summus est honorandus."

731 B πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. The Arm. involves πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, a probable enough variant, though unsupported from other sources.

730 C ὅτῳ δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄνους· ὧν οὐδέτερον ζηλωτὸν· This, the reading of Ficino, Stobaeus and the Paris Codex, is unquestionably the right one. The Arm. has ὅτῳ δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄνους ὧν οὐκ ἂν εἴη ζηλωτής. The reading of Clemens Alex.: ἄνους ὧν, οὐ ζῶον· οὐθ' ἑτέρον οὖν ζηλωτὸν, points to a very old corruption of the passage.

731 C ἐν οὖν τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ. The Armenian adds αὐτοῦ after οὖν, "in the noblest part of himself."

731 D τῷ δ' ἀκράτως. So the Armenian. Ficino has: "qui vero ita flagitiosi sunt, ut incurabiles sint," which led Ast to conjecture ἀνιάτως.

731 E. The Arm. omits δέιν before εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

732 A. The Arm. implies προτιμᾶν for τιμᾶν.

732 A. It has ἐάν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐάν τε παρ' ἄλλου μᾶλλον πραττόμενα, where the MSS and editions have αὐτοῦ and ἄλλου.

732 B. After διώκειν for ἀεί, which is the reading of Stobaeus, the Arm. has δέι πάντα. The Paris MS has δέι simply.

\*732 C παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα πᾶσαν καὶ ὅλην περιχάρειαν. So Schanz emends this passage, which in the Paris MS contains for πᾶσαν κ. ὁ. π. the impossible words καὶ ὅλην περιχάρειαν πᾶσαν. Various other conjectures have been attempted. The Armenian gives what must be the true reading, as follows: παραγ. δὲ π. πάντ' ἄνδρα ὅλως πᾶσαν περιχάρειαν. Stephanus wrote of the passage thus: "Puto igitur te meae coniecturae subscripturum, qua in locum nominis ὅλην substituo ex eo factum adverbium ὅλως."

\*732 C. The words which follow have been the despair of successive editors. The Paris Codex reads thus: κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας ἱσταμένου τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ τύχας, οἷον πρὸς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀνάτη δαιμόνων ἀνθισταμένων τισὶν πράξεσιν, ἐλπίζειν δ' αἰ τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖσι τὸν θεὸν ἃ δωρεῖται πόνων μὲν ἐπιπιπτόντων ἀντὶ μειζόνων ἐλάττους ποιῆσειν τὸν δ' αὖ νῦν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων αἰ πάντ' αὐτοῖς παραγενήσεσθαι μετ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης.

The spaced words are those which have offended critics. In the whole passage the Armenian involves the following changes:

1. ἐκάστῳ for ἐκάστου.
2. Omit δαιμόνων.
3. ἀνθιστάμενον for ἀνθισταμένων.
4. τῶν δ' αὖ for τὸν δ' αὖ.
5. Omit περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ.
6. πάντων for παντ' αὐτοῖς.

Of these changes, Nos. 1 and 2, viz. ἐκάστῳ and ἀνθιστάμενον, were conjectured by Badham. No. 4 is read in the apographa. Peipers (qu. crit., p. 100) would exclude τὰ ἀγαθὰ. The sense is better for the omission of δαιμόνων, which may be a double of δαίμονος in the preceding line. In other respects the Armenian does not assist the passage, but renders from ἐλπίζειν to the end in the following sense: "sed sperare semper bonis eis quae dat deus, et supervenientes aerumnarum loco maiorum minores facere; et iam praesentium in melius mutationes contraria horum

semper omnium advenire una cum bona fortuna." Comparing this with Ficino's rendering: "sperare semper boni viri debent, munera, quae talibus viris dare deus solet, sibi non defutura: ac si qui graves labores inciderint, Deum leniores eos facturum et praesentia in melius commutaturum, bona vero contra omnia una cum bona fortuna sibi affore," we may infer that both translators had a stop after *δωρεῖται*, in consequence, perhaps, of which they both inserted a conjunction before *πόνων μέν*.

Later Platonists believed that every individual had his familiar spirit or demon watching over him, and a copyist sharing such a belief would have altered *ἐκάστω* to *ἐκάστου*. The Armenian translates *ισταμένου* as if the passage implied the metaphor of a balance in which the god inclines from side to side, from good luck to bad.

\*732 E καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου, ποῖόν τινα χρῶν εἶναι. Here Hermann suggests αὐτοῦ, which Schanz reads. The Arm. = "et de sui quaque re, qualis esse oportet." This suggests either the entire omission of *τινα* or the substitution for it of *τι*. αὐτοῦ, which is in the Paris MS and is involved by the Version, can then be retained.

733 B. The Arm. reads *λύπης δὲ βουλόμεθα* and omits *ἀλλάττεσθαι*.

\*733 B ἴσα δὲ ἀντὶ ἴσων ἐκάτερα τούτων οὐχ ὥς βουλόμεθα ἔχομεν ἂν διασαφεῖν. Ficino: "pari autem modo utrumque horum habere nōs nolle, possumus declarare." The Arm. = ἴσα δὲ ἀντὶ ἴσων ἐκάτερα τούτων οὐ βουλόμεθα οὐδὲ ὥς οὐ βουλόμεθα κ. τ. λ. The words supplied may easily have dropped out of the text. They were certainly in the Greek text which the translator used.

733 B τοῖς τοιούτοις, [πρὸς βούλησιν]. Schanz brackets *πρ. β.* The Arm. omits *προς* and puts the comma after instead of before *βούλησιν*.

\*733 C, D. The Arm. takes *τὸν ἰσόρροπον βίον* as governed by *διανοεῖσθαι*, and favors Badham's conjecture of *τὸν μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντα* for *τῶν μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντων*, but implies *τοὺς δ' αὖ* for *τῶν δ' αὖ*. It also omits the stop after *οὐ βουλόμεθα* in D, and omits the words *δὴ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι*. Here Badham would read *δεῖ* for *δὴ* and cut out the words *δεῖ διαν.*, of which all editors have found the threefold repetition in this passage intolerable.

733 D. The Arm. has *ὦν πέρι*, with the Paris Codex. Schanz adopts *ὦν περ*, the conjecture of Badham. \*In the next line the Arm. supplies *καὶ τὸ* before *ἀβούλητόν*. Stallbaum here conjectured *καί*.

733 E. For *ἰδόντι* the Arm. implies *εἰδότα καί*. Ficino may have read *εἰδότα*, for he renders: "hisque cognitis."

734 B. The Arm. adds *καὶ* before *ἄκων*, so that the text runs *πᾶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄκων*.

734 D *ἡδὶω τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερέχειν*. The Arm. has *τοὺς ἄλλους*, scil. *βίους*.

735 A *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξαντας*. The Arm. seems to have read *ἄρξαντας*.

735 A *τοὺς σμικρὰς παιδεία*. The Armenian has the plural *σμικρὰς* or *σμικρὰ*. The Paris Codex *σμικρᾷ*.

735 A *καταστάσεις*. The Arm. = *κατάστασις*. In the Paris Codex this reading is given above the line. Stob. had the former.

\*736 A. After *ξυρρέοντων* the Arm. omits *ἐκ*, which "delevit. Madvig." In the whole of the rest of the passage beginning 735 B and ending 737 C, the Armenian faithfully reflects all the readings of the Paris Codex to which critics have taken exception, viz. 736 A *ἀπαλλαγὴν*, 736 C *πείρα*, 736 C *εὐτυχεῖν ὥς γῆς καὶ χρεῶν κ. τ. λ.*, 736 D *ὑπάρχειν*, 737 A *μεταβάσεως* and *οὐδὲ μία* and *μετὰ δίκης* and *μηχανῆς διαφυγῇ*, 737 B *κοινήν*.

736 E. Where the Paris Codex reads *νεμομένους* and Badham suggested *ἀπονεμομένους*, the Arm. = *δεομένους* or *αἰτουμένους*, which does not help.

\*737 D *πόλεις, γῆς μὲν*. The Arm. = *πόλεις γῇ μὲν*, according to Schneider's conjecture. The Paris Codex has *πόλεις γῆ*.

737 D *νῦν δὲ σχήματος*. The Arm. has *δὴ*.

737 E *ὁ λόγος ἴτω*. The Arm. = *ἔστω* for *ἴτω*.

737 E *διανεμηθῆτω*. The Arm. = *διανεμηθέντα*, and just below it has *ξύννομα*, with the Paris MS, instead of *ξυνομή*. Just below the Arm. = *τρία τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, instead of *τρία τὸν αὐτὸν* of the Paris Codex.

738 A *οὐ μὲν δὴ πᾶς*. The Arm. has *ὁ μὲν δὴ* and omits *πᾶς*. The Paris Codex has *ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς*. So has Ficino.

738 B. After *ἅττα τε* the Arm. adds *εὐθύς*.

738 E *ὅπως μήτε αὐτός*. The Arm. = *ὅπως μήτις αὐτός*.

\*738 C *ἐπιπνοίας λεχθείσης θεῶν*. So the MSS and editions, but in what sense is a divine inspiration 'λεχθεῖσα'? The unpounded verb could hardly mean 'declared,' and an inspiration is not declared, but vouchsafed by heaven. The Armenian = "seu inspiratione a dis superveniente," which suggests the reading *ληχθείσης*. Cp. 750 E *τόποι χώρας ἐν οἷς θεία τις ἐπίπνοια καὶ δαιμόνων λήξεις*.

\*739 B *καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος δὴ ποτε*. Here the Paris MS has *ἂν εἴ ποτε* instead of *δὴ ποτε*, which is Naber's conjecture. The Armenian involves *καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἂν ποτε*.



739 D. The Arm. adds *ὥς* or *οἷον* before *καθ' ἐν ᾧ τι μάλιστα*.

\*739 D *εἰ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη πόλις. εἴτε που θεοὶ* is the reading of the Paris Codex. Badham suggested *ἢ* for *εἰ*, and then *ἔστι που, θεοὶ δ'*. The Arm. = *ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ πόλει, εἴτε που θεοὶ*, which is probably right. Ficino perhaps had such a reading: "talem utique civitatem sive Dii alicubi sive Deorum filii uno plures habitent, ita viventes eamque servantes omni certe referti gaudiis vivunt."

739 E *ἦν δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, εἴη τε ἂν γενομένη πως ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα καὶ ἡ μία δευτέρως· τρίτην δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, διαπερανούμεθα. νῦν δ' οὖν ταύτην τίνα λέγομεν καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἂν τοιαύτην.* This is the reading of the MSS. Heindorf suggests *εἴη γε ἂν, γενομένη πως*; and *ἡ μία* was by Cobet corrected to *πρώτης*. The Armenian = *ἦν δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, ἥ τε μία μὲν καὶ ἡ δευτέρα εἴρηται. τρίτην δὲ μετὰ τ., ἐ. θ. ἐθ., διαπερανούμεθα, εἴη τε ἂν γενομένη πως ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα. νῦν δ' οὖν κ. τ. λ.*; or in Latin: *et ea quidem in quam nos nunc manum intulimus, quaeque una quidem, et quae secunda dicta est, Eam quae tertia est post haec, si deus velit, in finem ducamus. erit ἂν facta immortalitati proxima etc.* The passage remains obscure.

\*740 A and B. The Arm. = *ὥς ἄρα δεῖν τὸν λαχόντα τὴν λῆξιν νομίζειν μὲν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης, τῆς κυρίας οὔσης τῆς λήξεως, πατρίδος δὲ οὔσης τῆς χώρας θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως ἢ μητέρα παῖδας, τῷ δέσποιναν αὐτὴν καὶ θεὸν οὔσαν θνητῶν ὄντων νομίζεσθαι. καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐγχ. θεοὺς τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονας, ὅπως δὴ (? ἂν) ταῦτα εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον οὕτως ὑπάρχῃ κ. τ. λ.* In the above the Arm. omits the words *ταῦτά δ' ἔχειν διανοήματα*, which Usener would exclude, along with the words which follow as far as *δαίμονας*. Perhaps these words displaced in the Paris text the words *κυρίας* (or *τῆς κ.*) *οὔσης τῆς λήξεως*, which the Version supplies.

\*740 B *ᾧ δ' οὖν*. So the Armenian. The Paris MS has *ὡδ' οὖν*.

\*740 C. The Paris MS has *θεραπευτὴν θεῶν καὶ γένους καὶ πόλεως*. The Arm. translates *θεραπευτὴν θεῶν καὶ πόλεως καὶ γένους*. So Ficino: "et civitatis et generis."

\*740 C *οἷς ἂν τῆς γενέσεως ἐλλείπη*. Stephanus conjectured *τὰ τῆς γ.* The Arm. = *οἷς ἂν ἡ γένεσις* (or rather *γεννήματα*) *ἐλλείπη*. Ficino: "civibus illis, quibus filii non sunt."

740 C *ἐπίγονοι*. Arm. = *ἐκγονοι*.

\*740 D *αὕτη σκεψαμένη*. The Arm. has *ταύτη* for *αὕτη*. Just below it omits *καὶ γὰρ ἐπισχέσεις* before *γενέσεως*, and then reads *οἷς ἂν ἐθρους*, with the Paris Codex.

740 E. The Version has ἀπαντῶσαι, with the Paris Codex, where Schanz conjectures ἀπαντας αἱ.

740 E. The Version omits καὶ δὴ καὶ τό γε τέλος, and just below has ὧν ἄν, with the Paris Codex, for οἱ ἄν, and then ἐὰν δ' αὖ, with the apographa, for ἐάν τ' αὖ of the Paris MS.

741 A. The Version adds οἶον before κύμα, for which it rather implies κύματα; then κατακλυσμοῦ instead of κατακλυσμὸν, and νόσους ἢ πολέμων φθοράς for νόσοι ἢ πολ. φθοραί. The whole clause would thus run: \*ἐὰν δ' αὖ καὶ τούναντίον ἐπέλθῃ ποτὲ οἶον κύματα κατακλυσμοῦ φέρον νόσους ἢ πολέμων φθοράς. Ficino agrees with the Paris MS. Just below the Version agrees with the same codex in ὑπερβάλλειν, where Schanz adopts παρεμβάλλειν from the apographa.

\*742 B παρέμενος. So the Paris MS. The Arm. rather suggests παραιτησάμενος, which was the reading of Stobaeus.

\*742 E τὰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὰ βούλοιστ' ἂν ὁ διακοσμῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐτ' ἂν βούλοιστο [ματαίας βουλήσεις] οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιχειροῖ. Schanz notes: "ματαίας βουλήσεις delevi"; but how did these words, which do not seem to be a gloss, get into the text? Ficino has: "possibilia igitur volet fundator legum, impossibilia nec volet, nam vana esset cupiditas, neque aggreditur." The Arm. = τὰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὰ βούλοιστ' ἂν διακοσμεῖν τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ ἂν βούλοιστο καὶ ἐν ματαίαις βουλήσεσιν οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειροῖ.

\*743 B ἔστιν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς τούτων, ὁ δὲ οὐ [κακός], ὅταν ἢ φειδωλός, τότε δὲ ποτε καὶ πάγκακος. "κακὸς delevit Madvig advers. I, p. 442." The Arm. for οὐ κακός has οὐκ ἀγαθός, which must be right. It also omits δὲ after τότε.

\*743 D μήτε χρυσὸν δεῖν. The Arm. has εἶναι for δεῖν. Stobaeus has μήτε εἶναι χρυσὸν δεῖν.

\*744 A τί τε βούλομαι . . . καὶ ἀποτυγχάνω. The Arm. has τί τε βούλεται . . . καὶ ἀποτυγχάνει. So Ficino: "quid ipse velit, quid, si contigerit, bene succedet."

744 B. In this obscure section the Armenian exactly reflects the Paris Codex, except that instead of ἵνα ἀρχαί τε there stand words equivalent to *quam imperiique* or ἡ ἀρχῆς τε (or ἡ ἀρχῇ τε).

744 C. The Arm. = τέτταρα μέγεθος.

744 D. The Arm. = προσήκον ἐκύστοις ἑαυτοῖσιν τίμημα.

\*744 D τοῦ μεγίστου νοσήματος. So the Armenian, along with Stobaeus and Ficino: "summi morbi." The Paris MS has νομίσματος.

\*744 D. The Arm. = ὡς ἀμφοτέρων τικτόντων ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρα, with the Apographum Riccardianum. The Paris Codex has ἀμφοτέρα . . . ἀμφοτέρα.

\*744 D νῦν οὖν ὅρον δεῖ. So the Armenian, with the apographa. The Paris Codex has the corruption δῆ.

\*745 B καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα πόλει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔχοντα τόπον ἐκλεξάμενον. This must mean 'choosing among those available a site which has also whatever else is advantageous to a city.' Badham conjectured πόλει ὑπάρχοντ'. The Armenian omits τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, as did probably Ficino: "Post haec urbs primum in medio regionis, quoad fieri potest, condatur, in loco qui cetera quoque civitatis habeat commoda."

\*745 C μετέχοντα ἐκάστοτε. So Schanz. The MS has ἐκάτερον, which is clearly wrong. Ast suggested ἐκατέρου. The Arm. has ἐκατέρων, or rather τὰ ἐκατέρων.

\*745 D τῷ πλήθει. So Schanz, following the apographa. So also the Arm. and Ficino. The MS has τῷ πάθει.

\*746 A ἐτέρων ὄν. Badham conjectured ἐτέρων ἂ, which the Arm. actually involves.

\*746 B. The Arm. read χρῆ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, omitting πάντα. The Paris MS has αὐτὸν. Just below the Arm. has \*οἶμαι τότε εἶναι, where the Paris Codex has the corruption τόνδε.

746 D δῆλον δὲ τὰ δώδεκα. The Arm. has δὲ for δῆ.

\*746 D καὶ πρὸς γε. The Arm. adds τοῖσιν.

\*746 E τὸν γε νόμον τάττειν. Here, for νόμον, which is read in the Paris MS, the Version reads νομοθέτην, with the apographa and Ficino.

\*747 A κοινῷ λόγῳ νομίσαντα. The Arm. = κ. λ. ἀρμόσαντα.

747 C τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὰ. The Arm. has αὐτῶν for αὐτὰ.

\*747 C. The Paris MS reads εἴτε τις νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς φαῦλος ἂν γενόμενος ἐξεργάσατο. Here Schanz reads δῆ for ἂν, and Stephanus conjectured αὐ. The Armenian omits ἂν and reads αὐτὸς for αὐτοῖς, which may well be the true reading, the νομοθέτης αὐτὸς being contrasted with τύχη and φύσις ἄλλη τις τοιαύτη.

747 D. The Arm. has ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν, with the MS, where Ficino rightly omits οὐκ.

\*747 D. The Arm. has δε' εἰλήσεις, which Ruhnken conjectured here.

\*747 D ἐναῖσιοι. The Arm. = ἀνάρμοστοι or ἄτακτοι. The editors suggest various emendations. Ficino: "protervi."

\*747 D οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν. So the Paris MS. Schanz reads οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν. The Arm. = οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν, which is also the reading of Galenus.

\*750 E τοὺς ἀεὶ κατοικιζομένους. So the Armenian and the apographa. The Paris MS has τοῖς.

## Book VI.

751 B τόνδε. παντί που—ἐξ αὐτῶν. The Arm., if rendered into Latin, reflects this obscure passage thus: Hocce. Omni quidem manifestum est tale quid, quod legislatione magno opere ente, civitatem bene compositam, magistratus non idoneos super eam constituere bene instituti, risusque propter haec valde nimius ἂν incidat, *verum etiam* calamitas et iacturae valde maximae civitatibus fiant ἂν ex illis. In the above τοῦ before πόλις is not rendered, and so nothing is done to help the really crucial difficulty. The words τοῖς ἐν κειμένοις νόμοις οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν πλέον are also dropped out. \*The rendering of the words οὐδ' ὅτι γέλως—ἐξ αὐτῶν strikingly resembles that of Ficino, who thus gives the whole passage: "Audi iam. nemini dubium est, quod, cum magna res legumlatio sit, si quis civitati per leges bene paratae non idoneos magistratus constituat, quamvis leges bene positae sint, tamen non modo id nihil proderit risumque movebit, *verum etiam* calamitates maximas civitatibus pariet." The resemblance cannot be accidental, and points to a Greek original which read καὶ for οὐδ' ὅτι and ἀλλὰ καὶ for σχεδὸν δέ. This is the more probable because οὐ μόνον requires ἀλλὰ καὶ.

751 C. The Arm. has ἔπειτα αὐτοὺς, with the Paris Codex, for ἐπ. αὐ τοὺς.

\*751 D τεθράφθαι τε. Schanz brackets these words. Stallbaum removed τε, for which Ast conjectured δέ. The Arm. omits τε.

751 D πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας. The Arm. echoes this the reading of the Paris MS. The Aldine corrected τοὺς to τὰ. Just below the Arm. has ἐκατέρων, with the Paris MS and Ficino, where Stephanus read ἐκατέρου.

\*751 D ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀγῶνα προφάσεις οὐ πάνυ δέχασθαι is the reading of the Paris MS. Schanz adds φασιν before οὐ πάνυ, on the authority of the Scholiast ad Cratyl. 421 D. Hermann conjectured οὐ φασι for οὐ πάνυ. The Arm. had ἀγῶν and δέχεται, which was also in Ficino's Greek text: "sed enim certamen excusationes non facile suscipit."

752 A. Schanz reads οὐκουν δὴ που λέγων γε ἂν μῦθον ἀκέφαλον ἐκὼν καταλίπομι· πλανώμενος ἂν ἅπαντι τοιοῦτος ὢν ἄμορφος φαίνοιτο. In his critical apparatus he notes that the Paris MS has ἀπάντη for ἅπαντι, but not that it reads γὰρ after πλανώμενος, which it does, according to C. F. Hermann. \*πλανώμενος γὰρ ἂν was also the reading of Ficino and of the Armenian translator. Ficino had ἅπαντι for

ἀπάντη, which Hermann accordingly brackets. The Armenian had ἀπάντη. Fic.: "nam si ita vagaretur, deformis omnibus appareret." Why should not a writer so saturated with Homer as Plato have read ἀπάντη?

752 B. The Arm. has βλέπων καὶ ποῖ, with the Paris MS; also in 752 C μείναιμιν, both of which Schanz corrects.

\*752 C χρόνον. So the Arm. and Schanz. The Paris MS adds ὄν.

752 D χώρας ἣ νῦν κατοικίζεται. Schanz notes of the Paris MS: "ἣ, sed in ras. (ἦν fuisse videtur)." The Arm. = χ. ἦν νῦν κατοικίζετε, which was also in Ficino's text: "quam nunc rempublicam conditis," and was also read by Stephanus.

752 D ἰσῶσιν. This is Hermann's conjecture. The Paris reading σῶσιν was in the Armenian's Greek, also in Ficino's: "ut quam tutissime atque optime primi magistratus constituentur."

\*752 D δ' ἡμῖν. This conjecture of Hermann's for ἄν ἡμῖν is confirmed by the Armenian.

753 A τινι μετρία. The Arm. has τῇ, with the Paris MS.

\*753 B ὥς μὲν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπεικέστατα ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν, εἰρήσθω. The Arm. has εἴρηται for εἰρήσθω, and so had Ficino: "et quae tibi atque illis hac tempestate convenientissime fieri possunt, exposita."

\*753 B ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν τῆς ἡλικίας δυνάμεσιν. For σφετέραις the Arm. has ἐκατέραις. Ficino omits: "bellis que in aetatis suae ordine interfuerunt."

753 C δεῖξαι τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἰδεῖν πάσῃ τῇ πόλει. The Arm. omits ἰδεῖν. So perhaps Ficino: "universae civitati magistratus ostendant."

\*753 D ἐξ αὐτῶν is omitted in the Version, as also by Ficino: "centumque ita secundo delecti rursus omnibus ostendantur."

753 D διὰ τομίῶν πορευόμενος. Ficino omits wholly these words. As to the Paris MS, Schanz notes: "versui δια] τομίῶν πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ vitii nota in marg. adscripta." The Arm. renders διὰ τομίῶν as if δοκιμασίᾳ, probably because he did not understand a rare word.

\*753 E οἷτινες δὲ εἴεν ἂν πρὸς πασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν γεγρονότες, οὐκ ἔστιν. In the above Badham would omit δὲ. Schanz reads πρὸ for πρὸς and "οὐκ ἔστιν" delevit Badham." Ficino: "qui vero ex omnibus magistratibus deligantur, in iis nequaquam reperiuntur." The Arm. = οἷτινες δὲ εἴεν ἂν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν γεγρονότες οὐκ εἰσίν. Ficino's obscure reading, whatever it was, was shared by the Armenian translator's text, but εἰσίν may be right.

\*754 B *κιτοικισθεισῶν*. So the Arm. In Paris MS *κατοικίστων*.

\*754 C *λέγω δέ*. The Arm. involves *δή* for *δέ*. So Ficino: "Repeto igitur, quod modo dixi."

754 D *γενόμενοι*. The Arm. omits. Ficino renders by "computati." ? *καταλεγόμενοι*.

\*755 A *ὅπως ἂν τις πλέον ὑπερβὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ζῇ, μηκέτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀρχουσι τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ὡς ἄρξων διανοηθῇτω*. Here *ὅπως ἂν* is difficult, and *ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀρχουσι* is put out by Hug as superfluous. Ficino renders *ὅπως*: "hac utique ratione, ut qui septuagesimum annum excesserit, tantum magistratum non teneat." But *ὅπως* so used with *διανοηθῇτω* is very harsh, whether *ἂν* accompany it or not; while it is meaningless if construed with *ζῇ*. Hermann accordingly conjectures *ὅπόσ' ἂν*, and Heindorf *ὅπόσον ἂν*, and Badham *ὅπόσ' ἂν τις πλέον' ἔχῃ, ὑπερβὰς ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη μηκέτι*. The Arm. hints at a solution, and is equivalent to: "si quis magis vixerit quam annos septuaginta, non amplius in his annis a magistratibus talem magistratum veluti tenens cogitur." Whence it is certain that the Armenian translator's Greek omitted *ὅπως ὑπερβὰς*. Is it possible, therefore, that they got into the Paris text from the margin? Perhaps they formed part of the words of which Badham suspected the loss after *ἀπογράφῃ* in §D just above.

\*755 D *ἀνθ' οὗτου ὄντινα*. The Arm. has *τινα* for *ὄντινα*.

755 D *ὁπότερος*. The Arm. has *ὁποτέρως* and omits the comma after *διαχειροτονούμενος*.

Except for these two variants in 755 D the Arm. reflects the Paris MS from 755 B–756 B, corruptions and all; e. g. in 755 E it has *φυλακῇ* for *φυλῇ*, and inserts the words *φυλάρχους—αἰρείσθω* in the wrong place in 756 B, two errors from which Ficino's text was free.

756 B *οἷσπερ τῆς χειροτονίας μέτρον ἐκάστοις ἕκαστον ἦν*. The Arm. adds *μέλον* before *ἦν*.

756 C. The Arm. omits *κατὰ ταῦτα* before *καθάπερ τῇ πρόσθεν*. Ficino simply: "eodem pacto."

\*756 E *ἥς αἰὲ δέ τι μεσέειν τὴν πολιτείαν*. The Arm. omits *αἰὲ* and adds *ἴσῃν* before *πολιτείαν* instead of *τὴν*. Perhaps we should read *ἰσοπολιτείαν*, a word which occurs in Aristotle and often in Cretan inscriptions.

757 A. Schanz reads *ἐν ἴσαις τιμαῖς διαγόμενοι*. The Arm. = *ἐν ἰσοσίμφ* (or *ἐν ἰσοτιμία*) *ἀγορευόμενοι*. The Paris Codex has *διαγορευόμενοι*. Stobaeus *διαγόμενοι*.

757 A *τοῦτο αὐτὸ δυναμένη*. The Arm. = *τοῦτο οὕτως δ*.

\*757 B. The Arm. omits σφόδρα before ἡμᾶς διαταράττει.

\*757 B Διὸς γὰρ δὴ κρίσις. The Arm. adds ἡ before κρίσις.

757 B σμικρὰ μὲν ἐπαρκεῖ, πᾶν δέ, ὅσον ἂν ἐπαρκέσῃ. The Arm. renders ἐπαρκεῖ in sense of 'immoratur,' as if παραμένει. It is noteworthy that Ficino had some other word than ἐπαρκεῖ, for he renders: "hominibus pauca semper suggeritur: quatenus autem suppetit."

757 D παρωνυμίοισι. The Arm. read ὁμωνύμοισι.

757 E ὅταν γίγνηται. The Arm. = ὅταν οὕτως γίγνηται.

758 A διαγομένη. Ficino renders by "posita." The Arm. answers to γιγνομένη. Perhaps it read διαγενομένη, with the Apographum Vossianum.

758 B. After ἀναγκαῖον the Arm. has δέ, with the Paris MS, where Schanz adopts Ast's conjecture δῆ.

758 D. The Arm. has διὰ, with the Paris Codex, but renders διαλύσεων in the next line, as if it were διακρίσεων 'diiudicationum.'

759 A. The Arm. omits τε after νεωκόρους. Just below it reads εἰσθαι δεῖ, with the Paris MS, where Stob. has εἰλ. δέ δεῖ. In the next section it has ιερῶν, with the MS, where again Stobaeus has ιερέων.

759 D εἴτη δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον. The Arm. has ἔτι for εἴτη.

759 D. After ἐξηγητὰς the Arm. has τρεῖς, with the Paris text and Stobaeus, but in the next line it reads ἐξ αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δέ.

759 D ψῆφος, δοκιμάσαντας. Arm. = ψῆφος τε καὶ δοκιμασία. Perhaps a device of rendering.

759 E. After τοῖς ἱεροῖς the Arm. omits καὶ τεμενῶν.

760 A πόλεως μὲν οὖν αἱ φρουραὶ περὶ ταύτη. The Arm. = πόλεως μὲν οὖν τῆς φρουρᾶς περὶ ταύτη.

\*760 B ὁπότεν αἰρεθέντες. Arm. = ὁπότεν οἱ ῥηθέντες. Fic.: "postquam electi."

760 B νενέμηται. So the Armenian. Eusebius has νενεμήσθω. Just below it retains φυλάρχους where Schanz adopts Eusebius' reading φρουράρχους.

760 C ἐκάστῳ δώδεκα τῶν πέντε. The Paris MS has δωδεκάτω written over what was perhaps δώδεκα τῶν. The Arm. perhaps implies δωδέκατον τῶν.

760 C ὅπως δ' ἂν. The Arm. omits δ', as does also Ficino.

761 C. In this difficult section the Arm. closely reproduces the Paris Codex, except in the following respects: For νάματα πάντα it has τὰ νάματα πᾶσιν. ἄλσος is rendered rather than δάσος. For εἰς αὐτὰ it rather indicates ἐνταῦθα or ἐνταυθοί. Then αὐτοῖς τε

καὶ γεροντικά λουτρά θερμά, omitting τοῖς γέρονσι. This omission may be due to the similarity of sound.

\*761 D ἱατροῦ δέξιν μὴ πᾶν σοφοῦ βελτίονα συχνῶ. The Arm. has δ' ἔξιν, with the Paris Codex, but βελτίονα συχνῶ is rendered as if it were βέλτιον οὐ σπεύδειν 'melius non est urgere.' δέξιν, which Winckelmann would read for δ' ἔξιν, is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον not only in Plato, but very nearly in all Greek literature.

762 B. The Arm. has τούτων πέρι λαγχάνειν, with the apographa.

\*762 B πρῶτον μὲν δὴ. The Arm. omits δὴ, for which Badham conjectured δεῖ.

762 D ἡτιμώσθω. The Arm. has ἡ τιμάσθω. The Paris Codex ἡτιμώσθω. In the next section the Arm. has δεῖ δὴ where Stobaeus read δεῖ δέ, and just below it retains τῷ before καλῶς ἄρξαι, where Stobaeus omitted it.

762 E ἔπειτα αἰ, Stobaeus. ἔπειτα εἰ, Paris Codex. Schanz adopts the former. The Arm. has ἔπειτα simply.

763 D ὁπόσ' ἂν αὐτοῖς πέμπωσι . . . ὅπως . . . κοσμή. The Arm. = eo ut mittant ad eos . . . etenim . . . ornat, as if the Greek were ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς πέμπωσι . . . ὥς . . . κοσμεῖ.

763 E δέκα ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χειροτονηθέντας. This is the Aldine reading. The Paris Codex has δέκα τῶν, and *h* and *a* gives in the margin δέκα ἡ τῶν. The Arm. = δέκα τῶν αὐτῶν χειροτονηθέντας or δ. τούτων χ.

764 C. The Arm. omits τῶν διδασκαλείων, which Ficino retains.

764 D. The Arm. perhaps had κόσμου τε καὶ and just below ἀρρένων τε καὶ, and read οἰκήσεων, with the Paris MS, instead of ἀσκήσεως. Perhaps Ficino read τε in each place: "qui disciplinae praesunt, gymnasiorum doctrinarumque ornatum et discendi ordinem curent: operamque dent, ut tam mares quam feminae in adolescentia honeste ad ista proficiscantur, honeste etiam commorentur."

765 B ἐκ προχειροτονηθέντων δέκα λάχῃ, δοκιμασθεῖς. For δέκα the Arm. suggests τῶν δέκα: "et unus quidem qui ex imprimis electis qui in decusse erant eveniat suffragio designatus." Perhaps the Armenian read τύχῃ also and omitted the comma before δοκιμασθεῖς.

\*765 C [τῶν] προχειροτονηθέντων μὲν εἴκοσι. The Arm. = προχειροτονηθέντες μὲν τῶν εἴκοσι. Schanz brackets τῶν.

765 E καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων. The Arm. omits καὶ before ἀνθρώπων.

\*766 A ἀγριώτατον ὅποσα. The Arm. adds πάντων before ὅποσα: "ferocissimum est omnium quaecunque." F. A. Wolf conjectured τῶν. Ficino renders: "ferocissimum omnium, quae in terris



nascuntur." It is therefore certain that πάντων stood in the text of Ficino and of the Armenian.

766 A ὡν ἕνεκα οὐ δεύτερον οὐδὲ πάρεργον δεῖ τὴν παίδων τροφήν τὸν νομοθέτην εἶναι γίγνεσθαι· πρῶτον δὲ ἀρξασθαι χρεῶν τὸν μέλλοντα αὐτῶν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καλῶς αἰρεθῆναι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅς ἂν ἀριστος εἰς πάντα ᾗ, τοῦτον κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς καθιστάντα προστάττειν ἐπιμελητήν. αἱ κ. τ. λ. Such is the reading of the Paris MS. Hermann and Schanz bracket αἰρεθῆναι, and for προστάττειν ἐπιμελητήν the Aldine read προστάτην καὶ ἐπιμελητήν. The Arm. from πρῶτον = "sed in primis sub dominatione esse necesse est eum qui bene curaturus est et placentem esse eorum qui in urbe sint summorum, ut ita optimus sit ad omne, hunc quidem prae viribus maxime super eos constituentem mandare curare." This rendering suggests that the translator read καὶ ἀρεσθῆναι for αἰρεθῆναι, that he added βελτίστων after πόλει, and read ὅς ἂν as if it were ὡς ἂν. \*It is also certain that for ἐπιμελητήν the translator had ἐπιμεληθῆναι. The τ is a simple corruption of θ, and the terminal αἱ was lost, owing to the αἱ which follows. The sequence of the last clause thus becomes τοῦτον αὐτοῖς καθιστάντα προστάττειν ἐπιμεληθῆναι κατὰ δυν. ὃ, τι μάλ. 'this man he must set over them and bid him supervise to the very best of his ability.' If προστάττειν is retained, ἐπιμεληθῆναι must be adopted. The difficulties of the passage are much reduced if we suppose that καὶ ἀρεσθῆναι is the true reading, instead of αἰρεθῆναι, for we can then render as follows: 'And firstly to begin with, the (legislator) who is going to look after these matters well and to his own satisfaction (lit. and to please himself), must appoint over them whoever is of the citizens in all ways best, and order him to look after them to the very best of his ability.' καὶ ἀρεσθῆναι would easily be corrupted into αἰρεθῆναι. If, however, the added καὶ offends, we may suppose the original reading to have been καλῶς, ὡς ἀρεσθῆναι, and that ὡς was lost after καλῶς. The idea of selection made which is implied in the words which follow, viz. τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅς ἂν ἀριστος ᾗ, would lead a copyist to write αἰρεθῆναι for ἀρεσθῆναι. καὶ ἀρεσθῆναι gives great point to καλῶς. The legislator is to supervise education thoroughly well, and in so doing to satisfy his own high ideal. Liddell and Scott give many instances of ἀρέσκω used in the passive in such a sense, though none of the passive aorist in so early a writer as Plato. In Theag. 127 B we have: εἰ οὗτος . . . ἀρέσκειτο τῇ σῇ συνουσίᾳ. But the same Arm. expression which is in this passage used to render αἰρεθῆναι, is in 767 B employed to

render *ἐλόμενοι*, so that little reliance can be here set on the Version. Ficino omits *αἰρεθῆναι*.

766 B *κάλλιστ' ἂν τῶν περὶ παιδείαν ἄρξαι γενομένων*. Here "delevit Hug" *γενομένων*. The Armenian seems to have read *γενόμενον*, but it is difficult to say what underlies it here.

767 D *θεὸν ὀνόμαστας*. The Arm. follows the Paris Codex in the error: *θεὸν ὀνομάστας*.

767 E *πρὸς τοῦτῳ παθεῖν*. Here the Paris MS has *τούτων* for *τούτῳ*. The Arm. gives *τούτων* also, but omits *πρὸς* before it.

\*768 C *ἡ δικῶν*. So the Paris MS. Stephanus conjectured *δικανικῶν*, following Ficino, who has "iudicialium"; Orelli, *νομικῶν*. The Arm. has *ἡδονῶν* for *ἡ δικῶν*, which suggests as the true reading *ἡδ' ὅλων*.

\*768 C *ταύταις μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τῷ τέλει περιμένειν ἡμᾶς*. Stephanus renders this, the reading of the Paris MS, as follows: "hac itaque iubeantur nos ad finem expectare." Still, *ταύταις* is difficult, having no antecedent but *νόμων θέσις καὶ διαίρεσις*. Stephanus notes: "Affertur tamen et ista: *ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἡ θέσις πρὸς τῷ τέλει περιμένει ἡμᾶς*. The Armenian indicates as the true reading the following: *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρῆσθαι π. τῷ τ. περιμένει ἡμᾶς*. With which cp. Theaet. 173 C *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν (τῶν λόγων) περιμένει ἀποτελεσθῆναι ὅταν ὑμῖν δοκῇ*.

768 D *διοίκησιν*. The Paris MS has *διοικήσεων*, which the Armenian also reflects.

768 E. The Arm. omits *νῦν* before *τελευτῇ*. Stephanus also omitted it.

769 *μέχρι δεῦρ' εἴη τὰ νῦν διαπεπαισμένη*. For *εἴη* the Armenian had *ἴοι*, or more probably *ἦει*. Ficino renders *εἴη*: "huc usque nobis sit perlusus."

\*769 C *γράφαι τε ὥς*. The Arm. certainly had not *ὥς*, and probably not *τε*. Hensde conjectures *τέως* here.

\*769 C *τοῦτ' αὖ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ φαυλότερον ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἴσχειν τοῦ ἐπιόντος αἰὲ χρόνου*. Ficino: "quod non ad peius sed ad melius futuro semper tempore progrediatur." The Arm. = "et hoc quidem non aliquando ad peius sed ad melius progredi pergente tempore." Clearly he read *ἐπιόντος αἰὲ τοῦ χρόνου* and omitted *τοῦ* before *ἐπιόντος*. The resemblance between Ficino and the Version suggests, furthermore, that they both had another reading than *ἴσχειν*.

\*769 C *καταλείψει διάδοχον*. The Arm. = *καταδείξει διάδ.*

769 C. Before *ἐπανορθοῦντε* the Arm. had *τοῦ*, read in the Paris

Codex, or perhaps  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , but not  $\delta\varsigma$ , conjectured by Stephanus, following Ficino: "qui si quid . . . possit."

769 E. Before  $\epsilon\rho\gamma\phi$  the Arm. has  $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron$  or  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ , where the Paris Codex has  $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ , which is impossible. Then in next line  $\tau\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha$ , with the same codex, instead of  $\tau\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha$ . \*In the same line, for  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$  the Arm. has  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ .

770 A. For  $\eta\rho\eta\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  the Arm. has  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ . So the Aldine and certain other editions. But Ficino: "creati sunt."

770 D. The Version adheres to  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ , the reading of the Paris MS, instead of  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ , suggested to Stephanus by the rendering of Ficino: "quisque per totam vitam omni studio tendat." In the difficult passage which follows, the Version exactly reflects the Paris MS.

771 B. The Arm. has  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$   $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .

771 C. After  $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  the Arm. reads  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  instead of  $\delta\eta$ .

771 D  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\phi$   $\tau\phi$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\phi$ . The Arm. omits  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\phi$ , as does Ficino.

\*771 E  $\pi\alpha\rho'$   $\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . For  $\acute{\alpha}$  Ast conjectured  $\eta\acute{\nu}$ , following Ficino: "cui collocat et quam et a quibus." The Arm. omits  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}$ , so that his Greek text was probably without it.

772 A. The Arm. omits  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ .

\*772 B  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\delta\epsilon$ . The Arm. adds  $\acute{o}$  before  $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . In next sentence it has  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , the marginal reading of the Paris MS.

772 B  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$   $\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ . The Arm. has  $\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ , but otherwise reflects the Paris text.

772 D  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda$ . For  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda$  the Version implies  $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  or  $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ , but ? sense.

772 E  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . The Arm. has  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  for  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , with the Paris MS, but \* in the same clause it has  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  where the MS has  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . Schanz adopts  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  from the Apogr. Vatic. and  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  conjecturally.

\*773 C  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$ . The Arm. had either  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$ . The Paris MS has simply  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$ .

773 E. The Version follows the Paris Codex in reading  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  instead of  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  before  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$ , but in same line \* has  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , which is right, instead of  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . Just below it again agrees with the MS in \* reading  $\beta\iota\alpha\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ , against  $\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , which Schanz conjectures.

\*774 B  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . The Arm. has  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ , so substantiating Hermann's conjecture. Ficino, however, read  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ : "atque huius rationem referre quisque debeat."

774 D  $\acute{o}\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\phi$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\phi$ . This reading is given in a later

hand in the margin of the Paris MS, which in its text has *ὀφλήσει* *ὀφειλέτω μὲν τῷ Διί*. The latter, except for omission of *ὀφλήσει*, was the Armenian's reading. Ficino renders *aerario*.

774 D. For *πεντήκοντα* the Arm. has *ἑξήκοντα*.

774 E *πατὴρ μὲν πρῶτην*. This is the conjecture of Stephanus. The Paris MS has *πρῶτον*. So also the Armenian and Ficino: "primum patris."

\*775 B *τῷ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ τοσοῦτου*. The Arm. has *τῷ δ' ἡμίσει ἡμῖν τ. τοσ.* Ficino follows the Paris MS: "alius semiminam."

775 C *καὶ πρὸς τοῖτοις*. The Arm. = "et propter haec." Ficino gives a kindred sense: "quare ut solidus, stabilis et quietus conceptus fiat, non oportet corporibus ebrietate diffusis dare operam liberis."

\*775 C *ἡσυχαιὸν τε ἐν μοίρᾳ*. The Arm. read *ἡσυχαία τε ἐν μ.*

775 D. The Armenian Version adds *τῶν τοιούτων* after *νοσῶδη*.

775 E *ἀρχὴ γὰρ [καὶ θεὸς] ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰδρυμένη σφῆζει πάντα*. Schanz brackets *καὶ θεὸς* and Ast conjectured *ὥς* for *καὶ*. The Arm. renders in following sense: "initium enim deus quum sit hominibus [or hominum] servat omnia," as if he had read *ἀρχὴ γὰρ θεὸς ὡς ἀνθρώποις σ. π.*, omitting *ἰδρυμένη*.

\*775 E *νομίσαντα δ' εἶναι χρὴ τὸν γαμοῦντα τοῖν οἰκίῳ τοῖν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν ἐτέραν οἶον νεοτῶν ἐγγέννησιν καὶ τροφήν*. *ἐγγέννησιν* seems to be wrong in this passage; for—1. it is *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* and occurs elsewhere neither in Plato nor in all Greek literature; 2. it can hardly have the sense of 'birth-place,' which Liddell and Scott give to it; on the other hand, the sense *procreatio*, by which Ast (Lex. Platonicum) renders it, is impossible here, for how can an *οἰκία* be a *procreatio*? 3. Schanz notes of the Paris Codex: "versui ἐτέραν—ἐγγέννη]σιν vitii nota adscripta." The Latin and Armenian versions agree in rendering *οἶον—τροφήν* thus: "quasi ad pullorum generationem educationemque" (the words are Ficino's, but they exactly convey the Armenian also). Therefore, for *ἐγγέννησιν* read *εἰς γέννησιν*. Ficino renders *νομίσαντα δ' εἶναι χρὴ* by "oportet autem . . . sponsum accipere."

776 A *καὶ τὴν οἰκῆσιν καὶ τὴν τροφήν*. The Arm. omits *κ. τ. οἰκῆσιν*, Ficino *κ. τ. τροφήν*.

\*776 E *τῷ γένει*. The Arm. has *τούτῳ τῷ γένει*, which was conjectured by Ast. Ficino has: "servorum generi," which led Stallbaum to conjecture *τῶν δούλων τῷ γένει*.

777 E *δούλους δεῖ*. Athenaeus and Stobaeus read *δεῖ*. The Paris MS has *δ' αἰ*. The Arm. = *αἰ* without *δ'*.

777 B δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ κ. τ. λ. The Armenian departs more than is usual from its customary literalness, and renders in the following sense: ἐπειδὴ δῆλον ὡς δύσκολόν ἐστι θρέμμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τὸ εἰθίσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν διάρῃσιν, τὸ δοῦλον δὲ ἔργῳ διορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην οὐδαμῶς εὐχρηστον (? εὐθικτον) ἐθέλειν κ. τ. λ. The Paris Codex has ἐθέλειν.

\*777 C περιδίνων. The Arm. renders πειρατῶν, which is in the margin of the Paris MS and is rendered also by Ficino.

777 E ἐπιτάξιν. The Arm. = ἐπιτάξει. Ficino: "imperium."

778 A μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις. The Arm. omits οἰκέταις. So perhaps Ficino: "neque iocus ullus cum ipsis, seu feminis seu masculis habeatur."

\*778 D τὰ δὲ καὶ τοιούτων. The Arm. renders καὶ as if it were ὡς. So also Ficino: "partim quidem tanquam de rebus sacris iudicaturi, partim vero tanquam iudicantium Deorum ibi sint delutra."

779 B ἕως ἂν μένῃ. The Arm. has μὲν ἦ, with the Paris MS.

779 D ἐπινομοθετοῦντων. The Arm. renders as if νομοθετοῦντων or ἐπινομοθετοῦντων.

\*780 A ὅσον ἀνάγκη. The Arm. omits these words. Ast would read ὅσον μὴ ἂν.

780 C τὸ νόμμον καὶ κατέστη δῆ. The Arm. = δ καὶ κατέστη δῆ.

\*780 C ὀλίγου τε ποιοῦν. The Arm. = ὀλίγον τι ποιοῦν. Badham would omit τε. Just below the Arm. has ποιοῦν τα, with the Paris MS, where Schanz adopts Ast's conjecture, πονοῦντα.

780 D οὐ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν πέρι. The Arm. takes πέρι either before or immediately after οὐ.

\*780 E ὅπερ εἶπον is read by the Armenian. The Paris MS is corrupt here and has ἡπόρει. A very late hand adds εἶπον in the margin, and Schanz adopts this reading.

781 A ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ ἄλλως γένος. Here the Paris MS has ἄλλο for ἀλλ' ὁ. The Arm. also has ἄλλο, but adds ὁ immediately after, before λαθραιότερον.

781 C δεδουκός. The Arm. = ignavia, which points to the reading δεδοικός given marginally in the Paris MS. \*In the same section the Arm. has ὅπερ εἶπον, which Schanz reads for οἷπερ, read in the Paris MS.

781 D ἐὰν ὑμῖν. The Arm. reads ἡμῖν.

\*781 E τοσούτον χρεῶν. Here the Paris MS has the impossible reading χρόνον for χρεῶν. The Arm. = χρεῶν or χρή, which is added in the margin of the Paris MS.

\*782 D ἀ[τ]' εἶρηκας. The Arm. = ἀτινα εἶρηκας. Winckelmann conjectures ἀττ'. Schanz, following Bekker, "delevit τ'."

783 B-D. From *παίδων δὲ δὴ γένεσιν* down to *τὰ νῦν διακελευει* is omitted in the Armenian.

784 C *δέκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλομένους, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἷδε [τάξωσι], τοῖτοις ἐμμένειν.* The general sense is clear—namely, that the parties who desire a divorce are in certain cases to choose ten of the law-guardians as referees and abide by their decision. The Paris MS has *τάξουσι*, but *ου* in *rasura*. “Delevit Hermann.” Winckelmann conjectures *ἂ οἷς . . . τάξουσι*. The readings which the Armenian translator and Ficino had are not clearly definable; but the Arm. probably had the same text as we have in the Paris MS. I would suggest *ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἷδε τάξωσιν* as the true reading. The sense will then be: ‘they shall choose ten of the guardians and abide by that course, whatever these (guardians) ordain to the parties who referred to them.’ *οἷς* is attracted into the case of *τοῖτοις*, its antecedent; but it should be *ἂ* and depend on *τάξωσι*. *ἐπιτρέπειν* is usual in the sense of to refer an issue to a judge or arbitrator. Cp. Laws 946 and 936 A.

\*784 D *τῶνδε· μήτε γάρ.* The Arm. omits *τῶνδε* and *γάρ*. So does Ficino. The joint omission can hardly be accidental.

\*784 D *γενέσεις τῶν παίδων.* So the Armenian, confirming Hermann’s conjecture. The Paris Codex has *γενέσε . . . ων*.

784 E. The Armenian renders as if the Greek ran: *ἐὰν ἀλλότριός τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κοινωνῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ γυναικί.*

785 A *τότε τεθέντας.* The Arm. and Ficino omit *τότε*. Just below the Arm. omits *ὥς* and has *παραγεγράφθω*, with the Paris MS, where Orelli conjectures *παραγεγράφθαι*.

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### III.—THE *ie*-SOUND IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES IN ENGLISH.

There were, as is well known, two distinct sounds of long *e* in Anglo-Saxon, and these two sounds continued in Middle English. That these two sounds of *ē* were quite clearly differentiated during the entire Middle English period, and that not until Modern English times were they confused under the common phonetic *ī*-sound, are facts equally well known. The graphic representation of the two sounds in question did, however, differ in Anglo-Saxon times, but in Middle English times the difference is not so clearly indicated by the symbols employed. For example, in early Middle English, in the Southern and Kentish dialects the open *ē* (*ĕ*) was graphically represented by *ea*, as a rule, occasionally by *e*, and the close *ē* by *eo* and *e*; in the Midland dialects, the open *ē* by *æ* and *ea* generally and by *e* occasionally, the close *ē* by *eo* and *e*, while in the Northern dialect no distinction in writing was made between the open and close *ē*, both being represented by *e* and *ee* indifferently. It ought perhaps to be said, however, that the Kentish was more tenacious of the old diphthongs than the Southern dialect was, and so preserved them much more faithfully. In late Middle English, as, for example, the dialect of Chaucer, we find generally the simplified forms used, *e*, *ee*; and occasionally *ie* for the close *ē* occurs, and *ea*, though very rarely, for the open *ē*. Later, about the 16th century, an attempt was made to distinguish in writing between the open and close *ē*'s, which in late Middle English were of course much confused in writing, and so *ee* came to be restricted to the representation of the old close *ē*, while *ea* (a traditional Southern spelling) was used to represent the open sound. This is the rule, to which there are of course exceptions. Witness the following: *dear*, from AS. *dēor* (close diphthong); *dreary*, from AS. *drēorig*; Palsgrave's<sup>1</sup> *beere* (= Mod. English *bier*), from AS. *bēar*; Palsgrave's *leed* (= Mod. English *lead*), from AS. *lēad*; Palsgrave's *heed* (= Mod. English *head*), from AS. *hēafod*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Palsgrave was one of the early orthographists. Cf. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, I, p. 77.

Now, in addition to the symbol *ee* used to represent the close *ē*-sound, still another occurred sporadically, viz. *ie*, which survives in a goodly number of words in present English, as *achieve*, *achievement*, *believe*, *belief*, *bier*, *biestings*, *brief*, *ciel*, *chief* (and its compounds), *fief*, *field*, *fierce* (and its compounds), *fiend*, *friend*, *grief*, *grieve*, *lief*, *liege*, *piece*, *pier*, *pierce*, *priest*, *relief*, *relieve*, *reprieve*, *shield*, *shriek*, *siege*, *sieve*, *tierce*, *wield*, *yield*, etc. The object of this paper is to investigate the origin and history of this graphic representative of the close *ē*-sound in accented syllables.

The origin of the sound denoted by the symbol *ie* must be considered first of all. We know that there existed in Anglo-Saxon the two diphthongs *ie* and *ȳe*, of which, like all AS. diphthongs, the first element bore the stress. Now, these diphthongs are unlike the AS. diphthongs *ēa* and *ēo* in that the latter have correspondents in the Primitive Germanic *au* and *eu*, while *ȳe* and *ie* have no such correspondents, but have their origin in Anglo-Saxon. They have therefore arisen from the phonetic laws which were operative in early Anglo-Saxon. In fact, both of the diphthongs in question are really characteristic peculiarities of a certain dialect of Anglo-Saxon, viz. early West Saxon. In the regular WS. texts *ȳe* and *ie* are of rather rare occurrence, having been replaced at an early period by unstable *ȳ* and *i*, which in turn were replaced later by *ȳ* and *y*. These last are characteristic peculiarities of late West Saxon. Cf. Sievers' Grammar of Old English, trans. by Cook, §41. But notwithstanding the fact that *ȳe* and *ie* are peculiar to West Saxon, they yet occur sporadically elsewhere, as, for instance, in the Epinal and Cambridge Glosses: *fierst*, *orfiermae*, *georwierdid*, *hunhierī*, *aliesat*, *ȳiendi*. See Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 496, where these forms are collected, with references to the glosses contained in the same text. Compare further F. Dieter, Ueber Sprache und Mundart der ältesten englischen Denkmäler, der Epinaler und Cambridge Glossen, §§24, 26.

A.—Short *ie* in Anglo-Saxon arose from the following sources (Sievers' Grammar, §42):

1. From the *i*-umlaut of *ea*, the breaking of Germanic *a*: *bieldeo* 'boldness,' from AS. *beald*, cf. OHG. *bald*, *beldi*; *cwielman* 'to kill, to torture,' from AS. *cwealm*, cf. OS. *quelmian*, *qualm*; *dierne* 'hidden,' cf. AS. *dearnunga*, OS. *derni*, OHG. *tarni*;



*iergðo* 'laziness,' from AS. *earg* + suffix *iþō*, cf. OHG. *arg*; *ierming* 'wretch,' *iermðu* 'misery,' from AS. *earm* + *iþō* (Kluge, N. S. §122); *ieldra*, *ieldesta* 'older, oldest,' *ieldu* 'age,' all from AS. *eald* 'old'; *hliehhan* 'to laugh,' cf. Goth. *hlahjan*, OHG. *hlahhan*; *sliht* 'battle' (*i*-stem), cf. the form *sleahht*, OHG. *slahta*; *wielisc* 'foreign,' from AS. *wealh*, cf. OHG. *walhisc*, *walh*. So likewise 3d sing. *wiexð*, *slichð*, *ðwiehð*, *wielð*, etc., from *weaxan*, *slean*, *ðwean*, *weallan*, etc.

2. From the *i*-umlaut of *eo*, breaking of Germ. *e*: *afierran* 'to remove,' from AS. *feorr*, cf. OS. *ferr*, OHG. *fairra*; *hierde* 'herdsman' (*jo*-stem), from AS. *heord*, cf. OHG. *herta*, Goth. *hairda*; *ierre* 'angry' (*jo*-stem), cf. OHG. *irri*, Goth. *airzeis* 'astray'; *fierst* 'time,' with metathesis of *r*, from *frist*, cf. OS., OHG. *frist*; *liehtan* 'to make light, to lighten,' from *leoht*, *lioht*, cf. Goth. *leihts*; *wierðe* 'worthy,' from AS. *weorð*, cf. OHG. *werd*, Goth. *wairps*; *wiercan* 'to work,' from AS. *weorc*, cf. OS. *werk*, Goth. *waurkjan*. So belongs here the comp. *wiersa* 'worse,' cf. Goth. *wairsiza*.

3. From the *i*-umlaut of *ea* after palatals: *ciefes* 'concubine,' from *\*ceafis*, *\*cæfis*, cf. OHG. *kebisa*; *ciele* 'cold,' from *\*ceali*, *\*cæli*, cf. Goth. *kalds*; *giest* 'guest,' from *\*geasti* (*i*-stem), *\*gæsti*, cf. Goth. *gasts*; *scieppan* 'to create,' from *\*sceappjan* for *\*scæppjan*, cf. Goth. *skapjan*. So, also, *cietel* 'kettle,' *sciell* 'shell,' belong here.

4. From *e*, Germ. *e*, after palatals, as *sc'*, *c'*, *g'*: *giefan* 'to give,' *giefu* 'gift,' from *\*gefān*, *\*gefū*, cf. OHG. *geban*, *geba*; *giellan* 'to yell,' from *\*gellan*, cf. OHG. *gellan*; *gielġan* 'to yield,' *gielġ* 'offering,' from *\*geldan*, cf. OS. *geldan*, *geld*; *scieran* 'to cut,' from *\*sceran*, cf. OHG. *sceran*. So belong here *gietan* 'to obtain,' *gielþ* 'boasting,' *gielpan* 'to boast,' *gied* 'song,' *sciold* 'shield,' etc., from *\*getan*, *\*gelpan*, *\*ged*, *\*sceld*, etc.

5. From palatal umlaut of *eo*, the breaking of Germ. *e* before *h* + consonant: *cnieht* 'servant,' from older *cneohht*, cf. OHG. *kneht*; *riht* 'right,' from older *reoht*, cf. OHG. *reht*; *siex* 'six,' from older *seox*, cf. OHG. *sehs*; *wriexl* 'change,' from older *wreoxl*.

6. From a rare form of the *o*, *u*-umlaut of *i*: *siendum*, pl. of verb *bēon* 'to be,' regular form *sind*; *ðiessum*, dat. of pronoun *ðēs* 'this,' usual form *ðissum*.

It will be seen, therefore, that *ie* does not represent an original Germanic diphthong, but has its origin entirely in Anglo-Saxon.

It has been produced mostly by umlaut and the influence of palatals, and the original vowels which, under the operation of these phonological laws in Anglo-Saxon, have generally given rise to *ie* are Germ. *e* and *a*.

*B.*—Long *ie* in Anglo-Saxon arose from the following sources:

1. From the *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, which represents Primitive Germanic *au*, the open diphthong; *biecnan* 'to beckon,' from substantive *bēacen*; *bietel* 'beetle, mall,' from \**bēatil*, cf. AS. *bēatan*; *diegel* 'secret,' *diegelness*, *diegellice*, etc., cf. OHG. *tougali*; *geliēfan* 'to believe,' AS. *gelēafa*, cf. Goth. *galaubjan*; *hiehest* 'highest,' superl. of *hiēah*, Goth. *hauhs* (so *hiera*, comp.); *hieran* 'to hear,' cf. Goth. *hausjan*; *lieg* 'flame' (*i*-stem), cf. OHG. *loug*; *nieten* 'small animal,' from *nēat* 'cattle' (for diminutive suffix *-ina* see Kluge, N. S., §57); *nied* 'need' (*i*-stem), cf. Goth. *naups*, ON. *nauð(r)*; *iewan* 'to show,' beside *ēawan*, cf. Goth. *augjan*, *augō*. Of course the 3d sing. of the ablaut verbs *hēawan*, *hlēapan*, *bēatan* etc., *hiewð* etc., belong here.

2. From the *i*-umlaut of *ēo*, which represents Primitive Germanic *eu*, the close diphthong: *strienan* 'to obtain,' from *gestriēon* 'possession,' cf. OHG. *gistriunen*; *getriewe* 'faithful, true,' from *triēow* 'faith'; *diestre* 'gloomy,' from *ðēostru*, *ðēostor* 'darkness,' cf. OS. *thiustri*; *hehtan* 'to illuminate,' from *lēoht* 'light' (see Sievers' Gr., §100). Also belong here theoretically the 3d sing. of verbs of ablaut class II, as *cīest*, from *cēosan*, etc., etc.

NOTE.—The *ie* in *friend*, *fiend*, dat., nom. pl. of *frēond*, *fēond*, represents the *i*-umlaut of an *ēo* which is the result of contraction; cf. Sievers' Gram., §114.

The *ie* in *cīese* has arisen from *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, developed from *ē*, Lat. *ā*, through the influence of the palatal *c*, thus: *cīese*, from \**cēasi*, from \**cāsi*, from Vulg. Lat. *cāsius*. Cf. Sievers' Gram., §75, 2; Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 309; Pogatscher, Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen, Quellen und Forschungen, 64, p. 212.

Sporadically *ie* occurs for Germ. *i*, as in *iedel*, *onhriene*, *riee*, *tiema*, etc., for regular *idel*, *onhriene*, *riee*, *tiema*, etc. Cf. Cosijn, Altwestsächsische Grammatik, §70.

It will be readily observed that *ie*, like *ie*, does not represent an original Germanic diphthong, but has arisen solely from the

operation of the laws of Anglo-Saxon phonology. This diphthong has even fewer sources than the short *ie* has. The principal law or process that has operated to give rise to *ie* is *i*-umlaut. The two sounds which by this process of umlaut have produced *ie* are the AS. open and close diphthongs *ēa* (= Germ. *au*) and *ēo* (= Germ. *eu*).

As to the quality of the diphthong *ie*, it is difficult to say just what its phonetic value was. Of course, it is well known that this early WS. diphthong appeared in non-WS. texts as *ē*, a close vowel, and that even in late WS. it was reduced to a monophthong. According to Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, §474, this monophthong was an open sound. It does not, however, seem perfectly clear that in all cases this sound was open. At all events, surely the *ie* arising from the *i*-umlaut of the diphthong *ēo* was not originally an open sound, for the diphthong *ēo* was certainly close (the *ē* being Sweet's mid-front-narrow, long), and the *i* was also close (Sweet's high-front-narrow), and from the very nature of umlaut, being as it is a kind of imperfect assimilation, an open sound could hardly have resulted. It is to be borne in mind, of course, that the AS. diphthongs were all falling diphthongs—that is, the stress fell on the first element and not on the second—a fact which would speak for the close quality of the diphthong in question. If, however, we should grant that an open sound resulted from the *i*-umlaut of *ēo*, we must assume that in its subsequent development it was narrowed, because it was later reduced to a monophthong represented first by *ī* and then by *ȳ*, both close sounds. There was probably a difference between the pure AS. *ī*-sound and the so-called unstable *ī*-sound, and if with Sweet we assume the regular AS. *ī* to have been close, the unstable *ī* arising from the monophthonging of *ie* was perhaps somewhat rounded. The fact, too, that *ie* as a rule gave rise to a close sound in Middle English is presumptive evidence for close quality in Anglo-Saxon. The *ie* arising from AS. *ēa*, open diphthong, may have been open originally. But since two *ie*-sounds cannot be demonstrated for Anglo-Saxon, we must assume that the *ie* from *ēo*, and the *ie* from *ēa*, were of the same quality in West Saxon. What has been said of *ie* applies equally well also to *ie*.

In Middle English the problem before us assumes a different aspect. We here have to deal with the question of French influence in the history of *ie*. Under the general tendency of all

AS. diphthongs towards simplification in Middle English, the few WS. *ie*-diphthongs that remained would naturally be reduced to monophthongs, so that one might expect this to be the end of *ie*. But such is not the case. As a matter of fact, *ie* occurs with comparative frequency in one of the Middle English dialects, the Kentish, and often with the apparent value of close *ē*. The Kentish, it will be remembered, unlike the other ME. dialects, generally preserved the old AS. diphthongs. Now, we know that the old Kentish dialect did not exhibit the diphthongs *ie* and *ȳe*, so that the *ie* which occurs in this dialect in Middle English must be traced to another source. In a word, then, the AS. (WS.) *ie*, *ie* were simplified into *i*, *i*, which later were represented by *ȳ*, *y*, and here the old WS. diphthongs *ȳe*, *ie* end. But this same symbol is found in Middle English, where, however, it is used to represent the AS. close *ēo* generally, and occasionally other sounds. In Middle English in general it has the value of a monophthong.

In order to show more clearly the sphere and use of this *ie* in Middle English, I have examined representative texts of the several ME. dialects, the results of which examination now follow.

#### *Kentish Dialect.*

In the early Kentish, especially in the Kentish sermons,<sup>1</sup> occur the following forms in which *ie* represents AS. *ēo*: *bien* (AS. *bēon* 'to be'), pp. 26, 33; *bieð* (plural), pp. 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, etc.; *biedh* (idem), p. 31; *bie*, pp. 31, 34, etc.; *dieule* (AS. *dēofol* 'devil'), p. 28; *forbiet* (AS. *forbiot*), p. 32; *niedes*, *nyede* (AS. *nēod* 'need,' WS. *nied*), p. 32, etc.

In the later Kentish, especially in the Ayenbite of Inwyt, occur the following forms: *viend* (AS. *fēond* 'enemy'), p. 158; *hier* (AS. *hēr* 'here'), pp. 146, 150, 160, etc.; *fiebleness* (OFr. *fioble* 'feeble,' Anglo-Norman *feble*), pp. 148, 157, etc.; *niede* (AS. *nēod*, WS. *nied*), pp. 142, 149, 155, 164, etc.; *niedvoll*, p. 151; *dyepe-nesse* (AS. *dēop* 'deep'), pp. 105, 211; *dyepe*, p. 211, etc.; *piestre* (AS. *ðēostre* 'dark,' WS. *ðiestre*), p. 159; *piesterness*, p. 201; *piesterliche*, p. 244; *piefðe* (AS. *ðēof* 'thief'), pp. 9, 38, 192; *tiene* (AS. *tēon* 'anger'), pp. 31, 66, 124, etc.; *pyeve* (pl. *pyeves*), pp. 37, 263; *wyefde* (AS. *wēofod* 'altar'), pp. 14, 236, etc.; *wryeð* (AS. *wrēon* 'to cover'), pp. 61, 175; *hiere*, *hyere* (AS. *hēran*, WS.

<sup>1</sup> Old English Miscellany, ed. by R. Morris, E. E. T. S. 1872.

*hieran* 'to hear'), pp. 20, 54, 72, 122, 209, 210, 257, etc.; *chiere* (OFr. *chere*, *chiere* 'cheer'), pp. 155, 193; *chiese* (AS. *cēosan* 'to choose'), pp. 45, 86, 93, 101, etc.; *chiewe* (AS. *cēowan* 'to chew'), p. 111; *clier*, *clierliche*, etc. (OFr. *cler* 'clear'), pp. 24, 78, 88, 104, 155, 159, 167, 174, 243, etc.; *dyere* (AS. *dēor* 'dear'), pp. 36, 68, 79, 123, 133, 194, etc.; *liese* (AS. *forlēosan* 'to lose'), p. 214; *lierne*, *lierni* (AS. *leornan*, late WS. *lēornan* 'to learn'), pp. 73, 209; *zyeð*, *sieð*, etc. (AS. *sēon* 'to see'), pp. 16, 150, 231, 244, etc. So also *lief* (AS. *lēof*), *grief* (OFr. *grefe*, *grief*), *siege* (OFr. *siege*), etc.

It is very obvious that the Kentish *ie*, as the above list shows, represents in most cases AS. *ēo*, occasionally AS. *ē* (WS. *ie*), and often OFr. *ie* or *e*, all of which in Middle English are close sounds. The quality of this *ie* in Kentish seems therefore close.

#### *Southern Dialect.*

In this dialect the text examined was the Ancren Riwe. The *ie* was found to occur very rarely. Examples are: *wrien* (AS. *wrion* 'to cover'), pp. 58, 84, 86; *unwrien*, p. 328; *iwrien*, p. 388; *drien* (AS. *drēogan* 'to endure'), pp. 80, 112, 134, 348, 358, 376, 430; *hien* (AS. *higian* 'to hasten'), pp. 92, 326, 368; *lien* (AS. *licgan* 'to lie'), p. 290; *wieles* (AS. *wigel* 'deceit'), pp. 92, 224, 268; *wielare* ('deceiver'), p. 106; *stien* (AS. *stigan*), pp. 356, 362, 400; *nie*, *niepe* (AS. *nigēðe* 'ninth'), pp. 9, 198, 236. So *twies*, pp. 70, 324; *pries*, p. 324; *aspieden* (OFr. *espier* 'to lie in wait'), p. 196; *crie* (Fr. *crier* 'to cry'), p. 136; *diete* (Fr. *diet*), p. 112.

This *ie* is of a different character from that already discussed which occurs in Kentish. This *ie* is really, in most cases, *i + e*; that is to say, the *e* is no part of a diphthong, but is simply the *e* of the final syllable, and the *i* represents AS. *i*. So, then, we may say that the early Southern dialect does not exhibit *ie* as a representative of the AS. *ēo*, or *ē*, or of the Old French diphthong *ie*. The absence of *ie* as representing the OFr. diphthong *ie* is very remarkable, inasmuch as French influence is so very patent in the spelling of the Ancren Riwe.

#### *East Midland Dialect.*

The text examined in this dialect was of course the Ormulum, and, strange to say, it exhibits no cases of *ie*. The AS. *ēo* is here preserved in the unsimplified form, or is represented by the simplified *e*.

*West Midland Dialect.*

This dialect stands about on the same footing as the East Midland in regard to *ie*. Layamon, the text used, exhibits few or no cases of *ie* for AS. *eo*, or the OFr. diphthong *ie*. Two or three cases of *ie* were found, as *biere* (= *bore*, past tense of *bear*), B, p. 106; *cwiene* (= *queen*), B, l. 4379; but since both of these occur in the later MS, which is confessedly corrupt, we may say that the West Midland dialect does not exhibit *ie*.

*Northern Dialect.*

The texts examined in this dialect are not coeval with those examined in the other dialects. They are of a later date. One of these, the Cursor Mundi, exhibits no cases of *ie* except a very few unsatisfactory cases, such as *ie* in *Gabriel*, *lien*, *pier* (= *their*), l. 5938, and *squier*, ll. 7717, 7763. Instead of *ie* the Cursor Mundi, especially the Cotton and Goettingen MSS, often exhibits *ei*, which sometimes appears to be used where we should expect *ie*. Examples are: *yeir* (C.), ll. 6893, 6917; *beist* (C.), l. 6781; *preist* (G.), ll. 6805, 6947; *weild* riming with *yeild* (C.), l. 6741; *feild* riming with *yeild* (C., G.), ll. 6761, 7464; *freind* (G.), ll. 7097, 7101, (C., G.) l. 9651; *weird*, *fleirand*, *yeit*, *biheild*, *eild*, *forleit*, *sceind*, *meind*, *keiser*, etc.

The other text read is Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, which does exhibit a few cases of *ie*. They are as follows: *griefe* riming with *lyfe*, l. 749, riming with *gyfe*, ll. 4260, 6932; *lyefe* riming with *grefe*, l. 4352, with *gryefe*, ll. 4645, 7436, 8153; *mysbelyefe* riming with *griefe*, l. 5520; *gryeved* riming with *lyved*, l. 5615.

These few sporadic occurrences of *ie*, if they are really not due to Southern influence, are entirely insufficient to establish a rule. We may therefore say that *ie* was not used in the Northern dialect.

The result of the foregoing investigation of the several ME. dialects shows, then, quite conclusively that in early Middle English the use of *ie* was confined almost exclusively to the Kentish dialect, where it generally, though not invariably, represented the close *i*-sound. The expression 'early Middle English' is employed advisedly, because in late Middle English the symbol *ie* ceased to be confined to the Kentish and became of quite frequent occurrence elsewhere, as, for example, in the dialect of the Old English Homilies<sup>1</sup> of the 13th century and in Chaucer. The Homilies, which probably belong to the South-

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society, 1872.

east Midland and show some Kentish influence, exhibit such forms as the following: *bieð* 'be,' *bien*, *ðiesternesne*, *bihield*, *giede* 'went,' *pieð* 'thrive,' *hielden*, *criepeð*, *liefe*, *lief*, *dievel*, *hie* 'they,' *rieweð* 'rue,' *forgiet*, *hie* 'she,' *biwiep*, *wiep* 'wept,' *wield*, *gier* 'year,' *gieve*, *nicht*, etc.

To Chaucer, because of his obvious importance in the consideration of the problem before us, and in order to prove clearly the value of this *ie* as phonetic close *ē*, it has seemed advisable to give a more detailed consideration. The following result of Chaucer's<sup>1</sup> use of *ie* is therefore given:—

*believe* rimes with *repreve*; cf. Wyfe of Bathes Tale, l. 322.

*matiere* " *heere*; cf. Man of Lawes Tale, l. 650.

*matiere* " *heere*; cf. Clerke of Oxford's Tale, Prol., l. 58.

*meschief* " *preef*; cf. Prol. Wyfe of Bathes Tale, l. 248.

*meschief* " *preef*; cf. Prol. Maunciples Tale, l. 77.

*meschief* " *preef*; cf. Chanounes Yemannes T., l. 368.

*hiewe* " *trewe*; cf. Freres T., l. 322; Prol. Pard. T., l. 134.

*meschief* " *greef*; cf. Sompnoures Tale, l. 490.

*matiere* " *frere*; cf. Sompnoures Tale, ll. 520, 588.

*hiere* " *cheere*; cf. Clerke of Oxford, Prol., l. 8.

*hiere* " *cheere*; cf. Prol. Monkes Tale, l. 35.

*matiere* " *deere*; cf. Clerke Ox. T. II 124; March. T., l. 440.

*hiere* " *manere*, *deere*; cf. Clerke Ox. T. II 138, III 141.

*matiere* " *manere*; cf. Canterbury Tales, end.

*squiere* " *sopere*; cf. Frank. Tale, l. 473.

*hiere* " *heere*; cf. Doctor of Phisikes Tale, l. 176.

*matiere* " *heere*; cf. Prol. Monk. T., l. 96.

*matiere* " *heere*; cf. Prol. Pars. T., l. 36.

*meschief* " *agreef*; cf. Nonne Prest. T., l. 73.

*meschief* " *theef*; cf. Mauncp. T., l. 130.

*piere* " *manere*; cf. Prol. Personnes T., l. 68.

*achieved* " *agreved*; cf. Rom. of Rose, l. 2050.

*hiene* " *betwene*; cf. Minor Poems, p. 291.

*agryefe* " *mischief*, *lief*; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 583-6.

*whiel* " *stiel*; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 295.

*lief* " *grief*; cf. Tr. and Cr. III 814.

*wierdes* " *hierdes*; cf. Tr. and Cr. III 570.

*stiel* " *whiel*; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 297.

*hiere* " *chiere*; cf. Frankl. Tale, l. 618.

*hiere* " *matiere*; cf. Nonne Prest. T., ll. 431, 442.

<sup>1</sup> The edition upon which text this investigation is based is Morris's.

In addition to the above examples of *ie* in rime, some instances of its use in the body of the verse may be cited as showing, not its phonetic quality, but its sphere and source. Examples are: *friend*, *friendly*, cf. Dream, 825, 1075, 1141, 2093, etc.; *shield*, cf. Tr. and Cres. IV 431, Flower and Leaf, 255, etc.; *coverchief*, cf. Wyfe of Bathes T., 162; *frie* (AS. *fréo*), cf. Wyfe of Bathes T., 488; *stiel*, cf. Tr. and Cres. IV 431; *riede*, cf. House of Fame, III 131; *fioble*, cf. Tr. and Cres. V 1222; *lief*, *lieve*, cf. Tr. and Cres. III 596, 820 (see Nonne Prest. T., l. 257, etc.); *chiere*, cf. Clerkes T. III 87; *fiers*, *fiersly*, cf. Tr. and Cres. III 1711, V 1820, etc.; *matier*, cf. March. Tale, l. 273; *chierle*, cf. Frankl. Tale, 153; *grief*, cf. Tr. and Cres., l. 813; *siege*, cf. Dream, l. 457, etc.

Now, first of all it should perhaps be said that *ie* does not occur very frequently in Chaucer, or in any other ME. text, for that matter. The rimes show clearly that Chaucer regarded *ie* merely as the equivalent of close *ē*, and not as a diphthong. The symbol *ie* does not stand for the open *ĕ*. It is used to represent generally AS. *eo*, as in *friend*, *whiel*, *lief*, etc., or WS. *ie* (non-WS. *ē*), as in *stiel*, *beliefe*, *believe*, *hiere* 'hear,' *hiere* 'here,' *shield*, etc., or OFr. *e* (from Latin *a*), as in *pier*, *clier*, etc.; OFr. *ie* (which in Anglo-Norman was reduced to the monophthong *ē*), as in *chief*, *grief*, *grieve*, *matiere*, *chiere*, etc. Now, all of these correspondents, it is a well-established fact, were close sounds, so that the conclusion is irresistible that *ie* in Chaucer had the phonetic value of close *ē*.

The question now naturally arises, How came it that Chaucer used the symbol with the phonetic value of close *ē* when, as has been shown, Orm., Layamon, and the author of Ancren Riwe employed it rarely or not at all? In other words, What is the source of Chaucer's *ie*? Is it due to Kentish influence or to French influence? It has been shown that *ie* occurred very frequently in Kentish, in both early and late Middle English times. In early Kentish *ie* doubtless had the value of a diphthong, but in late Kentish it probably lost this diphthongal quality. The *i* in early Kentish at least seems to have been regarded as a kind of glide which was developed before the old diphthong *eo*, and occasionally even before *ea* and *e*, as in *ihierde*, *hyer*, etc. Sweet (cf. History of English Sounds, §§659, 683) thinks that this *ie* or *je* points to an intermediate *jæ*. Now, it is quite possible that this *ie* is the source of Chaucer's *ie*. Of course, words introduced at a later date from the French may



very well have reinforced the native stock. When we consider the facts that this *ie* is confined almost exclusively to the Kentish dialect and to that of Chaucer, and that the Ancren Riwe, which shows a decidedly French coloring in its spelling, exhibits few or no cases of the *ie* (= phonetic *ē*), and that the OFr. diphthong *ie*<sup>1</sup> was gradually during the 12th century reduced to the monophthong *e*,<sup>2</sup> the theory of French influence appears obviously untenable. On the theory of French influence we could explain very well words of French origin exhibiting *ie*, but this theory seems entirely inadequate to the explanation of words of pure English origin, such as *lief*, *friend*, *hier*, *stiel*, *whiel*, *hierd*, *weird*, *belief*, *believe*, *shield*, *wield*, etc. The facts in the case seem, then, to warrant the theory of Kentish influence reinforced by French.

We have thus far shown that the old AS. *ie* was reduced to a monophthong in late West Saxon and early Middle English; that another *ie* arose in the Kentish dialect from the combination of the glide *i* (*j*) with AS. *eo*, *ē*, etc.; that this *ie*, which in late Kentish probably lost its diphthongal quality, must have been extended to the dialect of Chaucer, but only with the value of close *ē*; and that this *ie* was in all probability reinforced by the OFr. *ie* in words introduced from the Continent in late ME. times. It now remains, first, to show somewhat in detail that this occasional way of writing close *ē* continued from the 14th century on and did not fall entirely into disuse, and, secondly, to indicate briefly the subsequent history of this *ie*, which is really identical with that of close *ē*. Attention is drawn to the first point especially, because of what appears to be a somewhat misleading statement occurring in Ellis's Early English Pronunciation (cf. p. 104). He says: "*ie* in the middle of words was employed in the 14th century indiscriminately with *e* or *ee*, but not very frequently. In the 15th and 16th centuries it had fallen out of use, though we find it fully established with the modern sound of (*ii*) in the 17th century, in which is included also the word *friend*, as already noted (p. 80)." Now, these words are a trifle infelicitous, because the natural inference is that *ie* was

<sup>1</sup> See Schwan, Grammatik des Altfranzösischen, §§76, 91.

<sup>2</sup> See Kluge, Geschichte der englischen Sprache (Pauls Grundriss, I, p. 817, §33); Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England (Französische Studien, V 2), pp. 84, 146 seq.; and A. Sturmfels, Der altfranzösische Vokalismus im Mittelenglischen bis zum Jahre 1400 (Anglia, VIII, p. 201 seq.).

not at all used during the 15th and 16th centuries. It must be borne in mind, of course, that *ie* even in the 14th-century texts never occurred frequently; it was only of sporadic occurrence at best. We cannot, therefore, expect to find it in the 15th and 16th centuries occurring with anything like regularity, for during this period English spelling was in a very chaotic condition; it was entirely unsettled and there was no norm. It was not until the 17th century that English spelling became fixed and crystallized, and then it was that the vacillating *ie* was established. An examination of some of the texts of the period in question, however, warrants the conclusion that *ie* did not fall entirely into disuse, but was employed—though rarely, of course—just as in the 14th century.

For the 15th century the texts examined are: An Old English Chronicle of the Reign of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI,<sup>1</sup> which was written about 1471, Lydgate, and Caxton's translations. In the former occur such examples of *ie* as the following: *chief*, pp. 22, 28, 42, 48, 66 (year 1441), 65 (year 1450), 80, etc.; *myschief*, pp. 47, 60 (year 1450); *liege*, p. 71 (year 1454); *liegeman*, pp. 82, 86, 98; *relief*, p. 88 (year 1460); *chiefteyne*, p. 43; *chiere* (= *cheer*), p. 41; *pieris* (= *peers*), p. 18; *archiers*, pp. 36, 44, etc.; *matiers*, p. 89; *squier*, pp. 22, 29, 35, 36, 58, 63, 66, 67, 89, 107, etc.; *soudiers*, p. 39; *aliened*, p. 68; *lieutenant*, p. 41, etc. Lydgate and Caxton exhibit likewise such examples as *pyece*, *nyece*, *siege*, *fiersness*, *fyerce*, *fyersly*, *tyerce*, *fiese* (= *fleece*), *chyere* (= *cheer*), *gryeve*, *pyeres* (= *peers*), *myschief*, *prief*, *chief*, *lief*, *stiel*, *wiel*, etc.

For the 16th century all the writers in general were examined, as William Ray, J. Barlow (1528), Surrey, Wiat, Sackville, Udall, Latimer, Roger Ascham, Gosson, Tottel's Miscellany, Spenser, etc. In all of these writers examples of *ie* occur, as *thief*, *priest*, *piece*, *friend*, *fierce*, *field*, *shield*, *chief*, *grief*, *brief*, *relief*, *diep*, *lief*, *chiere*, *lieftenaunt*, *wiers*, *yield*, *wield*, *vieu*, *believe*, *achieve*, *shriek*, *prief*, *shrieve*, *reprieve*, *prieve*, *liege*, etc. Now, it is to be observed, however, that this spelling is not at all regular, as it was not in the 14th century. It is merely employed as an occasional way of writing close *ē*, except toward the end of the 16th century, when the *ie* in certain words occurs quite regularly. Spenser, for example, writes with remarkable regularity *field*, *shield*, *fierce*, *yield*, *wield*, *grief*, *shriek*, etc. The *ie* in these

<sup>1</sup> Found in the Camden Society Publications, 1856.

words was not, however, fixed till the middle of the next century. Price's writing (1668) shows the *ie* established,<sup>1</sup> which has continued to the present. He writes *believe, besiege, bier, brief, cavalier, cashier, chief*. [*field, fiend, fierce,*] *friend, frontier*, [*grieve*] *kerchief*, [*liefe*] *liege, niece, piece, pierce*, [*priest*] [*shield*] *siege, sieve, thief, view, yield*, etc.

Now, some of these words, such as *niece, piece, tier, fief, siege*, etc., were doubtless influenced by the French, while others, such as *friend, fiend, believe, field, wield, yield*,<sup>2</sup> etc., probably represent the retention of the old traditional Kentish spelling. Such a word as *bier* (cf. AS. *bær*, ME. *bēr*) may have arisen from confusion with the OFr. *biere*, as Sturmfels<sup>3</sup> suggests, somewhat like the Mod. English *hair*, which, according to Luick (cf. *Anglia*, 14, 456), arose from the association of AS. *hær*, ME. *hēr*, with the OFr. *haire*. By the side of *reprieve*, from ME. *reprêve*, from the French, exists the later-formed *reprove*, while the ME. *remêve* has been supplanted entirely by the new *remove*. Of course, the word *friend* in early Modern English underwent the process of shortening.

It is quite obvious, then, that *ie* did not fall entirely into disuse during the 15th and 16th centuries. On the contrary, it has been shown that it was of almost as frequent occurrence during this period as in the 14th century, during which time it was merely of sporadic occurrence. A reference to the table subjoined at the end will show this quite clearly.

The *ie* became identified with the close *ē* in Middle English, as was shown, and its subsequent history is identical with that of the latter sound. This close *ē*, which in Middle English had the phonetic value of a long mid-front-narrow vowel, in the latter part of the 15th century or the early part of the 16th was raised, in a few words such as *bee, beere, peere, fee, he, she*,<sup>4</sup> etc., to a very close *ī*-like sound, probably the high-front-narrow position.

<sup>1</sup> The writing with *ie* was not established in all the words in which it was of occasional occurrence during the 15th and 16th centuries. Witness, for example, *fiiese, pyere* (= *peer*), *stiel* (= *steel*), *chyere* (= *cheer*), etc. Some few words whose prototypes do not belong to this category came to be written with *ie*, as *shriek*, ME. *shriken* < Icel. *skrikja*; *sieve*, ME. *sive*, *sife* < AS. *sife*. This last word, however, has undergone the process of shortening.

<sup>2</sup> The vowel in these words is entitled to its long quantity by virtue of the process of lengthening before *ld* in Middle English.

<sup>3</sup> See *Anglia*, 8, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> See Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, I, p. 77, Palsgrave (1530).

The Middle English *ɪ*, which formerly occupied this last-named position, had of course been diphthonged. Later, during the 17th century, *ee* was raised, in all words, to this high-front-narrow *ii* (ME. *ɪ*). This high-front-narrow value *ee* still continued to retain throughout the 18th century and during the early part of the 19th, when, under the general tendency of all long vowels towards diphthongization, according to Sweet, it became a diphthong (*ij*).<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion I give a brief summary of what I believe to be the result of the foregoing investigation:—

1. The old WS. diphthongs *ie* and *ie*, which in late West Saxon were generally reduced to close monophthongs, did not survive in Middle English.

2. A new *ie*-diphthong arose in early Middle English in the Kentish dialect, which later was reduced to a monophthong. This *ie* was confined in early Middle English almost exclusively to the Kentish, but later was employed by Chaucer and other ME. writers, as an equivalent of the ME. close *ē*-vowel. This native *ie* of Kentish origin was reinforced in late Middle English by French words introduced from the Continent.

3. The *ie* did not fall into disuse during the 15th and 16th centuries, but was used, as in late Middle English, merely as an occasional way of writing close *ē*. About the middle of the 17th century the *ie* became established in those words in which it appears in present English.

4. Being identical with close (*ee*), *ie* at the time of its establishment in the language had the phonetic value of (*ii*)—that is, of a long high-front-narrow vowel. This value it retained till the present century, when, under the general tendency of all long vowels towards diphthongization, it developed into the diphthong (*ij*). *Ie* has therefore returned to something like its primitive diphthongal value.

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<sup>1</sup> A detailed proof of the history of the close *ee* in English having been previously given by me, it did not seem advisable to do more than to indicate this, for the sake of completeness, in the above outline sketch.

TABLE SHOWING THE INTRODUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF *ie* FOR CLOSE (*ee*) IN MODERN ENGLISH.

CHAUCER.		15TH CENT. WRITERS.		EARLY 16TH CENT. WRITERS.		SPENSER.		MINSHAW.		PRICE.
Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	1617.	1668.	
acheye	achieve	acheye		acheye	achieve	achieve		believe	[achieve]	
beleve	believe	beleve		beleve	believe	beleve	believe	believe	believe	
beere		beere		beere		bier		beere	bier	
brete	briefe	brete	briefe	brete	brief	brief	brete	briefe	brief	
chefe	chiefe	chefe	chiefe	chefe	chief	chief	chefe	chiefe	chief	
feelde	felde	feelde		felde	field	field	feld	feild	[field]	
feende	fende	feende		feend	fiend	feend	fiend	feend	[fiend]	
fers	fierce	ferce		ferce	fierce	ferce	ferce	ferce	[fierce]	
freende	friende	frende		frend	friend	friend	frend	friend	friend	
grete	griefe	greve	greyve	greve	grieve	griefe	greve	grieve	grief	
keverchef	coverchief	keverchef	kyrchief	kercher		greve	greve	grieve	kerchief	
leef (leve)	lief	leve	lief	lefe	lief	lief	leef	kerchief	[kerchief]	
[lege]		lege	liege	lege		liege		liege	liege	
necce		necce	nyece		neyce			neece	neece	
pece		pece	pyece	pece		peece	piece	peece	piece	
percen	pierce	perce		perce	pierce	perce	piece	peece	piece	
prest		prest		preest	priest	perce	piece	perce	[priest]	
relieve		relief	relief	releef	relief	relief		preste	[relief]	
repreve		repreve		repreve	reprieve	repreve	reprieve		[reprieve]	
sheld	shield	sheld	prief	sege	shield	shield	sheld	sheeld	[shield]	
sege	siege	sege	siege	sege	besage	siege	siege	siege	siege	
theef	thief	thee		theefe	thief	thief	theef	theefe	thief	
welde	wielde	welde		welde	wielde	wield	weld		[wield]	
yelde	yielde	yelde		yelde	yield	yield	yeld	yeeld	yield	

#### IV.—ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LEPTINEAN ORATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO ARISTEIDES.

A little more than one century ago Morelli discovered, in the library at Venice, an oration, concerning which he says in his *Prolegomena*: *Etsi vero inscriptione atque adeo auctoris nomine omnino careat Oratio, Aristidi tamen ut fidenter adjudicari possit, stilus potissimum fecit, Sophistae huic maxime proprius, aliis vero scriptoribus prorsus alienus.* This dictum was never questioned until 1841, when Foss (*commentatio critica, qua probatur declamationes duas Leptineas . . . non esse ab Aristide scriptas*, Altenburg) declared that Morelli was wrong, which conclusion Dr. Schmid, in the second volume of his *Atticismus*<sup>1</sup> (in which he treats of Aristeides) accepts. The object of this paper is to prove that the oration in question (LIV, Dindorf) and its companion (LIII) were written by Aristeides.

Dr. Schmid says (p. 52) that Aristeides has very carefully avoided the use of the perfect for the aorist, adding: "ich kann kein einziges Versehen in dieser Beziehung aus echten Reden anführen, und Foss hat vollkommen Recht, wenn er das häufige Vorkommen dieses Fehlers in den zwei leptineischen Reden als einen Beweis dafür hervorhebt dass dieselben nicht von Aristides verfasst seien." But Schmid, in his endeavor to represent Aristeides as conforming almost universally to the Attic norm, makes several statements which do not agree with the facts. For example, on p. 58 he says that constructions with *ῥε* or *ὤς*, where the infinitive ought to have been used, he has not found in the rhetorician. And yet *φημι ῥε* occurs at least seven times: Dind. II 439, 503, 508, 509 (bis), 519, 521, and LIV 87.<sup>2</sup> Although Aristeides succeeds tolerably well in his efforts to write like Plato, or Isokrates and Demosthenes, he varies more from the Attic norm than some of Schmid's assertions would lead us to suppose.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the number of perfects in LIV is very large (191), but there are almost as many in the Leptinea of Demosthenes (155). I do not reckon, of course, the virtual presents. In the

<sup>1</sup> Stuttgart, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> In LIII and LIV I refer to Wolf's sections; elsewhere to Dindorf's pages.

<sup>3</sup> The preposition *σύν* occurs 55 times (not counting such phrases as *σύν θεοῖς*); *κελεύειν* is construed with the dat., Dind. I 498; *μή* for *οὐ* is very common. On *οὐ* for *μή* see below, p. 72.

orator 58 are finite verbs and 66 participles; in the rhetorician 47 finite verbs and 71 participles. It is in the infinitive, then, that the discrepancy exists. The perf. inf. is rare in any construction in classic Greek, but we find in this oration of Demosthenes 31 examples (two articular); in Aristeides there are 25 articular and 48 non-articular. The companion speech contains 26 perf. infinitives with the article. Is it not reasonable, then, to suppose that Aristeides, having observed the abundant use of the perfect in the original (which he had well in his mind's eye, as is attested by word, thought and expression on every page), employed it also, but "sowed with the whole sack"? What if he did not always comprehend the shade of meaning, e. g. the perfects in §§35 and 55? Neither did he comprehend the thought of the classic literature; yet he is constantly busied with it. Nor does the fact that the number of aorists (indic., or equiv., and part.) in Demosthenes (297) greatly exceeds the number in Aristeides (171) affect the question. Even this discrepancy does not appear so great when we take into consideration the fact that the Leptinea of Demosthenes contains about 109 *στίχοι* more than that of Aristeides, and, further, that if in the Teubner edition of the former we take out six pages<sup>1</sup> (there are about 35 *στίχοι* to a page), which contain three-eighths of the whole (114), the number will be reduced to 183—only twelve more than we find in Aristeides.

That hiatus was avoided by the author of the orations we are discussing can be seen by the numerous examples of aphaeresis (e. g. LIV 42, 100, 102; LIII 55), many of which also occur throughout the works of Aristeides, although the latter says nothing about the avoidance of hiatus in his treatise on rhetoric. There are about 90 cases of hiatus in LIV; but this number can be reduced at least one-half by elision and other means, showing that the text is in the same condition as in the undisputed works—"im Text des Aristides muss die Elision viel konsequenter durchgeführt werden" (Schmid, p. 253).<sup>2</sup> For the same reason

<sup>1</sup> §§41-48, 52-55, 68-74, 75-86, where the orator recounts the deeds of Epikerdes, the exiles from Corinth, Konon and Chabrias. In §§52-55 there are twenty-one in the compass of a single page.

<sup>2</sup> Schmid's remark, p. 257, that the choice between *ὥσπερ* and *καθάπερ* is, as a rule, determined by a regard for the avoidance of hiatus, can hardly be true. In six successive speeches I have noticed that *ὥσπερ* appears fifty times, *καθάπερ* only three; Dind. I, p. 68, *ὥσπερ* three times in five lines; p. 81, three in four lines; p. 38, *καθάπερ* five times on one page. In classic Greek *καθάπερ* has a legal coloring, but in the later language largely usurps the place of *ὥσπερ*. Its use in Aristeides is probably better explained on this basis.

we should not gain much, if we should make an investigation in regard to the observance of the rhythmical law. In 205 instances in LIV the law is disregarded—but one-fourth of these examples could be cancelled. In Demosthenes there are 43 cases, ten of which hardly count.

To turn to the positive side. Even if Aristeides, in his address to Capito (Dind. I 417), does not refer to these orations (LIV and LIII), we have sufficient internal evidence, I think, to show that he was the author. Before Schmid's book appeared, I had written, in my study of the Leptinean orations, this sentence: "Any one who has read Aristeides through can readily agree with Morelli." And one quality which stamps them as Aristeidean is their intolerable jejuneness. But granted that Aristeides is not the only author who can be dry, nevertheless, we find here "nur ein hohles Phrasen-Gebäude," as Baumgart styles it, such as we discover in most of his works, the same imperfect knowledge of ideas and things, the same empty 'word-contest' as in his polemic against Plato's Gorgias, the same sophistic superficiality, rhetorical arbitrariness, vanity, and want of originality. It is as difficult for him to find admirers now as it was to secure pupils in his day. His empty lecture-room, although he would accept no remuneration for his instruction, became proverbial:

*χαίρει' Ἀριστείδου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπὶ μαθηταί,  
τέσσαρες οἱ τοῖχοι καὶ τρία σὺνψέλια.*

That an attempt to write a speech which would be superior to Demosthenes' best efforts is in keeping with the character of Aristeides, we know from his own statements.<sup>1</sup> His attitude toward the gods is the same in the orations under discussion<sup>2</sup> as elsewhere. In the fifty-first oration he tells us that he neglects no opportunity to glorify his native city; the same is true of the Leptinea in his character as an Athenian. In or. XLIX he asserts that for a good speech lightness and adroitness are requisite. In his *τέχνη* this statement is repeated. Now, these

<sup>1</sup> Although Ar. disdains the *μελέται* of the ordinary speakers (XLVII 768, 297), yet the five Leuctrici, which Scaliger considered the very best of his productions, are just such *πλάσματα*. In LI he is informed by the deity that he is destined to be the first orator. Demosthenes is his idol. He is told that he surpasses Dem. (XXVI 507, 576), that Plato could not compete with him, and all this praise stimulates in him the desire to rival, if not excel, the greatest orator that ever lived. Cf. Dind., Proleg. III 739-41.

<sup>2</sup> The gods are mentioned 39 times in LIV.



are two of the three chief characteristics which Blass ascribes to the Leptinea of Demosthenes. What would be more natural than that the intense vanity of the sophist should prompt him to select for imitation this ideal oration of his ideal author?<sup>1</sup>

Hyperbolic expressions are frequent in Aristeides, but are generally toned down by such phrases as *εἰ οἶόν τε εἰπεῖν, ὥς εἰπεῖν*. Schmid cites eight cases of the former in eight orations, and I find eleven with *ὥς εἰπεῖν* in LIV; in another part of his works I count a dozen in twenty-five pages. And this leads me to speak of the endless repetitions of words and phrases in immediate succession, which is so characteristic of all his orations. In the treatise *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, Dind. II 43, the repetition of *στοχάζεσθαι* is especially reprehensible. Examples might be multiplied. Similarly in our oration, §2, *λόγον ποιέισθαι*, six times in six lines; §10, forms of *ἄξιος* nineteen times in fifteen lines; §111, *εὖ ποιεῖν*, seven times in eleven lines. In like manner such phrases as the following are done to death: *μόνοι τῶν πάντων, μάλιστα πάντων, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἐπανέλθωμεν δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν* (Dind. I 65), *ἐπάνειμι δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην* (I 77), and in our oration, §85, *ἄλλ' ἐκείσε πάλιν ἐπάνειμι*. In five speeches, IX–XIII, embracing a little more than one hundred pages, *ὅπερ ἔφην* is used seventeen times; in LIV it occurs six and in LIII nine times. Again, Aristeides is fond of lugging in words and whole phrases from the poets. Compare LIV 48 (*τούς τε ἰσομένους, πρό τε ὄντας, κατὰ τὸ ἔπος*), 75 (*τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνας, τὸ τῆς κωμωδίας*), 62 (*καὶ τὸ κλέος αὐτῆς οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται*), 108 (*ἐν τῷδε γὰρ κάμνουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ πόλεις, κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν, ὅταν τις ἐσθλὸς καὶ πρόθυμος ὢν ἀνὴρ μηδὲν φέρηται τῶν κακίωνων πλέον*) with the examples cited by Schmid, p. 295. So too with reminiscences of classic prose-writers, and in the use of proverbs and proverbial locutions.<sup>2</sup> The structure of the sentence in the orations in question is in accordance with the high style of the sophist. Periods are formed after the manner of Isokrates and Demosthenes, such as we find on nearly every page of XIII, XLV, XLVI and XXXIII–XXXVII.

I am indebted to Schmid for some of the material in the following conspectus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmid, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LIII 12, 16, 20, 28, 39, 41, 47, 52, 54, 58, 60, with the examples cited by Schmid, pp. 263 and 297, and observe that the greatest number of proverbs occur in the oration of animated discussion (XLVI).

ORATIONS I-LII.	LIV.	LVII.
<p>γίγνομαι, not γίνομαι.  Use of the dual, esp. c. <i>δυνῶν</i>.  Both aor. passives of <i>φαίω</i>.  Final <i>τοῦ</i> c. inf., only three examples.  The art. with a sentence as substantive.<sup>1</sup>  <i>ἐκείνος</i> pointing to what follows, often.  Fut. pf. pass., frequent.  <i>εἶεν</i>, 38 examples.  <i>ἐκείνος</i>, frequent.  <i>καθάπαξ</i>, exceedingly frequent.  <i>οἷδ' ὅτι</i>, <i>ἐν οἷδ' ὅτι</i>, <i>ἐν οἷδα</i>.  <i>ἐξούλος</i>, XIII 164, XLV 133.  <i>ἐμπροσθέν</i> c. dat. (not c. acc., as in N. T.).  <i>ἐπιδοαίς</i> = <i>increase</i>, XXVI 509.  <i>ἐρανος</i>, frequent.  <i>κέρδος</i>, a favorite word.  <i>οἶμαι</i> parenthetical, frequent.<sup>2</sup>  <i>πλήν</i> as conjunction.  <i>πάνν</i>, standing alone, 33 cases.  <i>σφόδρα</i>, not nearly so frequent as in Dio.  <i>οὐδ' ἂν εἴς</i>.  <i>οὐδέν ὅτι</i> (metaph.), 12 examples cited by S.  Forms of <i>φήμι</i> parenthetical, 29 times.  <i>ὦ τάν</i>, 7 cases.  <i>δυνῶν θάπερον</i>, in 13 orations 22 times.  <i>ῥέως</i> etc., S. cites 30 examples and says u. ὁ.  <i>ὥσπερ</i>, used more than <i>καθάπερ</i>.  Irony, seldom.  <i>Ἑλλήνες καὶ βάρβαροι</i>, 127 times.  <i>εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν</i>, XIII 174, 188.  <i>τοσούτων καὶ τῶνλοῦτων</i>, often.  <i>τῆς οἰκουμένης</i> (<i>γῆς</i>), frequent.  <i>Ἡράκλεις</i>, 5 examples cited by S.  Dat. plural of <i>οὐδέις</i> occurs.</p>	<p>The same.  Cf. §39, <i>δυνῶν ποδῶν</i>.  Likewise used.  Does not appear.  Also common, e. g. 2, 77.  Four examples.  <i>πεπαισται</i> (2), <i>καταλελήθηται</i> (48).  §§18, 58.  Several occur.  At least two score.  Cf. §§34, 56, 76, 84.  Cf. §73.  So in I, 81, 89. Cf. Dem. XX 142.  §34.  §60.  Cf. §§35 (bis), 73, 111.  §§15, 18, 49, 108.  Cf. §76.  Cf. §§5, 7, 69, 90.  Only twice.  Cf. §20.  Four examples.  Cf. §§14, 18.  Once (§7).  Especially common.  Frequent.  Likewise.  Also rare.  Thrice (32, 46, 79).  §36.  Four times (13, 16, 13, 43).  Occurs several times.  Twice (82, 111).  Cf. §16 (<i>οὐδέαν ἄλλους</i>).</p>	<p>The same.  Two examples.  Numerous.  Cf. §72.  §18.  Cf. §§20, 27, 32, 44, 50, 51, 62.  §42.  Cf. §14.  Cf. §§5, 28.  Rare.  Cf. §§10, 27, 40, 60, 63, 70.  Once (30).  Very frequent.  Several times.  Likewise.  Rare.  §53.  Cf. §56 (<i>παρ' οὐδέας</i>).</p>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmid, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dind. I 86.

ORATIONS I-LII.	LIV.	LII.
<p>ἐπαιαυ. π'ωσις, 137 times.  παρομοιασία, comparatively frequent.  Grouping of simple, compound or deriv. forms.  ἀντίθεσις, 188 cases + or. 46 (all antith.).  χ'ιασμός, 7 examples. (S. p. 284.)  ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ c. art. or prep. not rare.  διούνοτον, rare.  πολυσύνδετον, predominates. Cf. D. I 54. 89.  Alliteration, occasionally. D. I 117, 374.</p>	<p>Five times.  Several examples.  In the same manner.  Very frequent and similar.  Six examples.  Once.  No marked example.  Six cases.  §§2, 75, 108, 109.</p>	<p>Three times.  (See below.)  Cf. Schmid, 280-81.  Thrice.</p>
<p>Rhetorical questions, innumerable.  πῶς, πῶς γάρ, διὰ τί, common.  ὑποφωρά, frequent.  Apostrophe (Schmid, 290).  Invocation of the gods.  Exclamations, rare.  Oaths, comparatively seldom.  παράλειψις, 32 examples.</p>	<p>Also especially frequent.  Very often.  Frequent.  Similarly used.  In the same manner.  Rare.  Scarcely any (see below).  Three examples.</p>	<p>Likewise.  Abundant.  Frequent.  Likewise.  Similarly.  Rare.</p>
<p>ἀλλὰ γάρ, only 12 times.  ἀλλὰ μὲν, 76 times in I-XLVIII.  δήπου, abundant.  διπλοῦθεν, 45 times.  ἦτοι, 32 cases.  καὶ μὲν, 230 examples.  καὶ ὅτε καὶ, 18 times.  οὐ μὲν, 49 times.  οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ, 27 cases.  οὐκοῦν, 124 times in I-XLVI.  γε after other particles, often.</p>	<p>Use of Particles.</p> <p>Very rare, if at all.  Twice.  Thirty times.  Makes its appearance.  Five cases.  Ten examples.  Once.  Four times.  Four cases.  Nine times.  Frequent.</p>	<p>Rare.  Frequent.  Occurs.  Four examples.  Twice.  Twice.  Twice.  Likewise.</p>

Only a glance at the above conspectus is necessary in order to perceive the resemblance which the orations in question bear to the first fifty-two orations of Aristides. The proportions (where statistics are given) are sufficiently striking to indicate that they are not the result of mere chance. That these should be *exactly* the same for all phenomena is, of course, not to be expected.

I said that oaths were not numerous in Aristides, for although he uses *νῆ Δία* or *νῆ τὸν Δία*, according to Schmid, 80 times, this formula was used by Dionysios and the late Greek writers, not with the feeling that it was an oath, but merely by way of emphasis, and in connections where an oath would be ridiculous. This, or its use as a transition formula in the figure *ὑποφορά*, may account for the preponderance of the phrase in Aristides—*πρὸς Διὸς* appears only twenty times, and other forms are rare. In LIV no oaths occur (except in *ὑποφορά*); in the companion speech a few; *νῆ Δία* (23, 59), *οὐ μὰ Δία* (64), *οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία* (66), *μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς* (54, 58, 73), but note the formulae used.

The examples of *παρονομασία* are striking. Compare *ἀνομωτάτων καὶ ὠμωτάτων* (LIV 91) and *ἐκπεπτωκότας, ἐκπεπολεμωκώς* (LIII 73) with *οὐδὲν οὔτε εὗρηκα οὐτ' εἴρηκα* (Dind. I 400) and *ἡτύχεις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡτύχεις* (II 306) (this use of *μᾶλλον* is very common in all the orations). Somewhat similar is the juxtaposition of simple and compound, or derivative, forms. Compare *δι' ὧν . . . ἀποδεδεικται, δέδεικται . . .* (LIV 22) and *ἐνῇν . . . προσῇν . . . ἦν* (109) with *ῥκισαν καὶ διῥκισαν* (V 60), *ἔγνωσαν καὶ . . . μετέγνωσαν* (XLVI 321), *μὴ φρονήματι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι*—cf. Thuk. 2, 62, 3—(Dind. II 516).<sup>1</sup>

In the three examples of *πυράλειψις* in LIV, the very words (*σιωπῶ* and *ἔῶ*) are used which are most frequently employed in the other speeches. The form *ἔῶ* (not *ἑάσω*) occurs ten times.

"Auffällig ist der Gebrauch von *οὐ*," says Schmid, and cites: *εἰ δ' οὐκ ἂν φύγοιεν τὴν αἵρεσιν* (XIII 286, 304); *εἰ Πελοποννήσιοι οὐκ ἀποκνήσουσι* (XXIX 568, 24); *εἰ δ' οὐ μέτρια ἐποίουν* (XXXIII 604, 77), with eighteen other examples. Compare the following in LIV: *εἰ μὲν οὐδέσιν ἄλλοις . . . ἐνῇν* (16), *εἴπερ λητουργεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐνι* (23), *εἰ . . . λόγος οὐδ' εἰσιστοῦν αὐτοῖς ἦν* (37), *εἰ . . . τούτων οὐδὲν εἶλεν αὐτοὺς* (45), *εἰ . . . οὐκ ἀπῆλλακται* (50), *εἰ μὲν . . . οὐ προσεῖχετ' ὅλως τὸν νοῦν* (76), *εἰ ἂρ' ἀξίός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀτελείας μόνον* (103), *εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν . . . τοῦτ'*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *εὐ φρονούντων . . . εὐφραινόντων* (XLIV 835), *εἰσεσθαι . . . πείσεσθαι* (XLVI 280), *θρασυτέρους καὶ τραχυτέρους* (393), *ἡράσθη τε καὶ ἡγάσθη* (XLVII 416), *πρὸς τοὺς κειμένους τῇ πόλει νόμους καινοτομεῖ, καινοὺς τινας . . . εἰσάγων* (LIV 3), *οἷς πράττεις, ἃ λέγεις, ἐλέγχεις* (LIV 11), *τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων* (LIV 13).

ἤδη (112). I find *οὐ* and *μή* both in the same construction in LIV 37, 51, 95, and XL 755, 280.

Among the many Herodotean expressions taken up in later Greek is *τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ*. Aristeides uses it 39 times altogether, once in LIV (104) and twice in LIII (38, 53).

The ratio of the number of occurrences of *καθάπερ* to that of *ὥσπερ* in LIV is 2 to 5, in LIII, 2 to 9. There are some seventy cases of *καθάπερ* in the other works of Aristeides, and about four times as many examples of *ὥσπερ*.

The number of verbal adjectives in our two speeches is to the whole number as 1 to 20 (4 examples in these, and 80 in all, one of the former being construed personally, and three in the remaining orations).

In his desire to imitate Demosthenes, Aristeides in some matters goes beyond all bounds. This is the case with the articular infinitive. What complexes he uses with it can be seen in XXI, Dind. I 430, et passim, and in our orations on almost every page.

In LIII there are 59 examples of adjectives in the first attributive position with reference to the article, 82 of words and phrases of adjectival value, 6 of the second, and 3 of the third, all of the latter being in proper names, which hardly count. I have noticed only one case of the third position in the whole corpus of Aristeides, Dind. I 109, *ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τοιαύτης*. The normal predominates. Hence in this regard, too, the Leptinean orations fall in line with the others.

J. E. HARRY.

## NOTES.

### ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIPHTHONGS IN MODERN ENGLISH FROM OE. *i* AND *u*.

In a paper on 'The *i*-Sound in English' (Am. J. Phil., vol. VI, p. 13), Dr. Balg says: "Concerning the nature of the diphthongization of *i* into *ai*, it must be remembered that the first element of the diphthong does, or originally did, not have the sound of *a* (= *a* in *far* or *man*), but that of close *e* (= *a* in *name*), which afterwards became open *e* (= *a* in *man*, or nearly so), and is now often heard as *a* in *far*."

I think, however, that it will be agreed that the first element of the Modern English diphthong, as heard in America, lies between the *a* in *far* and the *a* in *man*, and corresponds to Sweet's low-mixed-wide vowel; that is, American *i* is about equivalent to Mod. Ger. *ei*.

Just what the English pronunciation of this diphthong may be, it is not as easy to ascertain as one might think. In his word-lists Sweet writes *by* (*bai*), *while* (*whail*), *wife* (*waif*), etc. It is, however, expressly stated (vid. Preface, p. 10) that this 'broad Romic' *a* (= *a* in *father*) is no more than an approximation of the first element of the diphthong. What the author really means is his mid-mixed-wide vowel, for, as we see from his table on p. 3, he gives under that letter initial *e* in *eye* = *er* in *better*, and on p. 230 he says: "It is therefore probable that Salesbury's identification of English *i* with Welsh *ei* really points to the present English diphthong, mid-mixed-wide + high-front-wide"; i. e. *er* (in *better*) + *i* (in *bit*)—a result which, I think, will be news to most of us, even to those who suppose that they are acquainted with the English pronunciation of this diphthong.

I believe that some light is thrown upon the development of the diphthongized *i* in Mod. E., and also, incidentally, upon the action of phonetic laws in general, by the pronunciation of this diphthong which is still preserved in Virginia. *Before a voiceless consonant*—as, for example, in *ice*, *life*, *like*, *smite*, *ripe*, etc.—the Virginians pronounce the diphthongized *i* almost precisely

as Sweet represents his own pronunciation, i. e. the *i* = *er* (in *better*) + *i* (in Fr. *si*—not *i* in *bit*). This diphthong, as I pronounce it and hear it pronounced, is short, or rather half-long. *Before a voiced consonant*<sup>1</sup> and when final—for example, in *while*, *spire*, *lithe*, *wise*, *hind*, *drive*, *by*, *why*, etc.—the diphthong receives the usual American pronunciation mentioned above. Here we see the language-laws in operation: before voiced consonants and when final we have a full development of the diphthong, while before voiceless consonants it lags behind upon an older plane.

That this Virginian pronunciation of *i* is no new development, as Prof. Garnett seems to think ("The common narrowing and shortening of the diphthongal sounds," etc., *Am. J. Phil.*, vol. II, p. 489), but rather a relic of the English pronunciation of the 17th century, is proved (1) by the character of that people, who are noted for their stubborn conservatism and their hatred of new things, and (2) by the citations in Sweet's *Hist. Eng. Sds.* from phonetic authorities of the 16th and 17th centuries. Thus, Wallis and Cooper, who write in 1663 and 1685 respectively, give, or attempt to give, exactly this Virginian pronunciation of the diphthong (§§811, 812, 813). This was the period in which the colony was receiving a large influx of English settlers, and the pronunciation of this period has been preserved—not only in this respect, but in many others—down to the present day.

Thus the development of a diphthong from OE. *i* was as follows: OE. *i* > *ei* (= Romic *ei*) > *ei* (= *er* in *better* + *i* in Fr. *si*) > American *ei* (= Romic *äi*, Ger. *ei*) > Irish *oi* (as in *loike* [?]). As illustrating the tendency to pass from *ei* to *ai* in Mod. E., note the cockney pronunciation *naim* for *neim* (*name*)—I have even heard *näim*.

So much, then, for the manner in which the diphthong developed: let us now inquire into the cause. Sweet says (§820): "As soon as *i* in *wine* had become a distinct diphthong, the close *ee* of *ween* was moved up into its place, giving (*wiin*) a pronunciation which has lasted almost up to the present day." Upon examination of his phonetic authorities, however, we find (§818) that Palsgrave, who wrote in 1530, pronounces *we*, *me*, etc., as in living English, while the same author is quoted (§814) in order to prove that the old *i* had been preserved unchanged, at least in his dialect. This would go to show that the close *e* of *ween* had

<sup>1</sup> By voiceless, voiced, I mean *stimmlos*, *stimmhaft*. Under the latter, include the sonorous consonants (Sievers' *Phonetik*, S. 50 ff.).

moved up into the place of the *i* of *wine* before the latter had become a diphthong. It seems probable, therefore, that *ē* having usurped, or encroached upon, the territory of the old *i*, it was found necessary to attempt to pronounce old *i* more distinctly, in order to prevent a confusion of the two sounds. This was done by means of an increased volume and force of expiration stream, the result being that the opening was made too wide and the tongue lowered too much.

The American pronunciation of diphthongized *ū* is low-mixed-wide+high-back-narrow-round, i. e. about the Mod. Ger. *au*. Sweet gives the English sound as low-mixed-wide+low-mixed-narrow-round. The present Virginian pronunciation of this diphthong is just that given by Cooper, who wrote in 1685, viz. "*u* gutturalem ante *u* Germanicum" (Hist. Eng. Sds., §886), or in Romic notation *au*. I believe that the older pronunciation was *er* (in *better*) + *u* (as in Fr. *sou*), but that the two elements of the diphthong were later assimilated, the first element moving towards the second.

It is to be noted that the diphthong always has the above sound, *u* (in Eng. *but*) + *u* (as in Fr. *sou*), in the Virginian dialect, except where it is followed by *nd* (*n*+cons.) and *n*, as *pound*, *bound* (*sound*, *wound*, *found*, *ground*, *fount*, *mount*<sup>1</sup>), and *town*, *down*, *brown*, where it takes on the American sound, about Ger. *au*. The development in these cases may have been hastened by the powerful lengthening effect of a following *nd* (cf. Skeat, Prin. Eng. Etym., §378) (or *n*+consonant), and also of syllable-closing *n* (?) (cf. above, *i* before a voiced consonant). Another exception occurs in *now*, which I do not attempt to explain. Why should it have been differentiated from *how*, *cow*, *thou*, *brow*?

That the *ū* was diphthongized after the development of the *ō* into *oo*—which, we may remark in passing, is not heard as a diphthong in this country—will be seen upon a careful examination of the phonetic authorities quoted by Sweet in his Hist. Eng. Sds. (§§832, 833, 834, 827). The same result as in the case of *ī* followed. The territory of the *ū* being encroached upon, an attempt was made to make the sound more distinct, and an obscure sound was unconsciously uttered before it.

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<sup>1</sup>In the first four of these words the *u* was short in OE. As to *fount*, *mount*, Skeat suggests ME. *funt* (*fūnt*?), etc. (Prin. Eng. Etym., p. 405).



## NOTE TO CIC. TUSC. I 18-19.

Quid sit porro ipse animus aut ubi aut unde, magna dissensio est. Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo 'excordes,' 'vaecordes,' 'concordes'-que dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul 'Corculum' et

Egregie 'cordatus' homo catus Aelius Sextus.

Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem. Aliis pars quaedam cerebri visa est animi principatum tenere. Aliis nec cor ipsum placet nec cerebri quandam partem esse animum sed alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse sedem et locum. *Animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri* DECLARANT NOMEN, *nam et 'agere animam' et 'efflare' dicimus et 'animosos' et 'bene animatos' et 'ex animi sententia'; ipse autem 'animus' ab 'anima' dictus est.*

In the passage above given I have followed the Tischer-Sorof edition<sup>8</sup>, but the words printed in small capitals have been restored according to the MSS. The italicised sentence has been variously manipulated by the editors. Seyffert proposed a period after *nostri* and emended to *Declarant nomina*. Kühner prefixes an *Id* (following Könighoff), to the undoubted benefit of the Latinity. Wolf read *nomine*, without a period after *nostri*—a better correction than Seyffert's, I should think, for the position with his interpretation ought to be °*alii ut fere nostri animam* etc. Still another correction is *Declarat nomen*.

The expedient of rejecting is also tried for this passage. Moser brackets the words *Declarat . . . sententia* as a skilful gloss. All the bracket-employers end with *sententia*; some begin with *nam* and some with *et animosos*.<sup>1</sup>

The use of the brackets will show the mode of interpretation of the various editors. I quite agree with Tischer-Sorof in the Kritischer Anhang, that the words *et animosos . . . sententia* are not a gloss but part of the text. Cicero is unquestionably toying, it seems to me, with the etymological connections of *animus*, as just before he toys with *cor*, *excordes*, *vaecordes*, *concordes*, *Corculum* and *cordatus*. Seyffert accordingly connects *animosos* with *animus*, and *animatos* with *anima*. The last sentence of the Tischer-Sorof note seems to me clearly incorrect: "Das letzte Beispiel *ex animi sententia* scheint er lediglich der Gleichmässig-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chase's edition, note ad loc., which I have adapted to my own statement of the views that have obtained.

keit wegen hinzugefügt zu haben, um gleichviel für *animus* und *anima* anzuführen, und daran schliesst sich das folgende *ipse autem animus* sehr passend an." On the contrary, Cicero is making a most careful use of words, as I shall seek to prove below.

I venture on another interpretation, and one allowing us to keep the MS reading. Cicero, we must remember, is etymologizing: "Some have said that the soul is ANIMA, and so<sup>1</sup> almost all of us explain (etymologically) its name." We might almost translate, 'define the noun,' taking *nomen* as a *terminus technicus*.<sup>2</sup> Now Cicero goes on with the motive for this definition: "For we say 'yield up our *spirit*' and '*expire*' (*anima*-) and '*spirited*' (*animo*-), and 'good-hearted' (*anima*-) and 'to our *heart's* wish' (*animo*-')." Then the argument is clinched with "now (*autem*) '*animus*' is derived from *anima*."

But to this explanation objections may be raised: *anima* is for this passage usually defined by 'air.' But that *anima* meant 'air,' as a synonym of *aër*, no one will maintain: the definition here is 'breath,' but the fault of all definition is that there results exclusion; *anima* is breath and air too, in solution, so to speak. We can see this from Tusc. I 42: *Is autem animus . . . ex inflammata anima constat*. Out of *inflammata anima* Cic. resolves the two elements (*duo genera*) fire and air, and says of these: *necesse est ferantur ad caelum et ab iis perrumpatur et dividatur crassus hic et concretus aer etc.* The soul passes above the reeking earth (43): *Quam regionem cum superavit animus naturamque sui similem contigit et adgnovit iunctis ex anima tenui et ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit et finem altius se efferendi facit*. The words *inflammata anima* give us a clew, perhaps, to the origin of the next definition of the soul (Tusc. §19): *Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur*. The soul was doubtless first identified with the warm breath of life, out of which warmth and air were variously taken as the essential elements.

Another objection may be made to my interpretation: I have taken *et agere animam et efflare* as amounting to one term

<sup>1</sup> I venture to divide *ut* into a copulative conjunction and a demonstrative in recognition of its relative origin.

<sup>2</sup> Not so cited by L. and S., save for Quintilian.

<sup>3</sup> The change from 'spirit' to 'heart' seeks to emphasize the etymologizing of Cicero, and foreshadows at the same time my interpretation of the balance in the terms.

balancing *animosos*, and *bene animatos* as balancing *ex animi sententia*. This I justify by the repetition of the *et* with both infinitives and the position of *dicimus*, as well as by the balanced arrangement of *et agere animam . . . eflare* (A) *et animosos* (B) *et bene animatos* (A) *et ex animi sententia* (B). The use of *et* with all the terms comes from their equal relation to *dicimus*. The four terms are all equally the grammatical objects of *dicimus*. If one of the terms is itself divided into two, still we do not violate the rule (cf. Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*<sup>2</sup>, §271 *b*) for such cases, for we could not say *agere animam eflareque*, nor *a. a. atque eflare*, because the two verbs do not make one concept (*que*), nor is a more important word added to explain another (*atque*). Neither can we take the single '*animam*' as the object of the two verbs, but in the phrase *et agere animam et eflare* the doubling of the '*et*' is shorthand for doubling '*animam*.'<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that no other word but *et* could be used to join all the terms.

Finally, I again call express attention to Cicero's nice use of these four terms: the two first terms *et agere animam et eflare* and *et animosos* exhibit the identity of the stems *animo-* and *anima-* for the meaning 'breath' ('life'), and the terms *et bene animatos et ex animi sententia* show their identity for the meaning 'mind.' A like niceness is seen in the group of congeners of *cor* (§18), where the terms *excordes*, *vaecordes*, *concordesque* are massed in one, as it were, whereas the more difficult *Corculum* and *cordatus* are prepared for by *prudens* and *catus*.

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#### CORRIGENDA IN WICKHAM'S HORACE.

During the past year, while engaged in reading Wickham's larger edition of Horace (Clarendon Press, Oxford; vol. I, second edition, 1877; vol. II, 1891), Mr. John Maclean Magie, a graduate student here, noticed the majority of the *errata* detailed in this note. The others, excepting one, came out in my own reading. That one happens to be the only serious error in the list, and was pointed out to me by Dr. Willard Humphreys. It is the mistake

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tusc. §21 *quā vel agamus quid vel sentiamus*, where the position of *quid* exactly parallels that of *animam* in our passage.

made in styling Alyattes, the father of Croesus, 'the *son* of Croesus' (vol. I, p. 219, note on 'Alyattei').

The others are usually typographical slips, which, though inevitable in so elaborate an edition as Wickham's with its profusion of cross-references, ought to be studiously corrected by those who care for "the sacred cause of typographical accuracy."

### *List of Errors.*

Volume I (Odes, Carmen Saeculare, Epodes).—Page xxv: In the closing paragraph, why is there no mention of Sir Theodore Martin's translation? 'Leipsig,' eleven lines from the bottom, should be made 'Leipsic,' as elsewhere on the same page. P. xxviii, 12 lines from bottom, change 'emin' to 'enim.' P. 15, verse 11, change 'gaudentum' to 'gaudentem.' P. 64, the number 5 is missing after verse 5. P. 104, 10 lines from top, 'B. C. 25' should be corrected to 'B. C. 24'; see author's introductory note to bk. III, ode 14 (on p. 212). P. 138, verse 7, change 'amóros' to 'amores.' P. 140, line 8 of note on v. 2, 'Od. 3. 6. 32' should be 'Od. 3. 6. 36.' P. 219, note on v. 41, change 'the son of Croesus' to 'the father of Croesus'; see Herodotus, I 26. P. 231, verse 2, change 'Phidyde' to 'Phidyde.' P. 254, verse 55, separate 'meinvolvo' into 'me involvo.' P. 287, at end of v. 40 put a period. P. 328, note to v. 7, strike out reference 'quine, Sat. 1. 10. 21'; compare Wickham's correction in vol. II, p. 101, at the end of his note on 'quine.' P. 330, at end of v. 10 put the numeral 10. P. 331, first line, strike out perpendicular printer's line after 'mugientium.' P. 332, end of note on 'rara,' change 'io' to 'to.'

Volume II (Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica).—Page 54, first line, change 'pactor' to 'pacto.' P. 57, the note on v. 104 should be numbered 105. P. 152, the note on 'vitrea' is not helpful; the key to the figurative sense of 'vitrea' lies in the sentence of Publilius Syrus: *Fortuna vitrea est: tum cum splendet frangitur*. Both 'glitter' and 'fragility' are involved. P. 155, note on v. 262, change 'Epod. 11: 31' to 'Epod. 11. 21.' P. 165, note on 'aliena' in v. 57, change reference 'v. 26' to 'v. 25.' P. 196, should there be a comma at end of v. 103? P. 199, note on v. 1, change reference 'Sat. 1. 10. 40' to 'Sat. 1. 10. 42.' P. 200, note on v. 13, change reference 'Sat. 1. 3. 9' to 'Sat. 1. 3. 10.' P. 203, in vv. 57 and 58 it is desirable to put the clause 'postquam nihil esse periculi Sensimus' between commas. P. 210, nine lines from bottom,

change '2. 29' to '3. 29.' P. 213, in the numbers prefixed to the analysis of Epistle I change '49-31' to '49-52,' and '52-56' to '53-56.' P. 217, note on v. 31, change 'Sat. 2. 7. 16' to 'Sat. 2. 7. 15.' P. 222, note on v. 89, change 'Od. 2. 16. 43' to 'Od. 3. 16. 43.' P. 225, tenth line of note on v. 4, change 'Sat. 1. 3. 126' to 'Sat. 1. 3. 127.' P. 231, last line of note on v. 2, change 'Od. 4. 14. 4' to 'Od. 4. 14. 14.' P. 232, seventh line of note on v. 10, change 'lacus et vivos' to 'lacus et rivos.' P. 233, note on 'thyma' in v. 21, change 'Od. 4. 2. 27' to 'Od. 4. 2. 29.' P. 234, eighth line of note on v. 26, change 'Epod. 11. 25' to 'Epod. 11. 17.' P. 236, note on v. 16, change 'Sat. 2. 3. 45' to 'Sat. 2. 3. 44.' P. 242, note on v. 6, change 'Od. 3. 24. 1' to 'Od. 3. 24. 2.' P. 244, end of note on v. 27, change 'Od. 4. 7. 17' to 'Od. 4. 7. 15.' P. 247, a comma after 'istis' in v. 67 would be an improvement. P. 249, note on v. 21, change 'Od. 2. 13. 9' to 'Od. 2. 13. 20.' P. 251, note on v. 36, change 'Od. 1. 14. 1' to 'Epp. 1. 14. 1.' P. 251, note on 'divitiis Arabum' in v. 36, change last reference '3. 24. 1' to '3. 24. 2.' P. 253, beginning of note on v. 57, change 'Od. 4. 12. 8' to 'Od. 4. 12. 28.' P. 450, fifth line, change 'headings in Index II' to 'headings in Index III.'

PRINCETON, July, 1893.

ANDREW F. WEST.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY. Part VII. Consignificant-Crouching. Part VIII, Sect. I. Crouchmas-Czech, completing vol. II (C). Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1893.

Dr. Murray's great Dictionary is progressing slowly but surely. The letter C is now finished, and Vol. III, Part I, E-Every, edited by Mr. Henry Bradley, appeared two years ago. We are promised soon another part of volume III, but such an undertaking cannot be hurried, however impatient readers may get. The part before us, we are told, contains 5414 main words, 936 combinations, and 1190 subordinate words and forms: total, 7540. "Of the 5414 main words, 1208 (22½ per cent.) are marked † as obsolete, and 171 (3½ per cent.), ‖ as alien or incompletely naturalized." Dr. Murray notes in this part many words of interesting etymology and form-history, and remarks upon them with great truth: "Research into the history of words, as of families, sometimes merely shows that current notions as to their origin are historically untenable, and that their actual origin is involved in obscurity." An interesting illustration of form-history is given in the case of the word *Cross*. Previous etymological dictionaries—even that of Professor Skeat—have been content with telling us that it is derived from Latin *crucem* through O. French *crois*, and giving us the collateral Romance forms. Dr. Murray informs us that "the Latin *crux* entered our language by three distinct routes, and in four different forms, and that it was the form which came by the most circuitous route that was eventually the survivor." This form was not, as is usually thought, derived from the Norman-French, but was "that which early Christianity had naturalized in Ireland, and Irish missionary zeal had communicated to the Norsemen—the Latin-Irish-Norse-North English *cross*, that became the permanent form in our language." If we turn to the word itself we find the earliest example of the use of the word in the local name *Nor-mannes cros*, in a 'Record of Gifts by Bishop Athelwold to Medeshamstede' (i. e. Peterborough), *circa* 963-84, 100 years before the Normans came over, hence *Normannes* here is *Norðmannes*, the Northman, the so-called *Dane* of history. Again, Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, *circa* 1175, gives us as the battle-cry of Harold at Hastings (Senlac), "*Olicrosse sovent crioent*," and he explains it: "*Olicrosse est en engleiz Ke Sainte Croix est en franceiz*." This is conclusive that *cross* was in Northern English long before *croix* (*crois*, *croiz*), and it stayed. If we had the documentary means of investigation, the inquiry might deserve consideration, whether its introduction was not due to the influence of Iona on Northumbria, and hence antecedent to Norse influence on English, the Northern *cross* corresponding to the Southern *röd*. As an illustration of the extent and thoroughness with which this work is prepared, it may be added that the word *Cross* fills *fifteen* columns, besides *seventeen* more devoted to its compounds.

There are a few points that have been noticed in turning over the pages which may deserve mention, not by way of criticism, but as showing that it is impossible to embrace everything even in such a comprehensive dictionary. Under the word *Cracker*, 4, the quotation from the *Beacon* (Boston) that "the word *Cracker* . . . is supposed to have been suggested by their cracking whips over oxen or mules in taking their cotton to the market" (!), is likely to perpetuate a false derivation. The true derivation is, much more probably, that these country people lived on *cracked* corn, as some of them still do, which derivation is given in the *Century Dictionary*. That it is not 'a contemptuous name' may be inferred from the fact that the Georgia students' club of the University of Virginia has assumed the name of 'Georgia Crackers.' Perhaps the common game of *Crack-loo*, or *Crack-a-loo*, as some call it, is unknown in England. At all events, the word is not found in the *New English Dictionary*, and for the information of the editor it may be mentioned that the game is played by two or more persons, and consists in shooting a small coin to the ceiling and letting it fall near a crack in the floor. The owner of whichever coin falls nearest the designated crack 'takes the pile.' The term is of uncertain etymology, and the spelling may not be that given above, as it is not found in any dictionary that I have examined, although common enough colloquially. It has been suggested that the name may be shortened from 'Crack or lose'; or it may be derived from compounding the word *Loo*, the game at cards, with the word *Crack*, which plays the important part in the game. The same may be said for the game *Craps*, so common among 'American citizens of African descent,' and, as it is a violation of the statute against gambling, it often results in bringing the ebony players before the Police Court. I am informed that it is played with dice, generally three, and consists in shuffling them in the hand and throwing them on the ground or floor, the players betting on the number that will turn up, the numbers *seven* and *eleven* being those commonly used. It is popularly termed 'shooting craps.'<sup>1</sup> Dr. Murray can put it in his next issue, or his *omnium gatherum* of an appendix.

I do not find that some terms of our American university slang have crossed the water. I look in vain for the verb *Cork* in the sense of failing on a recitation: it may be transitive or intransitive, according as it is applied to professor or student. I find the terms *Cram* and *Crib* duly recorded, being doubtless in use by English-speaking students all over the world, but the earliest example of the former as noun is taken from 'Verdant Green' (1853). Bristed, in his 'Five Years in an English University,' written in 1851 (see A. J. P. XIII 494), had already defined it in his glossary of 'The Cantab Language.'

If each writer will contribute from his store of colloquialisms and slang, we may eventually secure a complete *Thesaurus totius Anglicitatis*.

Part VIII, Section I, of the *New English Dictionary* completes the letter C and the second volume, as this letter occupies a whole volume. The number of words treated in this volume is 29,295, made up as follows: 21,295 main words, 3461 special combinations, and 4539 subordinate words. Of the main words, 15,852 are current, 4515 obsolete, and 928 alien = 21½ per cent. obso-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the 'pile' is here the 'crop,' in *ore Africano* 'crap,' hence the name of the game.

lete, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. alien or not fully naturalized. Dr. Murray gives also the whole number of words so far treated under A, B and C as 60,549, being 43,527 main words, 7753 special combinations, and 9269 subordinate words. Of these main words, 31,232 are current, 10,497 obsolete, and 1798 alien, showing that for these three letters " $71\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. are now current and fully naturalized,  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. are obsolete,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. alien or imperfectly naturalized; more than three-fourths of all the words included being thus in living use." This proportion will doubtless hold good throughout, and we may thus get some idea of the extent of our present vocabulary. We are told that the letter C is the second largest letter in the alphabet, being exceeded only by S; that it contains nearly as many words as A and B together, and as many as the nine smallest letters, X, Z, Y, Q, K, J, N, U, V, with three-fourths of the tenth, O. The many words of Latin origin or composition swell the list to this great number. Our attention is called, in the general Preface, to many words of both native and foreign origin that are treated at great length, and that are of special interest. Not only is this great Dictionary valuable for its minute analysis of the meanings of words, and its tracing of the history of these meanings, far exceeding anything that has been heretofore done, but it is specially valuable for the scientific etymology of English words. "The historical method followed," says Dr. Murray, "has cleared the origin and history of hundreds of words from the errors in which conjectural 'etymology' had involved them; it has established the actual derivation of many, and has left the origin of others as unknown and, to all appearance, lost." It is somewhat remarkable that the etymology of such a common word as *Cut*—which as noun occupies four columns and as verb, along with adverbial combinations, thirteen columns—should be unknown. The earliest example is from Layamon's Brut, text B, in the past tense *cutte*, where it replaces *nom* of text A: text B is assigned to 1275 A. D., as against 1205 for text A. We are told that it is "found in end of 13th c., and in common use since the 14th c., being the proper word for the action in question, for which O. E. used *sniðan*, *ceorfan*. . . . The word is not recorded in O. E. (nor in any W. Ger. dialect), and there is no corresponding verb in Romanic." An Old Teutonic stem *\*kut-*, *\*kot-* is regarded as the source of the English verb; but its exact origin is obscure. Dr. Murray, on the authority of Professor Rhys, rejects the conjectural derivation from the Welsh *cwta* 'shoot.' Also, he says that the origin of *cut* = lot and its original sense are uncertain, and he is inclined to regard it as a distinct word from the noun *Cut* derived from the verb. It is historically much older, as the phrase *draw cuts* occurs as early as 1300, whereas the other noun *Cut* is not earlier than the sixteenth century.

As an example of minute analysis, we find under the verb *Cut*, 33, c, as early as 1814, "For *cutting* his lectures this morning at eight," an expression so common now as university slang.

The first word in this part, *Crouchmas*, is one of interest, being applied to "The festival of the Invention of the Cross, observed on May 3" from the 14th century on, the earliest example given being from *English Gilds*, dating from 1389. The calendar date for this festival is May 3, but Grein and Wülker have both stated that the Latin 'Life of St. Cyriacus' is given



in the *Acta Sanctorum* under May 4, although a Greek 'Life' belongs to May 3. Brady's *Clavis Calendaria* (1812) gives the date of this festival as May 3, and a church calendar for 1893 lying before the writer has the same date. Also, the Latin 'Life' on which the Anglo-Saxon poem 'Elene' is based has in so many words: "celebrare commemorationem diei in qua inventa est sancta Crux quinto nonarum Maiarum." Can there be any mistake as to the date in the *Acta Sanctorum*? This work is not accessible to me.

It would be interesting to comment on many suggestive words, if time permitted. I would call attention to but one or two. Rosalynde's "gallant *curtelax* upon 'my thigh," with its various spellings, is nothing more than "A much-perverted form of the word *Cutlass* (in 16th c. *coutelas*, *coutelase*, *cuttelass*, etc.), through the intermediate perversions *cut(t)le-ax*, and *curtelas*, *courtelace*, *curtelace*, the peculiarities of which it combines. The form *curtal ax*, with its variants, was so distinct from *cutlass* that it acquired a kind of permanent standing, the identification of the final part with *ax*, *axe*, being favored by the use of the weapon in delivering slashing blows." We see here the phonetic insertion of *r* and the change of *s* to *x* under the influence of popular etymology. *Coutelas* itself is an "augmentative of *couteau* (*coute!*) 'knife': cognate with It. *coltellaccio*: Lat. type \**cultellāceum*." This is a good illustration of the influence of popular etymology on the form of a word.

Looking for *Cymling*, we find it, but are referred to *Simlin* for further information, the only example given being one from Morse's 'American Geography,' I 192 (1796). Now, *Cymling* is the form given in both Webster and Worcester, but if we consult the cookery books, the form varies greatly. Mrs. Tyree's 'Housekeeping in Old Virginia' gives *Cymlings* in text, but *Cymlins* in index, a common phonetic loss; Mrs. Hollyday's 'Domestic Economy' gives *Cymlings* in text, but *Cymbelines* (!) in index. Here we have the phonetic insertion of *b* and some superfluous *e*'s. We often hear *Cymbblins*, insertion of *b*, after the analogy of *crumble* and *number*, and loss of *g*. It is hard to say which form will survive. The catalogues of garden vegetables give us no help, as they avoid the word and use only *Squash*. The Century Dictionary gives the spellings *Cymbblin* and *Cymbbling*; the former is the more common in the Southern States. If, as Worcester says, the word is "akin to *Cymbal* and to Gr. *κνυβιον*," the *b* is not a phonetic insertion, but the word has suffered a phonetic loss.

Following the association of ideas, we look in vain in the first part of C for *Cashaw*, pronounced locally *cushaw*, *u* as in *cut*. The writer has heard it applied to a kind of squash, although White, 'Gardening for the South' (1857), defines it under *Pumpkin* (p. 214), but he says that the pumpkin "has become so crossed and intermingled with the squash that it is difficult to say of some varieties to which species they should be referred." He also says under *Squash* (p. 213): "The Cashaw pumpkin is a pretty good substitute for the winter squash." Bartlett gives: "*Cashaw*, sometimes spelt *Kershaw*. A pumpkin. Western"; but it is also Southern, as I can testify. *Cashaw* given in the Century Dictionary = honey-locust, is a different thing altogether, and this word is omitted. But this must suffice.

J. M. GARNETT.

Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus. A Revised Text, with Introductory Essays and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by W. PETERSON, M. A., LL. D., Principal of University College, Dundee, St. Andrews University. xcii + 120 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893.

This is the first edition of the Dialogus yet published in English. The introductory essays are five in number, and treat of the question of authorship and date of the Dialogue, its substance and scheme, the interlocutors and their parts, the style and language of the work, and lastly the MSS.

As regards authorship, the editor, as may be seen by the title of the book, defends the tradition of the MSS; yet he fails to make his case as strong as he might easily have done. One of the most cogent supports of the Tacitean authorship of our treatise is the internal evidence derived from a comparison of the diction, syntax and style of the Dialogus with that of the acknowledged works of Tacitus. To have marshalled this evidence along with the other arguments adduced would have been a simple task and would have added not a little to the force of this part of the Introduction.

The date of composition of the piece Principal Peterson believes, with Wolff, to have been 84-85 A. D., ten years after the dramatic date of the dialogue. The only object in assuming this late date for the composition of the work is to put the discussion far enough in the past to justify the author's reference to himself at the time as *iuvenis admodum*. But an interval of ten years at Tacitus's time of life is not needed to account for this phrase. If we assume that the author was eighteen at the time of the discussion, he might easily have referred to himself as *iuvenis admodum* seven years later, at the age of twenty-five. This would have been 81 A. D., the concluding year of Titus's reign. If, on the other hand, we set the date of composition as late as 84 or 85 A. D., we at once meet several difficulties. Not only is it inconsistent with Tacitus's explicit declaration in Agricola 3, to believe that he wrote anything in the reign of Domitian, but it is particularly improbable that he would have ventured the allusions to Vibius Crispus under that emperor. Moreover—and this is not the slightest consideration—every year deducted from the interval between the Dialogus and the Agricola and Germania adds to the difficulty of accounting for the changed style of the later works.

In the sketch of the interlocutors and their parts the editor pronounces against assigning chaps. 36-40. 7 to Secundus. He consequently rejects the theory of a lacuna before the words *non de otiosa re* in the latter chapter. This may be the safer view, yet we should like to see some consideration paid to the fact that Secundus, having allowed Maternus (chap. 16. 8) to promise a speech from him, may properly be expected to appear again in the discussion. Yet even without this, the evidence which Dr. Peterson presents in favor of assigning chaps. 36-40. 7 to Secundus will, it is predicted, weigh quite as heavily with many unbiassed readers as the counter-arguments in favor of Maternus.

The chapter on language and style might well have been fuller in scope and in detail. As illustrations of more noteworthy omissions may be cited the lack of any reference to the occurrence of alliteration in the Dialogus, pro-

nounced as that feature is throughout the treatise. Nor do we find any statement of the facts as to the use of *quamvis* with the subjunctive denoting something real, of the employment of the subjunctive with *quamquam*, of the subjunctive of indefinite frequency. A complete presentation of the essential facts of the syntax and style of the *Dialogus* would have been a useful and appropriate accompaniment of an edition of the scope of this, the more so as Dräger's treatment of the *Dialogus* material in all editions of his 'Syntax und Stil' is of a decidedly stepmotherly sort.

By far the largest space, relatively, is allotted to a consideration of the MSS. Here, as was to be expected, due recognition is made of Scheuer's convincing reconstruction of the MSS of the Y class. This is followed by an account of the hitherto neglected Harleianus (2639 in the British Museum). Dr. Peterson thinks this MS of great importance for the history of the constitution of the text, a view difficult to reconcile with the statement on p. lxxvi that Parisiensis 7773 is an almost exact copy of Harleianus, inasmuch as the Paris codex is of extremely little worth. Nor can I find that the editor has made the Harleianus the basis of any emendations or found in it grounds for the definitive support or rejection of any doubtful readings.

As regards the text, it can hardly be asserted that the editor's own conjectures have contributed to its improvement. Dr. Peterson's method as a textual critic is, in fact, not easy to understand. As a rule, his proposed emendations are laid before us without arguments in their favor, palaeographical or other, and without any attempt to anticipate the most obvious objections likely to be urged against them. Thus, at 5. 12 the conjecture *aliquem inveniri contigit* is in open defiance of Latin usage. An infinitive accompanied by a subject accusative does not occur with *contigit* until the time of Apuleius. So also at 26. 12 the reading *facetis hominibus* involves the assumption of a ἀπαξ λεγ. in *facetis*, to say nothing of the resulting sense, or of the use of the dative here, which is no easier to account for to-day than when Rhenanus proposed *quibusdam*, and which is not paralleled by Ann. II 33. 6 *erat adhuc frequens senatoribus promere*. In 37. 36 the proposal to read *vellicent* ignores the demands of the context, which calls for the notion of 'admiring scenes of conflict,' not of 'belittling what involves no risk.' Of other proposed conjectures several are already the property of other scholars, whose claims Dr. Peterson ignores. Thus, at 31. 31 *divitem* is the conjecture of Urlichs (Rhein. Mus. XXXI, p. 529); *suis* at 20. 15 stands in Halm's fourth edition; while *intelleges* at 3. 9 was proposed by Greef, De praepositionum usu apud Tacitum, p. 55; Lexicon Taciteum, p. 760 b. Of the few remaining conjectures of the editor, one only can possibly commend itself, viz. *ius huius civitatis* at 30. 15. This is ingenious, and palaeographically more probable than Gudeman's *ius suae civitatis*, though the latter emendation has a striking Ciceronian parallel in its favor. *Reverentia* at 40. 10 seems to have been suggested not so much by the MS tradition *sine servitute*, as by Pithou's conjecture *sine severitate*. The supposed advantages of the conjecture *grata quae*, at 6. 27, over Novák's *grata sunt quae* are not pointed out. Neither of these two conjectures, nor any of the several very similar ones, seems to me so adequately to solve the difficulties of this vexed passage as to read *quamquam quaedam serantur*, etc. The MS *alia*, as Gudeman has already convincingly

shown in this Journal (XII, p. 329), is nothing but an erroneous dittography of the following *diu*. But *diu* itself I believe to be corrupt. I base this conviction upon the utter impossibility of satisfactorily disposing of the word in its context. *Diu* might possibly be defended with *elaborentur*, but the notion of things which 'are a long time a-planting' is absurd under any circumstances, and particularly so in the present context. I am therefore convinced that *diu* represents an original *-dam*, whose first syllable *quae* was swallowed up in the preceding *quamquam*. The scribe of the archetype had already committed one such slip in this sentence (*ingenio* for *in ingenio*), and it is easy to believe that he was guilty of a second. The sense of the passage then would be: "For 'tis with the mind as with a field; tho' certain things are planted and cultivated, yet more pleasing are those that spring up of their own accord."

In interpretation Dr. Peterson has made good use of the labors of his predecessors, but that is all. One looks in vain for any original contributions to the elucidation of the text.

*Vagum*, at 9. 23, is taken, with Wolff, as synonymous with *volucere* 'fleeting.' I can find no warrant for this. The word seems rather to mean 'capricious,' as elsewhere.

In 28. 23 *principes liberos* is taken to mean 'their distinguished sons.' This is impossible, whether we consider the context or the regular signification of *princeps*. The children were not 'eminent' or 'remarkable,' nor would it be to the point to allude to them as such. *Principes* is to be taken predicatively — 'trained them up to be leaders.' Cf. Wolff's 'sie zu grossen Männern herangebildet haben.'

A strange slip occurs at 7. 2 in the note on *latus clavus*, which is explained as 'the toga with the broad purple border running down the front.' The *latus clavus* was, of course, not a decoration of the toga, but of the tunic, and was not a border, but a vertical stripe. The editor has confused the *tunica laticlavata* of the senators with the *toga praetexta* of curule magistrates.

The note at 40. 8 on *omnes omnia poterant* is contradictory. The phrase is held to be "a reminiscence of Vergil's 'non omnia possumus omnes,' except that here *omnes* = *οἱ πάντες*." But if this last is true, as it undoubtedly is, it is impossible to detect any reminiscence. At 21. 3 Toranius is mentioned as the 'tutor' of Octavius. This is a mistranslation of Suetonius's words (Aug. 27): *proscripsit C. Toranium suum tutorem*, 'his own guardian.'

But it is in the treatment of the language of the Dialogus and in the notes on grammatical points that one feels the most serious defect of the edition before us. The valuable data of linguistic usage accumulated in the Lexicon Taciteum have not been utilized to any extent; Wölfflin's Archiv, Reisig-Haase's Vorlesungen, Schmalz's Syntax and Stilistik have apparently been entirely neglected. The note on 6. 17, *coire, circumfundi*, takes these infinitives as exclamatory. This view, first suggested, I believe, by Goelzer, is unsupported by the facts of the language. The exclamatory infinitive in Latin is invariably the expression of indignation, scorn, or some kindred feeling. It never has the notion, imperatively demanded here, of 'consider what a glorious thing it is!' The two infinitives in question must be joined with the preceding *studium*; the first clause has the gerund, the second the

infinitive—an instance of that inconcinnity of construction so common in the later works of Tacitus, though rare, it must be admitted, in the *Dialogus*. In the note on *agunt feruntque* in 8. 18 it certainly ought to be noted that the usual form of this phrase is *ferunt aguntque*, and that the *rare* inversion occurs also sporadically in Greek. Cf. Xen. Hell. VI 5. 50. The collocation *nedum ul*, found at 10. 5, is so unusual that the other instances of its occurrence might well be noted. To Livy, III 14. 6, cited by Peterson, I add from Harvard Studies (II, p. 113): Livy, XXX 21; Apuleius, Met. V 10; IX 29; Tert. Marc. I 23. In 23. 3 Aper accuses Cicero of ending every other sentence in his speeches with the phrase *esse videatur*. Here we note the absence of any statement of the actual frequency of this phrase in Cicero's orations. In reality Aper's assertion involves the grossest exaggeration, no hint of which is given in the note on the passage. *Clientulorum* in 37. 2 is not the only instance of this word in Latin, as stated in the note at that point. Andresen, in his Programm des Askanischen Gymnasiums, 1892, states that *clientulis* is the MS reading also in Ann. XI 5.

An unusually large number of minor errors disfigures the book. Thus, Ulrichs is regularly referred to as Ulrichs (e. g., pp. lxii, lxvi), once as Ulrich (p. 63)—yet once correctly (p. lxxvii). Oberbreyer appears as Obermeyer in the only place where he is cited. Brachyology (sic) is the editor's unvarying designation for brachylogy, e. g. on 6. 15, 23. 8, 41. 25. *Hos idus* is a proposed reading at 17. 7. Clear misprints are *madantis* for *madentis* on 17. 7; *praemiroum* on 28. 5; *clientelle* on 36. 20; 'position' for 'portion' on 26. 10; to say nothing of numerous slips like 'treatsie' for 'treatise,' 'unneccessarily,' 'is' for 'it,' 'as' for 'us,' etc.

On the whole, one cannot resist the feeling that the editor has taken for his motto Maternus's *maturare libri huius editionem festino*. A work which should have taken years of laborious deliberation has apparently been prepared and put through the press in great haste. It may be seriously doubted whether the interests of learning are best promoted in this way.

CHAS. E. BENNETT.

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Platonstudien von Dr. FERDINAND HORN. Wien, F. Tempsky, 1893.

Plato and Platonism, by WALTER PATER. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1893.

It is possible to write about Plato in such a way as to kill all interest in Plato, although Plato, if let alone, is the most fascinating of authors; and there is so vast an amount of arid literature heaped about the subject that one is inclined to forgive Mr. Pater for his set purpose to make Plato interesting, and to thank Dr. Horn for not repelling us by his Platonstudien. Dr. Horn is one of those who think that Zeller has made an end of the grammatico-statistical method by which sundry unphilosophical souls once fondly expected to reach an objective standard (see A. J. P. X 470), and that there is nothing left but a return to Schleiermacher. To be sure, Schleiermacher failed, but his failure was due, says Horn, to the importance that he attached to the Phaidros as the dialogue that determined the direction of the others, and to his preconceived notion that Plato's dialogues must form together a single methodically con-

nected series. In other words, Schleiermacher's scheme was wrong and his starting-point was wrong, and yet Dr. Horn contends that Schleiermacher was at bottom right. If Plato is a profound and clear thinker and a master of style beyond compare, we must be able to deduce from his indisputably genuine writings the doctrine contained therein, with clearness and definiteness. If it is not only permissible but necessary to proceed from the presupposition that the development of Plato's thought is strictly normal, then, with the understanding of the contents, the question as to the sequence is essentially solved. These things being so, the conclusion will be: Either these writings are presentations of different parts of a completed system and show no considerable deviation from each other, in which case the question of sequence loses the greater part of its significance; or, which is the more probable, the views of Plato in the course of his long activity as a writer have undergone change and refashioning, and then, with the assumption of a normal development, there can be no doubt which is the earlier, which is the later view. If, in other words, we know exactly what Plato wants to say in a dialogue, then we know the position occupied by that dialogue in the corpus of the Platonic writings, and it follows as an inevitable corollary that a work of Plato cannot have been correctly and exhaustively explained unless its relation to the works that are of similar content is proved and has thus furnished the test for the explanation. Not as if there were a single series, comprising all the works of Plato—such a series as Schleiermacher wished to set up—but in those groups of dialogues that are mainly concerned with the same problems, certain series must result, and the comparison of these series will show in what order they follow or interlock. The achievement of this Horn justly considers not only a matter of great importance, but also as giving the sure basis for the study of the other works.

There are, he says, eight undisputed dialogues, for his list is even shorter than Schaarschmidt's: *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Phaidros*, *Symposion*, *Phaidon*, *Theaitetos*, *Politeia* and *Timaos*. These are the most important for the knowledge of Plato's doctrine and style, especially so as they show the progressive development, the constant transformation and clarification of Plato's thought, by which he is not seldom made to dispute directly his previous tenets. So, for instance, the theory of virtue in the *Gorgias* is different from that in the *Protagoras*, and the doctrine of immortality in the *Symposion* is different from that of the *Phaidros*, to which he returned in *Phaidon* and *Politeia*. But in all these transformations and self-corrections we can always recognize perfectly how one of these theories has proceeded from the other, and how all of them together form the leading, the fundamental views of Plato. This, he continues, furnishes us with a canon for judging the more or less doubtful dialogues. If they fit into the frame of the undoubtedly genuine dialogues without violence, if they serve as preparations or continuations or supplements, if they serve to complete the image of Plato already acquired, without altering it in any way,—then they are to be considered, without hesitation, as genuine. Such are *Laches*, *Lysis*, *Charmides*, *Euthydemos* and *Menon*. On the other hand, those dialogues that cannot be explained from the fundamental views held unwaveringly by Plato in his undoubtedly genuine writings, those dialogues that are in irreconcilable

conflict with said fundamental views, must be designated as spurious, and, in Horn's opinion, such a piece of work is the *Philebos*. Of course, success depends upon conscientious limitation to the contents of the dialogue. The analyst must not enrich the substance of the dialogue by his own contributions—a simple and cardinal rule against which, in Horn's judgment, there has been much and flagrant sinning.

The groups treated by Horn are: I. Laches, Protagoras, Gorgias; II. Lysis, Charmides, Euthydemus; III. Phaidros, Symposium, Phaidon, with an appendix on the Menon, which he accepts, and the *Philebos*, which he rejects.

I have given this abstract of Horn's views, not because I have any special calling to discuss the question of the Platonic Canon, but because the bare statement shows, what closer examination would only confirm, the hopelessness of reaching a definite conclusion on any plan that involves so many factors. The language is elusive, the subject is elusive, and the author is a Proteus when he is not a mime. True, even Plato's great and vivacious intellect was subject to the inexorable laws of life, and we might postulate certain changes that usually go with advancing years; and when we note a concord in these changes we may make bold to say: This is a Plato who has lost the spring of his life, whose laughter is forced, whose smile is grim; this is a Plato whose figures are made to order and lack the spontaneity of the early love; this is a Plato whose pictures are too elaborate, whose double office of teacher and poet is no longer carried with the easy grace of perfect mastery. We may make bold to say these things as they have been said of Pindar, and we may be foolish enough to forget the return of that youth that haunts the heart and brain of supreme genius. There is a drift, there is a trend in thought, as in language, but when it comes to detail in either domain we must not be too swift to formulate. For we have to do with an artist of the keenest susceptibility and of the most playful delight in his own powers of presentation. How much is presage and prophecy, how much is after-glow, who can tell? The date of the *Phaidros* is a perpetual *ignis fatuus* to the investigator, and he who mocks at a double edition of the *Phaidros*, himself suggests a double edition of the *Theaitetos*. Nor does Horn succeed in avoiding the fatality that seems to attend the quest of this Holy Grail of Platonism. According to him, the *Phaidros* is an exaltation of the written over the spoken word, of the living teacher over the mummified sophist. It is a glorification of the career of Sokrates, who taught, and did not write, and therefore must stand early in the Platonic canon, must stand before Plato engaged in his own varied authorship. Or else, though he does not admit the dread alternative, the exaltation of the spoken over the written word, of the loving teacher over the frosty rhetorician, may mark the close of Plato's own career as an author, so that we should have in the *Phaidros* the confession of a failure and the consecration of what remained of life to the teacher's calling. Such are the alternatives of an infallible method. As for the progress of doctrine, I would only say that in the lower sphere, in which I move—the sphere of grammar and style—I should no more think of maintaining that one dialogue is later than another because Plato starts a synonym or a syntactical distinction in the one that he does not observe in the other, than I should undertake to apply to any healthy classic the minute laws of

chronological consistency by which a mechanical antiquarianism is bound. How often have we seen professed grammarians state a phenomenon correctly one year and then, by lapse of memory or other infirmity, state it falsely some years afterwards; deny the dual to Herodotos in 1869 and expound the Herodotean dual in 1870, as happened to Kühner (A. J. P. II 401); explain *worth* in 'Woe worth the day' as a verb in an earlier grammar and as an adjective in a later primer, a chance which befell, if I am not mistaken, the late Richard Morris! We cannot hold Plato the artist to the strict responsibility that some people exact of Homer. Else we shall make mince-meat of the unity, not only of the Platonic system, but of the individual dialogues. How, for instance, did Sokrates, who never went out of town, who seemed to need an Augustus Hare to conduct him through the environs of Athens,—how did he manage to reveal so accurate a knowledge of this and that feature of the landscape that Phaidros, who tramped the roads about Athens in conscientious obedience to a medical prescription, had to ask him for information? Of course, the 'inconsistency' may be explained in half a dozen ways, as, for instance, by Sokrates' schoolboy rambles, but there should be no necessity of explanation.

As to the value of a careful analysis of the dialogues of Plato as a necessary preliminary to the appreciation of the whole Platonic corpus, or, if Heaven please, to the reconstruction of a Platonic 'system,' whether that system sprang complete into life or was gradually evolved—as to the value of such an analysis there cannot be two minds. The trouble lies in the execution. Bonitz's work in this direction is admirable, and yet how much dissent it has evoked. To be objective here is impossible, for if you are objective you will not be impressionable enough to respond to Plato's shifting moods. Every one who has studied Plato at all has had to encounter this difficulty, and the independent analyses I have made from time to time, in an honest endeavor to fit myself in a measure for work in Plato, have ceased to comfort me as soon as I undertook to compare them with the results of Platonic scholars whom I felt myself bound to respect. So, instead of carping at Dr. Horn's analyses, which would be the short method of an accomplished Platonist, I actually made independent analyses of *Philebos*, *Laches* and *Charmides*, and made them as 'objectively' as was possible for me. I am sorry to say that they do not fit exactly into the lines of Horn's work. But it is not necessary to take a whole dialogue. Take a part of a dialogue. Take a limited range, such as the speeches in the *Symposion*. Which of all the many schemes of succession and contrast is the true one? Some years ago I attempted to make a ring out of these separate gems, for, in an attack of the Schleiermacherian spirit, I refused to believe that they were 'orient pearls at random strung,' and I even dared to print a little paper (*J. H. U. Circulars*, No. 55, January, 1887) in which I reproduced the complex which these wonderful discourses made to my mind. I do not flatter myself that I succeeded in getting any one else to occupy my angle of vision. What is Orion's belt to one nationality is Our Lady's Ellwand to another, and the same thing is true of the Platonic constellations and of individual students. So Horn has a chapter on the subject of the speeches in the *Symposion*, but Horn brings me no comfort. In short, when the unphilosophical soul is brought into the presence of Plato he has



but to behold and wonder. But wonder is a good beginning, as Plato himself would say. It is at least the threshold.

In what has been said about the difficulty of Dr. Horn's task there has been no desire to detract from the merit of his studies, which seem to me unusually suggestive and instructive—and the fact that this notice has swollen from a brief sentence of acknowledgment to its present compass must be considered a manner of tribute to the interest which Dr. Horn has managed to arouse in one who must perforce confine himself to the literary side of Plato. Mr. Pater's volume, on the other hand, would seem, at first, to be intended more for the student of Plato as a poet than for the student of Plato as a thinker; but one cannot divorce Plato the artist from Plato the philosopher, and Mr. Pater's Plato and Platonism has been enthusiastically welcomed not only by literary people, but by those who are recognized interpreters of the spirit of Plato. In one or two journals, it is true, there has been a mild protest against the liberties that Mr. Pater has taken with his authorities, and in the September number of the *Educational Review* Professor Seymour has not hesitated to point out some of the blunders that disfigure the fascinating book; but most of the critics, not having about them the philological *moly*, seem to have fallen under the Circean spell of Mr. Pater's style, and to have surrendered absolutely to Pater and Paterism. Indeed, while reading one of these enthusiastic notices, I could not keep from exclaiming: *ηγούμενος σὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἐπάτειν περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων σοὶ εἰπόμεν καὶ ἐπόμενος συνεβάκχευσα μετὰ σοῦ τῆς θείας κεφαλῆς*. And yet—and yet—I hope I shall be pardoned for saying that my enjoyment would have been heightened if some mousing owl of a grammarian had exterminated a few of the small deer in Mr. Pater's proofsheets. Carelessness in these minor matters breeds distrust. Chaignet, for instance, 'professeur de littérature ancienne' and author of a work on Plato's psychology that has been crowned by the French Academy, irritates the schoolmaster soul by his false accents, and Mr. Pater is even worse. Not only does he maltreat the accents, which some still consider a small matter, but he puts an enclitic at the head of a sentence, construes *ἀκολουθεῖν* with the accusative, writes *ἡ διαίτα Δωρική* as if Greek were French, and with a clear poetical *δέ τε* before him, allows Plato to fool him into quoting a verse as if it were prose. That is a very common Platonic trick, but a Platonic scholar ought to have been on his guard against his master's mischief. However,

*πολλοὶ μὲν νερθηκοφόροι παῦροι δέ τε βάκχοι.*

Still, no one with any degree of literary sensibility can be proof against Mr. Pater's attractive way of putting things, and there is an undeniable charm in seeing the veriest commonplaces of Platonic study lighted up by the poetic genius of Mr. Pater; but commonplaces are after all commonplaces, and a whole chapter of Mr. Pater's may be packed in a simple, short sentence of some approved manual. Nor is Mr. Pater's style at its best in this book. Marius, the Epicurean, was a more congenial theme than Plato and Platonism. It may be that the necessary comparison with Plato himself is an inevitable disadvantage; it may be that the strong masculine personality of Sokrates is a serious drawback. The long Platonic periods are instinct with life, and Sokrates hits out from the shoulder. Mr. Pater is too languid for the com-

pany he keeps, and his perpetual 'Well!' has the tone of refined condescension, not of Socratic *bonhomie*. His translations from Plato might well form the subject of a special notice, as it is he, according to Professor Shorey (A. J. P. XIII 352), who should have redeemed us from Jowett's provoking 'neatness and crispness'; but the book hardly falls within the province of this Journal, at any rate, and one specimen of Mr. Pater's style must serve to show the *bric-à-brac* character of his illustrations:—

"A certain penitential colour amid that glow of fancy and expression, hints that the final harmony of his nature had been but gradually beaten out, and invests the temperance, actually so conspicuous in his own nature, with the charms of a patiently elaborated effect of art" (p. 121).

Poor Plato has had many things to suffer at the hands of the critics, by reason of the 'barkeeper' figure in the Laws (VI 773 D), but what he means is clear enough, whereas Mr. Pater's figure will be a perpetual puzzle to those who are not familiar with the processes of metallurgy to which he refers. One can readily foresee that when the classics of the nineteenth century are edited, this passage will evoke as elaborate a commentary as that which has gathered about the *χαλκοῦ βάφας* of the Agamemnon.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

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The Church Slavonic Elements in the Modern Literary and Popular Russian Language (Cerkovnoslavjanskije Elementy v Sovremennom Literaturnom i Narodnom Russkom Jazykje), by S. BULIČ. Part I. St. Petersburg, 1893. [Memoirs of the Historico-Philological Faculty of the Imperial University at St. Petersburg, Part XXXII.]

Less than ten years ago Hugo Schuchardt boldly enunciated his theory, "es gibt keine völlig ungemischte Sprache," in opposition to M. Müller's dictum, "es gibt keine Mischsprache," at the same time asserting that language mixture is the most important question that confronts modern linguistic science. H. Paul's first edition of the 'Principien der Sprachgeschichte' was out, and Schuchardt justly complained that no place had been given in it to this question; in his second edition Paul corrected the mistake by inserting a chapter on language-mixture, doubtless under the influence of this new impetus. The activity thus roused in the linguistic field has produced some excellent fruit, but no work can compare in thoroughness and importance with the one before us. In an introduction of 56 pages the author summarizes all that has been done towards the understanding of the phenomena of language-mixture, adding to it copious illustrations of a similar process in Slavonic and Russian. In connection with this Bulič ably criticises Schleicher's categories of Lehnwörter and Fremdwörter and the essentially identical division by Prof. Tobler. According to them, words that passed into the language from a foreign idiom at an early period, so that phonetic changes have made them familiar to the ear, belong to the first class, while late introductions of unusual sound must be regarded as Fremdwörter. This classification suffers from serious defects. The author exemplifies it in the word *strubcynka* ('Schraubenzwinge'), which cannot be

regarded as foreign, since its identity with the German word is not apparent, nor as belonging to the first division, since the second part (*cynka*) sounds un-Russian. Turkic words such as *kaftan*, *kazak*, on the contrary, pass for pure native words, although they have preserved their original form. In view of these facts, Bulič says: "The strange impression produced by foreign words depends on three causes: the incomprehensibility of their roots, their consequently isolated position, and their rarer use. The last is the most potent one. The present method of dividing words into Lehnwörter and Fremdwörter suffers from subjectivity and from the unavoidable absence of scientific exactness; the associative relation between the members of separate semasiological and etymological groups, and the determination of frequency of such members, must be studied and reduced to more or less exact formulæ before correct classification can be attempted."

It was known to many before Bulič that Church Slavonic played an important part in the formation of literary Russian, and the more apparent phonetic Slavonisms are correctly stated by Bodouin de Courtenais, but no one before him has made a thorough investigation of the subject. The real relation of Church Slavonic to Old Slavonic has never been exactly understood. In this first volume the author makes a minute investigation into the extent of the decay of the older forms, and of the Russian influences which helped to modify the older language; the second volume will doubtless contain the direct exposition of the main subject as indicated in the title.

The first chapter contains a detailed critical analysis of all previous works on Church Slavonic, from Zizanj and Smotricki in the sixteenth century to Buslajev and Bodouin de Courtenais in our own times. The small residue of any worth is separated from the dross of subjective speculations; this task elicits his words: "The present chapter relieves us from the duty of referring to earlier works, and attests our good will to make use of all real literary material."

His investigations are based on the texts of the Bible of the Russian revision: the Ostrožski (1581), the Editio Princeps of Moscow (1663), and the New, a reprint of the Empress Elisabeth revision of 1751. The older Skorina Bible he rejects as being a curious mixture of Church Slavonic, Polish, White Russian and Bohemian. All other Church Slavonic works follow closely the Bible texts, hence need not be considered.

Phonetic and morphological analogies with Great Russian account for the deviations from the older language. Little Russian comes in for its share of phonetic influence in the pronunciation of *g* as a voiced velar spirant (*ɣ*), and in the preservation of accented *e* preceding an unpalatalized consonant, where Russian has changed it to *jo*; this is explained by the fact that most religious teachers came from Kiev, and that the pronunciation of a book-language is assimilated to the conditions of the living idiom. Following similar influences, Ch. Slavonic has lost the nasality of its vowels, reducing them to the corresponding Russian vowels. *ǔ* (sign of non-palatalization) has the zero of sound, *i* indicates palatalization. The combinations *řǔ*, *ři*, *lǔ*, *li* are changed, as in Russian, to *or*, *er*, *ol*, *el* (?); *rje*, *lje* remain unchanged; so do *ra*, *la*, while in Russian the latter become *oro*, *olo*. Most consonants follow the same influence: palatalization is extended to *k*, *g*, *χ*, while *ž*, *ž*, *c* lose it. The historical

relation of the first group to O. Slavonic is, however, preserved in the intermediate softening of *k, g, χ*, under the influence of palatalization, to *s, c, s* respectively. O. Slavonic correspondents to *tj, dj* (*kt, gt, χt*) are preserved, but with a changed pronunciation. Changes of Ch. Slavonic *ŷʹ* and *žd* to the corresponding Russian *č* and *ž* are rare. O. Sl. *št* changing to Ch. Sl. *ŷʹ* is explained by the case where it represents prim. *skj* before palatal vowels, which was then extended to cases where it represents prim. *tj, kt, gt*; this was, presumably, aided by the use of the ligature for *št*, disguising the original combination. The pronunciation *ŷʹ* before non-palatal vowels is due to a secondary development: *žd* before non-palatals preserved its original pronunciation, the absence of a ligature recalling to mind the real value of the sound: before palatal vowels it becomes *ždž* or *ždʹ*; this again is explained as a development of prim. *ždj* or *žgj*.

The remaining 250 pages deal with the morphological peculiarities of Ch. Slavonic; here again we see the destructive influence of the living Russian and the action of morphological assimilation. Only a few examples can be cited here. The declensional endings are wavering between the older forms and Russian, and Smotricki's multiplicity of forms is shown to be an attempt at graphic differentiation only: the *u*-declension tends to become identical with that in *o*, the *u* with that in *i*, etc. The personal endings of the verbs follow the same Russifying tendency. The forms of the dual are instructive, as their comparatively rare use led the revisers to odd mistakes. The first person of O. Slavonic dual *-vje* is substituted by *va* and *ma*, while Smotricki differentiates them as to genders into *ma* and *mje*, *va* and *vje*. *Va* and *vje* is evidently due to an assimilation to such nominal forms as *dva brata, dvje rucje*, while *ma, mje* shows the influence of the first person plural. Similarly, the second and third persons are given as *ta, tje*; the forms are frequently substituted by those of the plural. The second person of secondary tenses is restricted in its use, the compound form (e. g. *vidjel jesi*) being used instead. The verb does not appreciably differ from the older form in its classification of conjugations. The number of participial forms is increased, the simpler ones giving way by degrees to the complex, more Russian forms. The simple aorist of Leskien's classification has almost entirely disappeared; the first complex aorist is generally abandoned for the second. The periphrastic expressions are fairly well preserved; the auxiliary verb is frequently omitted, as in Russian; the future is formed as in O. Slavonic or as in Russian.

These scanty examples may, perhaps, give an idea of the scope of the work. We look forward with great expectations to the second volume.

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## REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PÄDAGOGIK, 1891.

Fascicle 10.

81. Pp. 657-84. A. Fleckeisen discusses a number of passages of Plautus and Terence. I. Plautus, Aul. 701, *pici*, the reading of the latest editions, should give way to the MS *picis* = *φίκας* or *πίκας* (= *σφίγγας*, Hesych.). The use of the word is due to a not unnatural confusion of the *γρύπες*, who were the *χρυσοφύλακες* (*qui aureos montes colunt*, ibid.), and the *φίκες* or *σφίγγες*, a confusion to which Isidorus gives testimony, Orig. XX 11, 3: *spingae sunt in quibus sunt spingatae effigies, quos nos gryphos dicimus*. He would further transpose thus: *divitiis picis*, etc. Excursus (*Auslauf*, to the justification of which term a considerable note is devoted) on Plato's Cratylus, 414 d, where for the vulgate *ὡς περ καὶ τὴν σφίγγα ἀντὶ φειγὸς σφίγγα καλοῦσιν* should be read *ἀντὶ σφειγὸς φίγα καλοῦσιν*.—II. Casina, prol. 61, MSS and editors from Merula to Schöll read *impedimento*, regardless of the true quantity. Fleckeisen restores it by omission of *et*, thus: *eandem illam amare, esse impedimento sibi*. Consideration of this passage leads him incidentally to emendations of Ter. H. T. 601 and 933, and Phormio 598. Returning to the Casina, he suggests the following reading for prol. 48 f.: *placere posset eam puellam <et> hic senex | ama <vi> t efflictim et item <adultus> filius*. In prol. 55 he transposes, reading *adlegat armigerum*, and vs. 72 he reads thus: *et hic in nostra fieri terra Apulia*.—III. The adjective form *scelerus* = *scelestus*, *scelerosus*, reported by Servius ad Aen. IX 484, along with *funerus* = *funereus*, is defended against the objections of Sauppe, and is recognized accordingly in Pseudolus 817, quoted by Servius, and restored to Andria 786, Adelphi 159 (to transform the objectionable iambic line into a trochaic septenarius), Mostel. 504, and Rudens 456 (in the last three instances to take the place of the unmetrical *scelestus* of the MSS).—IV. Attention is called to the difficulty of giving a satisfactory interpretation to the phrase *lectulos in sole ilignis pedibus* in Adelphi 585, and the inadequacy of Bentley's explanation is shown. An emendation by Leclerc (Clericus 1712) to *lectulos illi salignis pedibus* is communicated and defended palaeographically and by reference to Ovid, Met. VIII 656. In Heaut. Tim. 147 Fleckeisen transposes, reading *me tantisper*, and in 148 he reads (following Madvig) *vivam miser* for *fiam miser*.

82. Pp. 685-8. O. Meltzer (Zur vorgeschichte des dritten punischen Kriegs) calls attention to the fact that among the conditions imposed upon the Carthaginians by the Romans (Diod. 32, 6. 3; Liv. perioch. 49) as terms of surrender, the one pertaining to the rebuilding of their city agrees curiously with the teaching of Plato concerning the ideal location of a state, viz. that it shall be at least 80 stadia from the sea-coast (Leges 704 δ). The conclusion which is drawn from this coincidence is, that when the efforts of

the party of tolerance toward Carthage to prevent the destruction of the city were of no avail, they suggested this condition as a compromise, and in naming the specifications concerning a possible future site were influenced by the Platonic doctrine, with which Scipio Nasica at least may have been familiar.

83. Pp. 689-706. H. Magnus presents the first of a series of critical studies on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. I. *Fragmentum Bernense*. A description of the MS and a new collation of the Ovid portions by H. Hagen is presented, correcting and completing the earlier collations by Hagen and Ellis. The question which Magnus proposes is, whether the frag. B. goes back to the same archetype as the complete MSS or not, and he comes to the conclusion that it does not, but represents an older and purer text, quite independent of them. Results of some importance for the emendation of the text of Ovid are thus reached.

(51.) Pp. 706-7. O. Linsenhart collects a number of passages from ancient writers to support the correctness of Virgil's observation concerning the food of the ant in the well-known passage *Aen.* IV 402.

84. P. 707. F. Polle, on Cicero, C. M. §68.

85. Pp. 708-12. G. Friedrich discusses the parabasis in the *Curculio* of Plautus (462-86). It is conceded that either 472 or 485 is spurious, but, contrary to the view of Jordan and Goetz, he would eliminate 472, chiefly on the ground that a basilica did not exist in Rome at that time. Vs. 485, transposed with the preceding and emended (*quaerito* for *Oppiam* is suggested), should then stand in the text.

86. Pp. 713-16. W. Schwarz interprets *Potamophylacia* in CIL. II 1970 as the Latin transliteration of a Greek word *ποταμοφυλακεία*, meaning the police oversight of the river (Nile), a task which might well have been entrusted to a special officer, whose duty it would be not only to police the river, but also to administer the collection of tolls at the various stations (*φυλακή, σχεδία*). It is not surprising that the holder of such an office should also have been *praefectus classis Alexandrinae* (ibid.).

87. P. 716. E. Dittrich, on Propertius, IV 2.

88. Pp. 717-36. W. Liebenam (*Bemerkungen zur Tradition über Germanicus*) discusses the view of the character of Germanicus presented by Tacitus, and his relation to Tiberius. He observes that the facts as narrated by Tacitus give no sufficient warrant for his assertion that a relation of hostility and mutual distrust existed between Tiberius and Germanicus. The origin of this view, he suggests, is to be found in the contrast between the characters and the appearance of the two men, which was interpreted by popular judgment after the death of Germanicus as representing a deep-seated jealousy—a view to which additional color of truth was given by the banishment of Agrippina. Following this tradition, Tacitus constructs his whole history of Germanicus upon the assumed hostility of Tiberius to him, in the manner of a tragic drama, in which the hero saves the throne for the emperor who seeks to destroy him. In accordance with this view, the history of the mutiny of

the legions on the Rhine is examined, and it is found that the real causes of the uprising are suppressed, and that it is made to appear as a revolt of the army against Tiberius, in favor of Germanicus. That many of the facts in detail were not quite as related by Tacitus, the author seeks to show by intimations of Tacitus himself as well as from other sources, and he explains the peculiar coloring that they have received in Tacitus's narrative by the popular tradition concerning Germanicus already referred to.

(32.) P. 736. H. Deiter, critical observations on *Caes. B. G. VII 74. 1; VIII 36. 1.*

Fascicle 11.

89. Pp. 737-50. H. Düntzer, on the *Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος* of Aeschylus, maintains the correctness of Welcker's view (at present generally discredited under the influence of Westphal's criticisms) that this drama was the first of the Prometheus trilogy, and presents his conception of its character and contents.

90. Pp. 750-1. F. Polle, exegetical observation on *Dem. de pace*, §24.

91. Pp. 751-2. O. Höfer, a couple of critical notes on Eusebius *παρασκευὴ εὐαγγελτική*.

92. P. 752. E. Dittrich restores to metrical form a fragment of the hymn of Euanthes to Glaucus, preserved in the prose of Athenaeus (296 c).

93. Pp. 753-66. F. Lüders gives 'marginal notes' of linguistic, geographical and literary-historical character on the first four books of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (some valuable parallels).

94. Pp. 767-8. K. J. Liebhold, critical notes on three passages of Plato's *Gorgias*.

95. Pp. 769-75. G. Knaack, observations on a number of the poets of the Greek Anthology and certain of their epigrams.

96. Pp. 775-8. E. Goebel, some critical notes on Homer.

97. Pp. 779-92. K. Manitius calls attention to the almost forgotten commentary of Hipparchus, the astronomer, to the *Phaenomena* of Aratus and Eudoxus. The contents of the work are set forth in considerable detail, and emendations to the text, arrived at chiefly by means of a globe so arranged, or set back, as to reproduce the rising and setting of the stars and constellations in Hipparchus' time, are communicated. The text is found to bear traces of revision, carried through more or less intelligently.

98. P. 792. E. Dittrich, critical note on the scholia to Apollonius's *Argonautica*, I 38.

(88.) Pp. 793-816. W. Liebenam continues his discussion of Tacitus's account of Germanicus, and takes up next his description of the campaigns in Germany. He calls attention to the uncertain character of topographical and chronological data as given by Tacitus, in spite of much detail, although, as he points out, this is only in accordance with Roman methods of historical research and composition. Faithful to one of the avowed aims of the *Annals*,

*ne virtutes sileantur*, Tacitus sketches in the person of Germanicus an ideal picture of a successful commander, which is not, however, without improbable touches of rhetorical fiction. The successes of the Romans are magnified, their losses passed over in silence or excused. The Germans, whose valor and discipline are so warmly praised in the *Germania*, are here represented as a race of cowards, slothful and untrained. In general, rhetorical display is peculiarly manifest in this portion of the *Annals*. Concerning the recall of Germanicus, Tacitus recognizes but one motive, the jealousy and envy of Tiberius, although indications are not lacking to show that there was good ground for dissatisfaction with Germanicus. For instance, contrary to the general principles of Tiberius's foreign policy, Germanicus had inaugurated an aggressive and offensive warfare in Germany which could only have been justified by great successes. Since these did not follow, it was only right that emphasis should be laid upon the correctness of the emperor's judgment by recalling in formal manner the commander who had ventured to inaugurate a policy of his own.

(75.) P. 816. H. Lewy makes some additions to the article of B. Schmidt (Ancient formulae of imprecation, A. J. P. XIV 2) from German popular superstition and from the Old Testament.

#### Fascicle 12.

99. Pp. 818-22. C. Rüger, critical notes on the Ps.-Dem. speech cont. *Euergetis et Mnesibul*. (XLVII).

(10.) P. 822. K. J. Liebhold, on Xen. Mem. III 10. 12.

100. Pp. 823-8. P. Schulze examines the work *περί ὀρχήσεως*, attributed to Lucian, with regard to its contents, purpose and language, and comes to the conclusion (already arrived at by Bekker and Sommerbrodt) that it cannot be genuine.

101. Pp. 829-47. R. Klotz presents a metrical study (1) of the argument and prologue, and (2) of the cantica of the *Casina* of Plautus. Concerning the cantica, he holds that the MSS present more often than is believed the correct division of the lines, displaying an extraordinary variety of metrical forms and confirming his views of the art of the Roman dramatists in this respect, as set forth in his work 'Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik' (Leipzig, 1890).

102. Pp. 848-50. M. Kiderlin, critical notes on Quintilian, book IX.

(37.) Pp. 851-5. J. Netušil discusses the formulation of the rules for conditional sentences, and suggests that in addition to the usual three forms (indicative, potential and unreal) a fourth class, which he would call the 'fictive form,' be recognized to comprehend imaginary or postulated suppositions, as, for instance, *si quis deus largiatur, recusem*, in which an apparent confusion of the potential and unreal condition is frequently found. But in such conditions the pres. subj. is used with reference to present time, the impf. subj. with reference to past.

103. P. 856. C. Häberlin, in Sid. Apol. epist. VIII 11 reads *in bucolica Virgiliana* (MSS *vigilanx*).



(33.) Pp. 857-64. F. Knoke discusses the *locus vexatus*, Germania, 2, 16, and comes to the conclusion that *a victore* is used of the Romans, and *ob metum* of the fear with which the Germans had inspired the Gauls, i. e. *ob metum Gallorum ex Germanis*.

(88.) Pp. 865-88. W. Liebenam continues his discussion of Tacitus's account of Germanicus, taking up for the concluding paper his *imperium* in the East. The ground for the hostility of Piso to Germanicus is to be found in the conduct of the latter, and not in secret efforts of Tiberius looking toward their alienation. This final scene in the life of Germanicus reveals the same dramatic conception to which attention has already been called, and to it historical truth has certainly been sacrificed not a little. Concerning the source of Tacitus, it is impossible for us to arrive at any final results. Certainly there was less divergence among his authorities for the events of the life of Germanicus than for most other events treated in the Annals. This peculiarity of Tacitus's account seems to indicate that Germanicus is portrayed in the lines given to his character by the tradition of the people, whose idol he was. The growth of the tradition, however, we cannot follow. The criticisms which have been presented affect, therefore, rather the historiography of antiquity than the *fides historica* of Tacitus.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

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REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XVI.

No. I.

I. Pp. 1-17. Biographical sketch of O. Riemann, by Émile Chatelain. Othon Riemann was born at Nancy, June 23, 1853, and died Aug. 16, 1891, from the effects of a terrible fall on the Morgenberg seven days before. Having graduated at the *lycée* of Nancy (1870), he studied with brilliant success in the *École normale supérieure*, and in 1874 he was made a member of the French School of Athens. The first year was to be spent in Italy. He devoted this time to the libraries of various cities, where he collated the MSS of Livy and did other work. His influence on the schools of Athens and Rome was felt from the start. During his second year he produced several important works. He was then entrusted with the archaeological exploration of the Ionian isles, and made a voluminous report. Returning to France in 1877, he occupied a chair in grammar in the *École supérieure* at Nancy. In 1879 he submitted his dissertation to the *Faculté des lettres* de Paris, and received his doctorate. His dissertation was a double one, consisting of (1) a discussion of the sources of the text of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and (2) a treatise on the language and grammar of Livy. In 1880 he became one of the editors of the *Revue de Philologie*, having been since 1878 *Rédacteur général* of Greece for the *Revue des Revues* appended to the *Rev. d. Philologie*. In 1881 he was called to Paris by the *Faculté des lettres* as being the most competent scholar in France to defend and strengthen pure philology against the threatening inroads of comparative grammar. During this same year he succeeded Thurot in the chair of grammar at the *École normale* without at once resigning that which he

already held. In 1885 he was unanimously called to a chair in the École des hautes-études, retaining his place in the École normale. Six years and a half after this came the terrible catastrophe; but in this brief space he accomplished more than the usual work of a lifetime. His books, original articles, and reviews numbered in all one hundred and fifty-one. A complete list of them is given by Chatelain. From 1884 to 1888 he assisted in editing the *Revue de l'enseignement secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur*.

The works of Riemann are of the highest order. His 'Syntaxe latine' contains a great number of new facts and personal results. He was no less competent as a Greek grammarian, and assisted Tournier in the preparation of his 'Premiers éléments de grammaire grecque.' Many of his articles, published in the *Revue de Philologie* and elsewhere, contain important contributions to Latin and Greek grammar. His critical work on Livy was in such demand among the scholars of the world that a second edition was called for—a rare fortune for a doctor-dissertation, even in France, where the grade is very high. It is not possible, however, to give an account here of all his works.

But perhaps even more important was his influence as a teacher. His many pupils, now scattered over France and other countries, have carried with them his scientific method and his zeal for true philology. The fruitfulness of his instruction is ascribed, in great part, to the fact that his philological attainments did not form an oasis in the midst of a desert of general ignorance; but he possessed a good knowledge of contiguous subjects, by means of which he kept his labors in touch with the rest of the great world of literature and science.

He was of a modest, retiring disposition. He never for a moment made any display of his great attainments; nor did he ever seek notoriety by popularizing the results of his investigations or those of others. He was unwilling to do any work unless he believed that he could thereby contribute something to human knowledge.

His portrait appears as a frontispiece to this number of the *Revue*.

2. P. 17. Paul Thomas proposes *bonorum* for the second *vivorum* in Cic. de Leg. II 17. 44.

3. Pp. 18–34. Latin notes by Paul Lejay. I. He attempts to remove *nasus* from the exceptions to rhotacism by showing from inscriptions that this word was pronounced *nassus*. Compare *caussa* and *causa*. In that case *naves* would show a double formation. The inscriptions quoted deal chiefly with proper names formed on the stem *nas(s)o-*.

II. *Litteratura*, denoting *profane* literature, as opposed to *scriptura*, is shown to have probably originated from Ps. lxx. 15, with the reading *γραμματαίος* of B<sup>ab</sup> N (for *πραγματίας* BR), whence the Vulgate *litteraturam*. Strange to say, the sentence in which it occurs is an interpolation.

III. *Refert* and *interest* = 'it concerns' are discussed. From a history of the usage the following conclusions are drawn: 1. *Refert* is the more ancient. 2. *Refert* alone is employed by the poets to the end of the classical period. 3. *Interest* is peculiar to prose, exclusively employed by Caesar, and chosen by Cicero when a complement is added. The constructions of *refert* and *interest* are derived from *refert mea*. When *interest mea* was formed after its analogy,

the step to *interest Caesaris* was easy; and from this was finally produced *refert Caesaris*. [The author fails to note that *interest*, except in the subjunctive, could not be used in dactylic metres.]

IV. *Qui et* (without verb) adding a sobriquet to a name in inscriptions is illustrated by many classified examples. The relative, though always (?) in the nominative, often has an oblique case after it, when the same case precedes, as *Iuveni qui et Efractoris*. In very few examples a genitive follows though a nominative precedes. [In two of the examples as printed, *cui et* appears between datives. On this the author makes no remark.] Sometimes *q. et* is written.

4. Pp. 35-9. On Andocides *Πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους*, by H. Micheli. This lost speech is mentioned only in *Plut. Them.* 32. Two fragments (*Suidas*, s. v. *Σκάνδις*; *Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp.* 1007) are assigned to it by Kirchhoff. The author accepts these, but rejects the conclusions of K., and conjectures that the oration was originally entitled *Κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους*, and that this became confounded with the *anonymous* oration *Κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου* referred to in *Plut. Alcib.* 13, so that both for a time bore the name of Andocides, and finally the genuine oration was dropped and lost.

5. P. 39. Note on the origin of the Italian recension of Plautus, by Paul Lejay.

6. Pp. 40-41. In *Hirt. de Bello Gal.* VIII, *Prooe.* 2, S. Dosson shows that *cohaerentibus* (also *comparantibus*, *comparentibus*, *comparandis*, *comparandos* in MSS) should very probably be *competentibus*.

7. Pp. 42-8. Critical notes on Greek works on Alchemy, by Paul Tannery.

8. Pp. 49-56. On Sallust the Philosopher, by Franz Cumot. Some have maintained that the author of the book entitled *Σαλοναστίου φιλοσόφου περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* was Flavius Sallustius, the friend of Julian. Wilamowitz, on the contrary, holds that he was the grammarian Sallustius, who composed the arguments to the *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex*. Cumot brings strong evidences in favor of the former view. He shows incidentally that the title of the book is arbitrary, resting on no real authority. The article closes with a collation of the one extant MS with the edition of Orelli.

9. Pp. 57-9. Notes on Herodotus, by O. Navarre. I. Herodotus twice (*I* 106 and 184) refers to his *Ἀσσίριοι λόγοι*, which are not found in his work. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII 18) seems to refer to this treatise, but some have insisted upon reading *Ἡσίοδος* for *Ἡρόδοτος*. Navarre shows that the former cannot be correct. II. He then discusses, as a distinct subject, the question whether Herodotus merely forgot to fulfil at the proper places certain promises he makes in his history, or never completed his work; and he shows that the latter is the case.

10. Pp. 60-71. On the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive with *quom* in narrative propositions, by Otto Keller. The views of Hale and of Hoffmann, though diametrically opposite to each other, are both rejected. Keller finds the cause of this illogical use of the subjunctive in a sort of preference or taste for the subjunctive, and thinks that the frequency of *quom* narrative in

indirect discourse in official documents contributed to the establishment of this particular illogical use of that mood. He illustrates his theory of a tendency to or preference for particular modes of expressions, by many examples in various languages. [This *précis* is intended only to call attention to the article. To be understood, the whole article should be read.]

11. Pp. 72-7. Critical notes on seven passages of Plautus, by Louis Havet. These notes (in which are emended Capt. 1021, 1024, Men. 82, 85, 89, 92 and 94, 105) merit careful attention.

12. Pp. 78-80. Book Notices. (1). P. W. Forchhammer, *Prolegomena zur Mythologie als Wissenschaft und Lexicon der Mythensprache*, is totally condemned by Ch. Michel. (2). J. van der Vliet, *Studia Ecclesiastica. Tertullianus. I. Critica et interpretatoria*. P. L. points out some unimportant imperfections, and otherwise commends the work. (3). Max Freudenthal, *Die Erkenntnisslehre Philo's von Alexandria*. F. C. finds this a valuable work, but not without faults. (4). *Les noms gaulois chez César et chez Hirtius, De bello Gallico*, par H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, avec la collaboration de MM. E. Ernault et G. Dottin. Première série. Highly commended by L. D. (5). *Essai d'étymologie historique et géographique*, par Charles Toubin. Pronounced by L. D. a 'chef-d'œuvre d'extravagance.' (6). C. O. Zuretti, *Sui Dialetti litterari greci*. Pronounced by J. Bérard an ingenious work, but without plan.

#### No. 2.

1. Pp. 81-95. On oculists' stamps and works on stones (*lapidaires*) of antiquity and the early middle ages, by F. de Mély. The author takes up the special case of ophthalmia, and elucidates the oculists' stamps by means of the treatises on stones. He presents a list of eighty-nine materials used in preparing eye-salves, and identifies nineteen of them as stones. The article contains several details that are novel and interesting, especially for those concerned with the history of medicine.

2. Pp. 96-8. Note on the great Mithraic bas-relief of the Louvre and a stone found at Tivoli, by Franz Cumot. The stone does not prove, as has been supposed, that the words inscribed on the great bas-relief are all ancient, for it is evident that the former is copied after the latter, and the ignorant copyist reproduced the words that had been scratched on the relief by tourists.

3. Pp. 99-100. In Thuc. VII 71. 7, Paul Fournier and L. Gosselin defend the reading of Vaticanus *ξημφορών* (for *ξημπασών*), but retain *ἐλάσσων* (instead of the *ἐλασσον* of V.).

4. P. 100. Louis Havet shows that we should write *legeruſa*.

5. Pp. 101-2. Cic. de Legg. III 10. 24, emended by Paul Thomas.

6. Pp. 103-8. Critical notes on Plautus (Men. 98, 155, 156 f., 180 f., 184-8, 202), by L. Havet.

7. Pp. 109-13. Notes on Lucr. de Rer. Nat. II 624 ff., Hor. Carm. I 2. 21 ff., 4. 5 ff., 4. 16 f., by Louis Duvau.

8. Pp. 113-16. Book Notices. (1). Émile Egger, *La Littérature grecque*. Paris, 1890. Commended by Albert Martin. The work is posthumous, and

is composed of distinct essays on twenty-five subjects connected with Greek literature. (2). Zenonis Citiensis de rebus physicis doctrinae fundamentum ex adjectis fragmentis constituit Karl Troost. G. Rodier pronounces this a useful contribution to the history of Stoicism, and points out some minor faults. (3). Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Geschichte und Encyclopädie der klassischen Philologie, von E. Hübner. 2te vermehrte Auflage. Berlin, 1889. Reviewed by J. Keelhoff. The reviewer recognizes Hübner's great reputation, but thinks it necessary on that very account to point out a number of minor inaccuracies and what he considers to be serious omissions in the provinces of grammar,<sup>1</sup> literature and history.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 117-36. On the anapaestic systems in Greek tragedy, by Paul Masqueray. An idea of the scope of this interesting investigation can be obtained from the following analysis, which is that of the author: Introductory remarks. Origin of anapaestic systems. I. Anapaests accompanying a choric or scenic movement. 1. The anapaest and the parodos. 2. The anapaest and the exodos. 3. The anapaest and the entrance of actors. 4. The anapaest and the exit of actors.—II. The anapaest not accompanying any movement. 1. Anapaests as prelude to a stasimon. 2. Anapaests as close of a kommos. 3. Anapaests as epirrhema of a kommos. α) Epirrhema and antepirrhema antistrophic. β) Not antistrophic. 4. Anapaests in reflections of the coryphaeos. 5. Anapaests in dialogues between two actors or between an actor and the coryphaeos.

2. P. 136. In Lucr. de Rer. Nat. II 355, Louis Duvau reads *novit* humi, etc.

3. Pp. 137-9. Paul Tannery discusses fifteen passages in Martianus Capella Lib. VII.

4. Pp. 140-5. Georges Lafaye presents an instructive discussion of Catul. lxiv, 129 *mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae*, in which the poet is fully acquitted of the charge of making his heroine, in her frantic despair, think about keeping her skirts out of the water. The attitude ascribed to her here is that found in literature and art everywhere, and was habitual, in fact, when women had to move rapidly on foot, or perform any act requiring freedom of the limbs. Even the singular *surae* is literal and correct.

5. Pp. 146-8. Otto Keller discusses Tac. Agric., chap. 17 (end) and chap. 9 (*elegit*).

6. Pp. 149-55. The question 'Was Pliny the Elder present at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus' discussed by Philippe Fabia. The instructive investigation leads to an affirmative answer.

7. Pp. 156-60. Book Notices. (1). The Etymologies in the Servian Commentary to Vergil, by Wilfrid P. Mustard. L. D. finds this work faultless, but useless. (2). N. Novosadsky, Du culte des Cabires dans la Grèce antique. Favorably criticised by S. Guintowt. (3). The Isthmian Odes of Pindar, edited with introduction and commentary by J. B. Bury. J. Keelhoff regrets

<sup>1</sup>Hübner says in his Preface, p. v: "Für die griechische Syntax und die lateinische Grammatik konnte auf des Verf. übrige Grundrisse verwiesen werden."—B. L. G.

that so much science and labor have produced so meagre results. "M. Bury eût pu rendre un grand service à la philologie anglaise en continuant l'excellente édition commencée par Gildersleeve." Of the latter he adds: "Pour ceux qui commencent l'étude de Pindare, rien ne saurait remplacer ce livre." (4). Problèmes musicaux d'Aristote. Traduction française avec commentaire perpétuel, par Ch.-Em. Ruelle. Very favorably mentioned by  $\phi$ . (5). K. Masner, Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im k. k. oesterreich. Museum. Vienna, C. Gerold, 1892. Described and highly commended by T. Antonesco.

## No. 4.

1. Pp. 161-6. A few unpublished fragments of Julian, and some other matters relating to him, discussed by Franz Cumot.

2. P. 167. Note by B. Haussoulier on the 'Hundred Heroes,' ten of whom were selected by the Delphic oracle as Eponymoi for the Attic tribes. One of the eighty rejected is shown to have been 'Αραφὴν, after whom a *deme* was named, now Raphina.

3. Pp. 168-70. Six passages of Quintilian critically discussed by Max Bonnet.

4. Pp. 171-80. List of the variants of the Phaedo furnished by ancient quotations, collected by P. Couvreur.

5. Pp. 181-3. A fragment of Hesiod on a papyrus of the British Museum, published and discussed by F. G. Kenyon.

6. P. 184. Max Bonnet shows that the Greek name of the Tiber, *Θιβυρῖς*, probably occurs in Latin as *Thymbris*. Traces are found in the MSS of Vergil and elsewhere.

7. Pp. 185-6. Note on the MSS of the *Silvae* of Statius, by Max Bonnet.

8. Pp. 187-9. Book Notices. (1). *Medien und das Haus des Kyaxares*, von J. V. Prášek. Described and commended by F. Chavannes. (2). *Raimund Oehler, Klassisches Bilderbuch*. Unfavorably mentioned by B. H. (3). D. A. H. Van Eck, *Quaestiones scenicae romanae*. Philippe Fabia describes this work, and finds that it contributes much to the solution of the difficult problems relating to the Roman theatre. It is, however, too diffuse.

The *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is completed with this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

## ROMANIA, Vol. XX (1891).

## Janvier.

Th. Batiouchkof. *Le Débat du corps et de l'âme*. 55 pages (*à suivre*). "Il est bien rare qu'on puisse tout préciser dans l'histoire de la formation d'une légende: il reste presque toujours quelque chose d'insaisissable, et c'est précisément cet élément irréductible et mystérieux qui donne un charme particulier aux recherches de ce genre."

\* P. A. Guarmerio. *Postille sul lessico sardo*. A considerable number of Sardinian etymologies, the most interesting article being one in further illustration of Gaston Paris's derivation of French *andain* from Latin *indaginem* (Romania, XIX 452).

P. Meyer. *Le langage de Die au XIIIe siècle*. The basis of this study is a 'censier' (rent-roll) of the bishopric of Die, recently published from the original manuscript, of which a facsimile page is here given. "En Dauphiné, la configuration physique du pays soulève de bien curieux problèmes qu'on ne peut résoudre avec les documents écrits. Par exemple, les caractères linguistiques se développent-ils dans le sens des vallées ou franchissent-ils les montagnes? Il y a là une étude intéressante à faire et qui pourrait avoir une portée historique autant que philologique."

G. Doncieux. *La Pernelle*: origine, histoire et restitution critique d'une chanson populaire romane. 50 pages. The 'complainte,' of seventeen lines, known as *La Pernelle* (name of the heroine) is not only one of the most beautiful, but also one of the most widely diffused of the French lyric-epic songs that have been transmitted by popular tradition. Following the initiative of Gaston Paris in a similar task, M. Doncieux, by the aid of a truly surprising array of critical apparatus, proceeds to establish a definitive text of this little poem.

Mélanges. F. Lot. *Clovis en Terre Sainte*. Points out that Pio Rajna's inference, from a passage in Gregory of Tours, that an early legend had credited Clovis with a visit to the Holy Land, was due to a misinterpretation of the Latin author.—G. Paris. Robert le Clerc d'Arras, auteur des *Vers de la Mort*.—P. Meyer. *Les trois Maries*: cantique provençal du XVe siècle.

Contes-rendus. M. Kawczynski. *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes* (A. Vernier).<sup>1</sup> "Cet *Essai* est véritablement un recueil de thèses dont chacune forme un chapitre, et dans lesquelles on trouve une érudition nourrie, une argumentation serrée."—Erec und Enide, von Christian von Troyes, herausgegeben von Wendelin Foerster (G. Paris). A review of nineteen closely-printed pages, throwing light at once upon the minutest and the largest problems, of which this edition has so many, great and small, to offer. Concerning the burning question of the ultimate origin of the Round Table romances, Prof. Paris says: "Je réserve pour un autre lieu la discussion de ce qu'il faut entendre par 'breton' dans le français du XIIe siècle. *Erec*, comme on l'a vu plus haut, peut être *directement* de provenance armoricaine."—Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften, herausgegeben von Carl Appel (P. Meyer). The editor proposes to publish all the inedited troubadour poetry contained in the 'chansonniers' of the Paris National Library. "Il n'y a que deux manières de concevoir la publication de la poésie des troubadours. On peut publier les chansonniers, un à un, tels qu'ils se présentent, sans introduire aucune correction dans le texte—rien n'empêche, bien entendu, de proposer toutes les corrections désirables dans les notes. On peut aussi faire l'édition critique d'un troubadour, à l'aide de tous les mss. Ce sont deux œuvres également utiles, qui répondent à des besoins différents."—Les Livres de Comptes des frères Bonis, marchands montalbanais du XIVe siècle, publiés

<sup>1</sup> See the elaborate review by F. M. WARREN, A. J. P. XI, 385-371.—B. L. G.

et annotés pour la Société historique de Gascogne, par Ed. Forestié (P. Meyer). "J'ai lu ce volume la plume à la main, j'y ai remarqué un grand nombre de faits intéressant l'histoire des mœurs, des usages, du droit au moyen âge; j'en ai tiré de nombreuses notes pouvant servir à la lexicographie ou à la grammaire."—Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique de Pierre Fabri, publié avec introduction, notes et glossaire par A. Héron (E. Picot). The treatise here published anew first appeared in 1522, and had passed through six editions before the middle of the sixteenth century, yet ancient copies are now scarcely to be met with. Despite the faults of the work, sometimes even by reason of them, the book furnishes interesting and instructive information.

Chronique. Konrad Hofmann, professor of Romance philology at the University of Munich from 1869, died on September 30, 1890, in his seventy-first year. The 70th anniversary of his birth had been celebrated by the presentation of a collection of learned treatises prepared by former pupils, which was followed by the dedication to Professor Hofmann of Foerster's edition of *Erec und Enid*, noticed above.—Auguste Scheler, librarian to the King of the Belgians, died on the 16th of November, 1890, at the age of seventy-one. Apart from his official functions, he was chiefly known as the author of the *Dictionnaire d'étymologie française*, the third edition of which appeared in 1888, and as the competent editor and annotator of numerous Old French texts.—On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his doctorat-ès-lettres (December 29, 1890), forty-five of the former pupils (of French-speaking countries) of Gaston Paris offered him a commemorative volume of studies, in the production of which twenty-eight of them had collaborated.

Livres annoncés sommairement. Thirty titles.

Avril.

P. Meyer. *Nouvelles catalanes inédites (suite)*. Continued from volume XIII (1884).

A. Dietrich. *Les parlers créoles des Mascareignes*. 50 pages. A comparative study of the closely related French Créole dialects of the islands of La Réunion and Mauritius.

Mélanges. F. Lot. *La croix des royaux de France*. According to a legend preserved in the *Real di Francia*, all the persons of French royal lineage bore as a birth-mark a cross upon the shoulder. M. Lot here controverts certain of Rajna's deductions concerning the history of this legend: "l'auteur a trop souvent confondu l'épopée et la légende."—P. Meyer. *Chanson à la Vierge en vers français et latins alternés*.—E. Langlois. *Adserum, innoctem, demane*. In the patois of the département de la Meuse, *hier (heri)* is replaced by *âp (adserum)*, *aujourd'hui (hui = hodie)* by *anoi (innoctem)*; *demain (demane instead of cras)* is reproduced in *dmain*. The parallelism of *adserum* and *innoctem* with *demane* is adduced in support of the correctness of the first two etymologies, and the substitution in the case of all three words is referred to the ancient custom of the Celts (Caesar, *De Bello Gall.*, VI xviii) and the Germans (Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.*, XI) to reckon time by nights rather than by days.—A. Salmon. *Tateron et teteron*.—Ch. Joret. *Bibeux*.—



A. Delboulle. Avoir des *crignons*, des *grésillons* ou des *grillons* dans la tête. Corrects the erroneous explanation of Godefroy's Dictionary.

Comptes-rendus. The Fables of Aesop as first printed by William Caxton in 1484, with those of Avian, Alfonso and Poggio, now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs. I. History of the Aesopic Fable (L. Sudre). "Le livre de M. J. a l'avantage de nous mettre au courant de ces innombrables travaux [sur l'histoire de la fable] et de nous présenter la matière au point où l'a amenée la science contemporaine. Il a en outre le mérite de nous la présenter avec clarté et même avec un charme tout particulier." The review is elaborate and instructive.—Libeaus Desconus, die mittellenglische Romanze vom schönen Unbekannten, nach sechs Handschriften u. s. w. von Dr. Max Kaluza.—Der Bel Inconnu des Renaut de Beaujeu in seinem Verhältniss zum Lybeaus Desconus, Carduino und Wigalois. Eine literarhistorische Studie u. s. w. von Albert Mennung (G. Paris). "La source de toutes nos versions est un conte 'breton' issu de la fusion de trois épisodes, dont le seul essentiel est le 'fier baiser' (désenchantement, au moyen d'un baiser, d'une jeune fille transformée en serpent)."—Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle, publiés par Gaston Raynaud (A. Piaget). "Ce qui fait l'importance exceptionnelle de cette anthologie, c'est que de tous les morceaux qui la composent trois seulement sont anonymes." Forty versifiers share in the authorship of the collection.—N. Puitspelu. Dictionnaire étymologique du patois lyonnais (E. Philippon). Twelve pages of detailed criticism, to which P. Meyer adds two pages of observations.

Périodiques. The present number is especially rich in reports of periodicals, a number of long-standing arrears being brought up to date.

Chronique. Gustav Gröber having been chosen to occupy the place left vacant by Ebert on the 'comité directeur' of the Diez foundation, this committee is at present constituted as follows: Professors Tobler (President), Mommsen, Johannes Schmidt, G. Paris, Gröber, appointed by the Berlin Academy; Mussafia, appointed by the Academy of Vienna; and Ascoli, appointed by the Academy of the *Lincei*. The prize of this foundation, which is bestowed quadriennially, was awarded in 1884 to Pio Rajna, for his 'Origini dell' epopea francese'; in 1888 to Adolf Gaspary, for his 'Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur'; [and in 1892 to W. Meyer-Lübke, for his 'Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen'].—Mr. Birch-Hirschfeld, professor of Romance philology at Giessen, has been called to Leipsic as successor to the late Prof. Ebert.

Livres annoncés sommairement. Twenty-nine titles. The *Exempla* or Illustrative Stories from the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry. Edited, with introduction, analysis and notes, by Thomas Frederick Crane. London, Nutt (publication of the English Folklore Society). "Il y a plus d'une critique à adresser tant au plan qu'à l'exécution de ce volume (voy. Rev. Crit. 1891, février); mais M. Crane, qui s'est trouvé pour son travail dans des conditions particulièrement défavorables, n'en mérite pas moins la reconnaissance de tous ceux qui s'occupent de littérature comparée et de mythographie pour cette publication, depuis longtemps souhaitée, et qui conservera longtemps une place des plus importantes dans ces études."

Juillet.

Pio Rajna. I più antichi periodi risolutamente volgari nel dominio italiano. A discussion of the two most ancient examples of legal declarations recorded in vernacular Italian, dating respectively from A. D. 960 and 964. They are the oldest known specimens of the Italian language, and read as follows: 1. Sao ko kelle terre per kelle fini que ki contene trenta anni le possette parte sancti benedicti; 2. Sao cco kelle terre per kelle fini que tebe mostrai trenta anni le possette parte Sanctę Marię.

A. Longnon. Un fragment retrouvé du *Meliador* de Froissart. Froissart alludes twice in his writings to a work of his, otherwise unknown, entitled *Meliador*. Mr. Longnon has had the good fortune to discover a few hundred lines of this poem hidden in the parchment covers of some judicial documents belonging to the French national archives. These fragments are here published.

A. Piaget. La Cour amoureuse, dite de Charles VI. On St. Valentine's day, 1400, a number of 'grands seigneurs' and poets, with the design of honoring the fair sex and cultivating poetry, founded at the hôtel of the duc de Bourgogne at Paris a vast association, which they called the *Court amoureuse*. This society, so interesting from the double point of view of social and literary history, has hitherto received the scantiest possible attention from scholars. Mr. Piaget devotes to it 38 pages of charming history and criticism. "Tous étaient amoureux, partant tous rimaient."

Mélanges. P. Meyer. Poésie française à la Vierge copiée en Limousin.—P.-A. Geijer. *Cabaret*. Offers a doubtful etymology.—A. Thomas, Ad. Hatzfeld. Coquilles lexicographiques. "Depuis Robert Estienne, qui, par son Dictionnaire françois latin (1539), est le vrai père de la lexicographie française, jusqu'à Littré, que de 'coquilles' [misprints] échappées aux compilateurs ont fait leur chemin dans le monde et en imposent encore aujourd'hui." The editors of the new Dictionnaire général de la langue française, now in process of publication, trace the history of a number of such *coquilles*, consecrated by traditional miscopying, or rather misapplied accuracy of copying, on the part of successive dictionary-makers.

Comptes-rendus. Max Bonnet. Le latin de Grégoire de Tours (A. Vernier). The reviewer discusses chiefly Bonnet's view of the relations subsisting between literary Latin and folk-Latin. "Peut-être devra-t-on convenir avec M. B. que certains romanistes, désireux de faire mieux sentir une distinction qu'ils jugeaient utile, sont allés un peu trop loin. . . . Les romanistes à mon avis n'ont nullement tort de dire que le roman ne sort pas, au moins directement, du latin classique. Je vais tâcher de donner les motifs de cette opinion."—Ernst Voigt. Egberts von Lüttich *Fecunda Ratis* (L. Sudre). "C'est là, en effet, un bien curieux ouvrage, qui nous ouvre des horizons nouveaux sur la pédagogie médiévale et sur la vie des proverbes et des fables dans la première partie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle."—M. Friedwagner. Ueber die Sprache des altfranzösischen Heldengedichtes Huon de Bordeaux; M. Schweigel. Esclarmonde, Clarisse et Florent, Yde et Olive: drei Fortsetzungen der Chanson von Huon de Bordeaux (M. Wilmotte). "M. Friedwagner a essayé de résoudre certains

problèmes que soulevait l'examen des formes de *Huon*, et s'il n'y réussit pas toujours . . . il a le mérite de ne pas être un simple statisticien." Apropos of Mr. Schweigel's dissertation, the reviewer remarks: "La vérité est que l'époque tardive à laquelle nous reportent ces suites insignifiantes de *Huon* n'autorise plus une détermination précise de leur dialecte."—P. de Mugica. Gramática del castellano antiguo (A. Morel-Fatio). "Il faut louer l'intention de M. de Mugica, mais on ne peut guère louer que cela dans son livre."—J. T. Buroda. Cercetări despre școlarele românesce din Turcia [Investigations concerning the Roumanian schools in Turkey] (E. Picot). "Dès aujourd'hui 2000 enfants macédo-roumains échappent à l'influence grecque et tournent les yeux vers Bucarest comme vers leur vraie capitale."

#### Périodiques.

Chronique. In a printed letter, dated Göttingen, June, 1891, Dr. Karl Vollmöller informs his colleagues and friends that he has resigned his professorship of Romance philology at the University of Göttingen, in order to devote himself henceforth to scientific studies.—The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has this year awarded the prize founded by M. le marquis de La Grange to M. Héron, for his edition of Pierre Fabri (see above) and for his collective publications relating to the poetry of the middle ages. In the 'concours des Antiquités Nationales,' the same Academy has awarded the third medal to M. Jeanroy for his 'Origines de la poésie lyrique,' and the fifth mention to Nizier de Puitspelu for his 'Dictionnaire du patois lyonnais' (see above).

Livres annoncés sommairement. Ten titles. Vowel Measurements, by Charles H. Grandgent, Director of Modern Languages in the High and Latin Schools, Boston, Mass. (Publications of the Modern Language Association.) "L'auteur expose, avec planches à l'appui, les procédés ingénieux dont il s'est servi afin de mesurer les mouvements des organes mis en jeu pour l'articulation des voyelles. Il a très sagement borné ses observations à son propre parler; mais sa méthode est naturellement applicable à d'autres langues que l'anglais de Boston."

#### Octobre.

Th. Batiouchkof. Le Débat de l'âme et du corps. II. Les versions originaires de la légende du corps et de l'âme. 66 pages. The author treats the second portion of his subject under the following heads: A. La légende sous forme de vision; B. La tenson provençale 'de l'arma e del cors,' le poème italien de Bonvesin da Riva, la version tchèque 'Spor duše s tělem' et le poème arménien 'Les vers de l'âme'; C. L'origine probable des deux groupes de légendes signalés; D. Les traditions sur le conflit de l'âme et du corps pendant la vie de l'homme. In an appendix is printed the Latin text of the legend attributed to Macaire d'Alexandrie as given in the MS at Rome.

P. Meyer. Nouvelles catalanes inédites (fin): IV. Le harnois du chevalier, poème allégorique de Peire March; V. Histoire de Frondino et de Brisona; VI. Petit traité des fêtes mobiles. 36 pages.

Mélanges. Ad. Hatzfeld, Ant. Thomas. Coquilles lexicographiques. A further instalment of the article above noted.

Périodiques.

Chronique. Professor Gaspary leaves the chair of Romance philology at Breslau to succeed Vollmöller at Göttingen.

Livres annoncés sommairement. Thirty-one titles.

H. A. TODD.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND VERGLEICHENDEN SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. II. Band, Heft 3 (pp. 557-645). Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1893.

The third and last number of the second volume of the *Beiträge* is entirely Assyriological.

Dr. Bruno Meissner publishes, with translation, commentary and text (pp. 557-64), four ancient Babylonian letters dating from the time of the first Babylonian dynasty (2399-2094 B. C.). Communications of this sort usually refer to the business transactions of temples and of bankers, and consequently throw hardly any light on the private life of the period. Meissner explains that they differ externally from the ancient Babylonian contract tablets simply in not being enclosed in an outer case. They were generally written quickly and intended for rapid transmission, and consequently contained little of sufficient importance to be preserved in records. They are of value to the modern world, however, because of the glimpses they give of the early Babylonian civilization and because they frequently contain linguistic matter of great interest to the grammarian and lexicographer. Meissner's interpretation of *mašlā* and *šillū* (p. 561) as denoting some skin-like covering is probably correct. He might have added to his references for *šillū* the passage II R. 44, 38e, where, although the text is somewhat mutilated, the word certainly occurs. Meissner does not appear to have noticed that *šillū* is probably used in II R. 35, 72gh to denote some part of the female sexual organ, possibly the hymen. The passage reads: *ardatu ša etlu damqu šillāša lā iptūru* 'a girl whose virginity no kindly husband has as yet destroyed.' This passage forms a perfect parallelism with the lines just preceding it (ll. 68-71), where *šubātu*, ordinarily 'a garment,' is apparently used as a synonym of *šillū* in this sense. In ZA. I 56 Jensen regarded *šillū* as a cognate of שִׁלְיָה 'the twig or thorn of the date-palm' (?).

Dr. Meissner has also contributed a treatise on two Assyrian decrees of exemption, e. g. royal declarations making certain districts or countries free from taxation (pp. 564-72). The chief importance of these documents lies in the fact that they are Assyrian, as such decrees have hitherto been found only in the Babylonian. Meissner states that these newly found Assyrian inscriptions differ chiefly from the Babylonian documents in being written entirely on clay. Besides this, the Assyrian decrees, unlike those of Babylonia, contain no pictorial representations except the royal seal. The expression *ina*

*šumi damgi irbā* (p. 566, l. 19b; 569) simply means 'they grew up in a happy state.' *šumu* 'name' can also mean 'existence' or 'condition,' and then 'posterity.' This latter meaning is seen in a number of proper names (cf. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukīn*, pt. I, p. 11).

Dr. C. F. Lehmann, in his rather lengthy article on a seal cylinder of Bur-Sin, king of Isin, which is at present in the Berlin Museum, has discussed exhaustively, in the light of certain data obtained by the last American expedition to Babylonia, the name and personality of this ancient Babylonian king (pp. 589-621). Lehmann's idea that the name Bur-Sin might be read Uzun-Sin ('ear or understanding of the Moon-god,' p. 599) does not seem at all probable. He himself was forced to admit (p. 607) that his long discussion of this subject is practically without result. Delitzsch has shown satisfactorily, in his short article on Babylonian proper names (pp. 622-6), that such expressions as 'eye or ear of the Moon-god' cannot be established, and that consequently Lehmann's deduction from epithets of this sort that the Babylonian kings were regarded as standing in the closest relationship with the deity requires additional proof.

The feature of Dr. Lehmann's article which is perhaps the most interesting for those not initiated in all the technicalities of Assyriology is the writer's explanation of the well-known geographical terms Sumer and Akkad, and of the frequently occurring title 'king of the four regions.' According to Lehmann, the name Sumer (Sumerian *kingi* 'land,' II R. 39, 9, etc.) is used to denote the southernmost part of Babylonia, where the Tigris and Euphrates come together, e. g. the region about the ancient city of Ur. *Akkadā*, on the other hand, is the country about and between the two rivers, or the real Mesopotamia, in the northern part of which the streams approach each other nearest. The writer maintains that this use of the two names can be traced through the entire Assyro-Babylonian literature. The title 'king of the four regions,' however, cannot be defined so exactly, but seems to imply, as Tiele suggested, a widely-extended sovereignty or sovereign right (*Geschichte*, p. 73). Lehmann has shown that this title was borne by purely Semitic rulers in northern Babylonia, and in the present article he explains, by means of certain recently-discovered inscriptions, the development by the early Semitic northern Babylonian kings of a supremacy over the entire surrounding country. Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 74) held the view that the name 'Sumer and Akkad' denoted southern Babylonia, while Akkad alone was used as a term for all Babylonia. He considered that the 'kingdom of the four regions' was a state distinct from Babylonia proper (l. c., p. 71). A full discussion of this subject was published by Lehmann in his *Šamašsumukīn* (pt. I, pp. 86 ff.).

The second volume of the *Beiträge* closes with S. Arthur Strong's publication of some oracles to Esarhaddon and Ašurbanipal (pp. 626-45). Communications of this sort, usually addressed to kings, are among the most interesting portions of the Assyro-Babylonian literature, as it is possible to obtain from them some knowledge of the exact relations existing between the king and the priests of the different cults. Thus, in the first specimen published by Mr. Strong, the king is encouraged by a prophecy of his coming triumph over all his enemies. The object of the last oracle, however, where the goddess

Ištar is supposed to be speaking, seems to be rather to impress on the royal mind the necessity of a proper observance of the obligations due to her sanctuary—a probable indication that there had been some neglect of the offerings. The expression *sarsardni* (p. 628, l. 10; p. 631) is probably not for *šaršardni*, but, according to Strong's other suggestion, may be a derivative of סרר. The word is evidently a reduplicated form of *sarru* 'rebellious' (II R. 49, 35*ef*; 51, 69*ab* (cf. also *sartu* 'sīn,' ASKT. 127, 55, IV R. 51, 34*a*, and the well-known *surratu* 'rebellion'). *Sarāru*, which seems to mean 'protection' (BAI. 225, 27), is a derivative in a good sense from this same stem, the original meaning of which was 'press together, be firm.' On p. 628 the expression *annū šulmu ša ina pān ṣalme* (p. 628, l. 26) seems to mean simply 'this (referring to the benefits just described) is the blessing which is in the presence of the image,' e. g. the image of the shrine where the oracle was given. It does not seem necessary to understand here, with Strong, a god *Ṣalmu*, because, if this were the name of a divinity, as in the passages cited by the author, it seems reasonable to expect that the usual determinative for a deity would have been placed before the noun, in order to prevent any ambiguity with the ordinary *ṣalmu* 'image.'

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The *Eighth Book of Thukydides*, hitherto the least favored of the family, seems to be destined to more abundant honor. Scarcely has one welcomed Mr. Tucker's edition when Mr. GOODHART's comes to the front and challenges attention (Macmillan & Co.). One is glad to see that Mr. Goodhart has taken his courage in both hands and, like Mr. Tucker, ventures to oppose the redoubtable Dr. Rutherford in his onslaught on the text of Thukydides. Continental critics and, one may add, American critics have never stood much in awe of Dr. Rutherford, but his swashbuckler ways at one time frightened some of the younger generation of English scholars out of their propriety, although it is tolerably evident now that Dr. Rutherford's brilliancy and dash are out of all proportion to his judgment. But while Mr. Goodhart is to be congratulated on his independence and his resolution, his work does not commend itself irresistibly. In his criticism there is a good deal of the *nodum in scirpo quaerere*, which so many people mistake for a short cut to a reputation for acuteness, and from his discussion of the 'verbal points' in Thukydides, for which he half-way apologizes in the Preface, there is very little to gain. The inductions made from von Essen's Index need illumination from a wider knowledge of the language, and some of the grammatical notes are trivial and for the advanced student, who alone is likely to meddle with the eighth book of Thukydides, utterly unnecessary. On Chapter IV, however, there is one long note that is welcome, but welcome only because it serves to point a moral. If a Greek sentence gives up its sense readily when read aloud, there is no need of a long discourse about its articulation, and so here a simple reading aloud of Chapter IV, with the right inflexion of the voice, makes the whole sentence—there is but one—perfectly transparent. It is a problem of parenthesis such as a student of Browning would make very light of.

παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ  
Ἀθηναῖοι,

τὴν τε ναυπηγίαν  
καὶ Σούνιον

καὶ τό τε ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ  
τειχισμα

καὶ τὰλλα

μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων

ὥσπερ διενεώθησαν ἐν τῇ  
αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ,  
ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι  
τειχίσαντες, ὅπως αὐτοῖς  
ἀσφάλεια ταῖς σιταγωγαῖς ναυσὶν  
εἴη τοῦ περίπλου,

ἐκλιπόντες δ' ἐνφοκοδόμησαν  
παραπλέοντες εἰς Σικελίαν,  
εἰ πού τι ἐδόκει ἀχρεῖον  
ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ξυστελλόμενοι  
εἰς εὐτέλειαν,  
διασκοποῦντες ὅπως  
μὴ σφῶν ἀποστήσονται.

But as I write, the *Γοργείη κεφαλὴ* of Dr. Rutherford's Fourth Book rises before me, the whole of the second column vanishes into the margin, and nothing is left but the petrified backbone of the sentence.

Perhaps I may be allowed to illustrate by a single specimen what is to me the irritating element in Mr. Goodhart's grammatical observations. On τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας (c. 14, 2) he remarks: 'In such phrases Thuc. appears to use gen. and acc. indifferently. For the gen. cf. VI 32, 3; VIII 26, 2. For the acc. I 13, 2; VIII 11, 3.' Now, the regular periphrasis is τὰ περὶ c. acc., according to the rule after verbs of happening. And the rare change to τὰ περὶ c. gen. is due almost invariably in classical times to the influence of some verb of saying or thinking in the neighborhood. To be sure, this is an old story, going back at least as far as Heindorf on Plato, Phaedo 57 B, but as some unwary novice may think that Mr. Goodhart has brushed away Heindorf, Krüger, Kühner, Breitenbach and the rest, it may be worth while to look into the examples adduced. VI 32, 3 τὰ περὶ is preceded by ἡγγέλλετο; VIII 26, 2 by εἰδέναι and the gen. is not surprising. In I 13, 2 μεταχειρίσασθαι naturally takes περὶ c. acc., and in VIII 11, 3 ἡγγέλθη follows, and is not thought of until too late. In the passage under immediate consideration, VIII 14, 2, γενομένων λόγων precedes and οὐ δηλώσαντων follows, thus creating a complete atmosphere of περὶ c. gen. The Thukydeidean examples of τὰ περὶ c. gen. have been collected by Debbert in his dissertation 'de praepositionum περὶ et ἀμφὶ usu Thucydideo, pp. 11, 12, and they are all to be explained in the same way—that is, by the neighborhood of a verb that regularly takes περὶ c. gen. So, in addition to the passages given above, II 42, 1: ἐμήκνυα; VII 75, 4: δεδιότας; and in the book of Mr. Goodhart's predilection, 26, 3: πυνθάνονται; 33, 4: ἀναζητήσαντες; 54, 1: ἀκούων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε; 63, 1: πυνθόμενος. Turning to another sphere we find the same principle true in the orators, who very seldom use τὰ περὶ c. gen., but when they do, yield only to the temptation of a verb or other word that takes περὶ c. gen. Lutz (Die Praepositionen bei den attischen Rednern, p. 133) cites Lys. 4, 1 (ἀρνεῖσθαι); Isokr. 12, 232 (ἐλνυμένην καὶ βαρέως ἔφερον) (cf. §§ 131, 132: διαχειραίνειν περὶ c. gen.); Dem. 57, 67 (πῶς ἂν ἐπιδείξαιμι); 68 (ἀκούσατε); Isok. 15, 59 (ἀνάνωθι); Ep. II 14 (παρὰλειπτέον); Dem. 4, 36 (ἀόριστα). Most interesting of all is Dem. 27, 30, because it seems to violate the rule, and for that reason I give it in full: καὶ μὴν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος καὶ σιδήρου τοῦ καταλειφθέντος παραπλήσιό πῶς πεποιήκασιν. But πεποιήκασιν here carries with it the notion of a περὶ c. gen. verb, as is shown by the next sentence: οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀποφαίνουσιν. Herodotos, Xenophon and Plato seem to be fairly steady, though Lina in his dissertation *de praepositionum usu Platonico* tries to show for Plato that in the later dialogues his usage approaches that of Polybios. But a mere counting of περὶ c. acc. and περὶ c. gen. will not suffice. That Polybios is not clear in his mind need not surprise us. See the examples in Krebs, Die Praepositionen bei Polybios, S. 105. Krebs (S. 99) saves some of the examples on the principle already given, but the consciousness has evidently broken down wholly, as it had broken down here and there in the best times. But for Thukydidēs Goodhart's examples prove nothing whatever.



Professor BURTON's book on the *Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Chicago, University Press of Chicago) withdraws itself from the serious consideration of syntacticians both by its plan and by its execution. It has to do professedly with exegetical and not with historical syntax, as if exegetical syntax did not demand historical syntax, not only incidentally but fundamentally. In fact, one great trouble about N. T. syntax has been the failure to appreciate the historical relations of N. T. Greek. In any other sphere such a hotchpotch as Winer's Grammar would have been a stale anachronism years ago, and perhaps even 'telic' and 'ecbatic' would have ceased from troubling. True, by keeping close under cover of the authorities on classical Greek syntax, Professor Burton has to a certain extent evaded responsibility, though he cannot be congratulated everywhere on his choice of a leader. So, for instance, his departure from the ordinary treatment of the participle is hardly to be considered an improvement. And yet, despite his care to shelter himself behind the shield of this syntactical Ajax and that, he has exposed himself at a number of points, and such blunders as *ὅς λάβη ἄν*, *ὅς οὐδὲν ἄν* (§150) and *συμφέρει οὐ γαμήσαι* (§264) are without defence. It is bad method to make the chief example for the gnomic aorist (§43) (1 Pet. 1, 24) a quotation from the Septuagint; it is contrary to the author's own principles given forth in the preface to bring into bold relief the unreal relative (§302), a construction that is very rare in standard Greek and, according to Professor Burton himself, non-existent in the N. T. After all that has been written about *ὥστε*, it seems strange to have *ὥστε* with inf. considered as an intrusion on the sphere of *ὥστε* with ind. (§235) (cf. A. J. P. VII 171, XIV 241); nor is it much less strange to find an article which was written to show that *ὅπως* with subj. and *ὅπως ἄν* with subj. are not equivalent, cited to prove their indifference (§195). Under the aor. part. of subsequent action (§142) there are two examples—one an articular participle, which does not count, as it is a mere parenthetical identification, and the other is Acts 25, 13, where it is a superstition to retain *ἀσπασόμενοι*. 'Some primitive error,' say Westcott and Hort, 'is not impossible.' The long note (§343) to justify the 'supposition' that interrogative opt. with *ἄν* in dependent discourse is an original opt. with *ἄν* is a waste of printer's ink on an elementary matter. These are a few of the points that a cursory examination reveals, enough perhaps to show that Greek of every sphere must be studied in the light of the history of the language from the beginning.

But these jottings on Professor Burton's book would have been pigeonholed with a host of other annotations on current manuals, if his remarks on the imperative future had not reminded me of a little article which I had written some time ago *à propos* of Rosenberg's new edition of *Westermann's Demosthenes* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1890). It is too long for *Brief Mention*, it is too short for a separate article, it is too late for a review. But the subject it may be worth while to give, as it deals with an inveterate superstition. In §67 R. we are told by Professor Burton that the negative of the prohibitory future in the N. T. is not *μή*, 'as commonly in classical Greek, but *οὐ*.' Then follow the authorities. Now, when one reflects that this precious rule about *μή* with fut. ind. as an imperative rests on just two passages of Attic prose—Lys. XXIX 13 and Dem. XXIII 117—both open to suspicion, both suggestive of

emendation, one cannot suppress one's astonishment at such an aberration as Aken's 'häufig auch μή' (Tempus u. Modus, §44), and at such an expenditure of metaphysics as Rosenberg has thought fit (l. c.) to cite from the Classical Review (II, p. 323). But though I have almost taken a vow to be silent on the subject of the Greek negative, I may be forced to return to the pestilent theme before long.

All that Professor JEBB had to fear in undertaking the course of lectures which he delivered in the spring of 1892 on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation was the unavoidable comparison with himself. But from that comparison with himself he has come forth with his wonted triumphant adequacy, and his lectures on the *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) exemplify all that he has to say about 'Hellenic clearness of outline,' 'Hellenic obedience to the sense of measure and harmony.' He has said the best things in the best way; and while the best things are inevitable and must be said over again, unless one is content to fall into mere paradox, still those who know the ground traversed by Professor Jebb will welcome new angles of vision and new touches of color which are gained by his guidance. His style is limpid, but does not lack strength. His rare figures illuminate his theme and do not interpose a screen of impertinent imagery between the student and the study. Especially admirable is the way in which he has solved the difficult problem of such a poet as Pindar. Instead of rising to Pindaric or pseudo-Pindaric heights in the characteristic of the Songs of Victory, he leads the reader up to the point at which he can enjoy the poet himself, and then makes way for a felicitous rendering of Pindar's splendid diction, and Pindar is made responsible for his own intoxication. As is well known, not only is Professor Jebb a close student of Pindar, but he has himself handled Pindaric forms with unequalled mastery; and yet he is no stranger to the charm of Simonidean simplicity—and an epigram which breathes Simonidean simplicity<sup>1</sup> opens the volume. Still,

<sup>1</sup> *In Memoriam.*

PERCY GRAEME TURNBULL,

NATUS EST MAII DIE VICESIMO OCTAVO A. D. MDCCCLXXXIII,  
OBIIT FEBRUARII DUODEVICESIMO A. D. MDCCCLXXXVII.

οἷα πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι ῥόδον ἄλλυται, ἐξεμαράνθη,  
εἶαρος οὐδ' ἐνάτου βηλὸν ἀμειψάμενος  
σοῦ δὲ χάριν Μούσαις, ὁσάκις φῶς ἔρχεται ἥρος  
δῶρα παρ' εὐσεβέων προσφέρεται γονέων.

The following translation has been sent to *Brief Mention* :

Like as a rose that ere it flow'r is lost  
So didst thou fade away,  
The threshold of thy ninth spring not yet crossed;  
But for thy sake do they,  
Thy loving parents, to the Muses bring,  
As often as returns the light of spring,  
A pious offering.

Simonides himself is not so near his heart as is Pindar, and one feels a slight jar when Simonides is called 'a clever and versatile man of the world, with all the subtle and graceful Ionic gifts, but without much depth of conviction and feeling.' To those who do not know poets in the flesh it is hardly conceivable that such a person should have been a master of pathos, but Professor Jebb's wide experience of literary life has doubtless taught him thus to distinguish between the poet and the man. If, according to Sainte-Beuve's famous sentence, the man survives the poet in three-fourths of us, the poet assuredly survives the man in many of the elect. At all events, the scholar does.

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By the publication of his *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1893) the eminent epigraphist, Professor HÜBNER, has completed his great work on Spanish Inscriptions. The first half of the book contains the *Prolegomena*, the second the coins and inscriptions. In the first two chapters of the *Prolegomena* a full and interesting account is given of the labors of numismatists and epigraphists in this tangled field of research. The third is devoted to the discussion of the alphabet, which is derived not from the Greek, but from the Phoenician; the fourth to the language, which is shown to have prevailed over the whole peninsula and the adjacent parts of Gaul, inhabited by an Iberian population. This Iberian language continued unmixed with the language of the Kelts, with which it has no affinity either in formation or inflexion. It is, in fact, the lonely parent of the lonely Basque of to-day, and Professor Hübner closes his introduction by commending the further investigation of the problem in these words: *Umbræ, quam depinximus, vitam fortasse inspirabunt qui Humboldtio duce linguae Vasconum hodiernæ formam, quatenus recuperari potest, vetustissimam comparare suscipient cum reliquiis a nobis collectis lectis explicatis.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

*To the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY:*

*Sir:*—Among the newly acquired treasures of the Bodleian Library, next in importance to the now justly 'celebrated' manuscript Jamaspji 2, the appearance of which, in its collotyped edition, has made so deep an impression, must be named Jamaspji 3. This is a Yasna Zend-Sanskrit codex of smaller surface, but not on that account of any diminished value. Indeed, if its translation were in the more original Pahlavi, of which all the Sanskrit versions are translations, and if it were dated, it might turn out to be superior in its importance even to our great Jamaspji 2, which is undoubtedly older than its venerable twin-sister K5 (fifth in the University Library of Copenhagen), for its date (that of Jamaspji 3) might turn out to be some 70 years earlier than that of Jamaspji 2.

But first as to what it is. It measures about 8 inches  $\times$  5, with its written surface about 6 inches  $\times$  3. Its folios are numbered, and there were originally 260 of them. It begins with a short passage in Pahlavi from Vendidad xviii, from a later hand; and after considerable lacunae of lost matter, it ends with the 56th chapter at the fifth verse; but the last page of the original handwriting is 520, and that ends with Yasna 54, 1. Beyond this the handwriting entirely changes, becoming excessively careless to the close. But the original handwriting is the most beautiful which has been preserved in any of the more ancient codices. It seems, however, to be the work of more than one penman, and this even in its main bulk, and aside from the opening, which is often later in MSS, and its close, which was certainly added. As is the case with other old Zend documents, ink of two colors was used, black and red, the latter only sparingly (the occasionally red letters in Jamaspji 2 constituted the only feature that could not be conveniently reproduced in the collotype). The MS came into possession of the Bodleian in the following manner: As I had completed my volume of the Sacred Books of the East (XXXI), I took up again my unfinished work on the Gāthas, the completion of which had been interrupted by the written request of Professors Darmesteter and Max Müller that I should undertake the S. B. E. But wishing to make the Gātha study as complete as possible, and owing to a subvention from the Indian Office, I asked Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji to loan me this most ancient of all Zend-Sanskrit Yasnas. I was as much surprised as gratified to receive an answer in the affirmative, for I had felt some compunctions at my request, Professor Roth having previously reported the MS as in a very fragile condition. It arrived in Oxford in 1888, and its condition was remarkable; while every letter could be read as easily as on the day when it was written. The paper of many folios was of a deep chocolate hue, and so brittle that the leaves could not be turned without risk, and several precious

folios had actually perished in transit and were a mass of *débris* so broken as to be past restoration. I at once placed every folio that was fragile between plates of glass, arranged as they have since remained: from this position they have been photographed successfully. I then at once communicated with the Destoor Jamaspji, reporting the condition of the precious document, and urging the great propriety of depositing it in the Bodleian Library, as the returning voyage to India would doubtless have been accompanied with fresh injuries to this heirloom of Zoroastrian science. The Destoor, while mentioning that he had hoped to place the codex nearer home, cordially presented it to the Vice-Chancellor to be deposited in the Bodleian Library, making only the request (with characteristic modesty) that he might be furnished with a photographic copy; and this request may well be regarded by the Curators as equivalent to a condition. This was in 1890, and the letter bears date April 25th. As estimated, this MS is not only the oldest of all the Zend-Sanskrit Yasnas, but it has just escaped being a memento of the highly gifted and most distinguished Neryosangh, to whom we owe so much Sanskrit translation of Parsi documents. Its colophon, if it ever possessed one, which is probable, has long since crumbled away; but a constant opinion exists among Parsees, to the effect that it was completed soon after Neryosangh's death. In default of other sources of information, this tradition must not be too hastily rejected. If the codex was written soon after the death of Neryosangh Dhaval, it must date from about 1250, for several prominent Parsee families trace their descent to that useful scholar; and from their genealogies we can form a closely approximating opinion as to when Neryosangh's death took place, for he must have been born about A. D. 1160. As to how far the possession of these unique documents is appreciated by the University of Oxford, the scientific world has now had ample proof, for the appropriation of money, generous though it has been, is not the sole evidence of interest which has been given. The execution of the collotype of Jamaspji 2 is little less than a work of fine art, and shows how complete the apparatus for such undertakings must be at the Clarendon Press. Let us hope that Jamaspji 3 will be given to the world in the same distinguished manner in which Jamaspji 2 was offered.

OXFORD, Jan. 1, 1894.

L. H. MILLS.

#### THE GREEK SYLLOGOS OF CANDIA.

*To the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY:*

*Sir.*—The great inscription of Gortyna, the most famous of the epigraphical remains of Greek antiquity which have come down to us, is still left abandoned in the place where it was found in 1884. It is exposed, not only to the stress of weather and to the destructive action of the water of a canal which passes over it, but even to the more serious danger of being destroyed forever by an ignorant or malicious hand.

To save this inscription, to transport it and to preserve it in a safe place and one which is accessible, we invite the aid of all who know the great importance of this ancient relic.

To buy and transport the inscription will require a sum of about 10,000 francs. As it is not possible for our society to collect the entire amount in this island, we have decided to ask the aid of museums, universities, academies, institutes of archaeology, and of other scientific bodies, offering to them, on our part, a token of recognition for the aid they shall afford.

We shall have come to Crete a capable workman, to reproduce, in cast, the great inscription, and shall send to each society which will contribute £25 sterling a cast of the entire wall which contains the inscription, to be delivered free of expense at one of these four ports: Brindisi, Trieste, Genoa, Marseilles.

Hoping to meet on every side with sympathy and aid in this work, we await with the sincerest gratitude a favorable answer, so that we may begin without delay the labor.

*The President of the Syllogos*, Dr. JOSEPH HAZZIDAKIS,  
(Consular Agent of U. S. A. in Crete.)

*The Secretary*, Prof. S. XANTHOUDIDIS.

CANDIA, December 24, 1893.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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## I.—THE LATIN PROHIBITIVE.

### PART I.

This paper owes its origin to a feeling the writer has long had that certain uses of the Latin perfect subjunctive are very inadequately and, in some particulars, very inaccurately treated in Latin grammars. It is customary, for instance, in dealing with *ne* and the 2d person subjunctive in prohibitions, to dismiss the subject with the statement that when the prohibition is addressed to no definite person, the present tense is used; otherwise the perfect. All attempts—like Gildersleeve's,<sup>1</sup> for instance—to make any further distinction between the tenses have been frowned down. Scholars in general have been inclined to accept the views of Madvig (*Opusc. acad. altera*, p. 105)<sup>2</sup> and of Weissenborn (on Livy 21, 44, 6) as final, viz. that the perfect is used, when a definite person is addressed, only because the present cannot be used. The reason for this remarkable state of things they do not trouble themselves to seek. Even Schmalz, in the second edition of his *Lat. Synt.*, §31, would have it understood that the perfect tense in this use has no special significance. Such ignoring of all distinction between tenses is common also in other constructions, e. g. in the so-called potential subjunctive.

<sup>1</sup> Latin Grammar, §266, Rem. 2, which is, as far as it goes, in perfect harmony with the results reached in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Madvig is inexcusably careless in some of his statements in this connection. On p. 105, e. g., he says that *ne* with the present is *apud ipsos comicos rarissimum et paene inusitatum*. As a matter of fact, it is extremely common *apud comicos*—far more so than any other form of prohibition.

One of the latest grammars (Allen and Greenough, §311) says that in *aliquis dicat* and *aliquis dixerit* the two tenses *refer without distinction* to the immediate future. The same grammar, in dealing with modest assertion, draws no distinction between *putaverim* and *putem*. It is customary, again, to dismiss the perfect subjunctive in prayers with the mere statement that it is a reminiscence of archaic formulae, without a hint that the perfect necessarily means anything. It has seemed to me that this looseness of interpretation is entirely at variance with the facts of the language, and I have accordingly undertaken an investigation of the whole range of those independent constructions of the perfect subjunctive in which that tense deals with future time. I have included also in my investigation such uses of the future perfect indicative as are frequently said to be 'equivalent to the simple future.' For the purposes of the paper I have collected and classified all the instances of the uses concerned that are to be found in all the remains of the Latin language up to the end of the Augustan period (except the later inscriptions), together with important parts of Silver Latin. I ought perhaps to say that for four volumes of the Teubner text I accepted a collection of instances made by one of my students. He is, however, one in whose care and accuracy I have great confidence, and I feel sure that his collection is substantially complete.

That part of my investigation the results of which I have chosen for the present paper deals chiefly with the 2d person, present and perfect tenses, of the subjunctive in prohibitions. For the purpose of simplifying the discussion I shall, for the present, exclude the few cases (commonly called prohibitions and classed under *ne* with the subjunctive) introduced by *nec*, *numquam*, *nihil* (e. g. *nec dixeris*, *nec putaveris*). There are so serious objections to explaining any one of those introduced by *nec* (*neque*) in the best prose-writers, and some of those introduced by *nihil*, *numquam*, as instances of the same construction as that found in *ne feceris*, that I shall leave the discussion of such cases for Part II of my paper.

The impression is very generally given that *ne* with the perfect subjunctive is one of the most common methods of expressing prohibition in the best classical prose. As a matter of fact, it is almost entirely unknown to such prose. It will be understood, of course, that the Letters of Cicero do not represent the usage of what is understood by 'classical prose.' Tyrrell has clearly

shown that the diction and constructions in the Letters are the diction and constructions of the early comic drama, and not at all those of what is commonly meant by Ciceronian Latin. Indeed, Cicero himself calls especial attention to the wide difference in this respect between them and his other productions in *ad fam.* IX 21, 1 *Quid enim simile habet epistola aut iudicio aut contioni? . . . Epistolas vero cottidianis verbis texere solemus.* We must not consider these Letters in determining the usage of the best classical prose, any more than we should the usage of early comedy: they, as well as the comedy, reflect the language of familiar every-day life. Throwing the Letters aside, we may say that *ne* with the 2d person perfect subjunctive does not occur in any production, whether prose or poetry, of the whole Ciceronian period, except in seven dialogue passages of Cicero where the tone distinctly sinks to that of ordinary conversation, or unceremonious ordering.<sup>1</sup> If, in addition to these, we except four instances in Horace, we may say that it does not occur between Terence and Livy. It is not to the point to say that a prohibition is in its very nature familiar, nor would such a statement be true. The orations and the philosophical and rhetorical productions of Cicero, as well as the productions of other writers belonging to the same period, abound with prohibitions. The orations of Cicero alone contain 81 prohibitions (or probably twice this number if we count such expressions as *quaeso ne facias*, *obsecro ne*, etc.), and still in his orations no instance can be found of *ne* with the perfect subjunctive except in *pro Murena* 31, where Cicero is quoting the supposed words of a teacher to his pupil.

Again, the grammar-rule which says that the present tense is used when the prohibition is general, i. e. addressed to no one in particular, while the perfect is used when it is addressed to some particular person, or persons, is entirely misleading in the form in which it is given. The grain of truth which the rule contains is rendered useless by the absence of any hint as to the principle involved. Sometimes general prohibitions take the perfect tense, e. g. *Cato de agri cultura* 4 *ne siveris*; 37, 1 *ne indideris*; 45, 2 *ne feceris*; 93 *ne addideris*; 113, 2 *ne siveris*; 158, 2 *ne addideris*; 161, 2 *ne sarueris*; XII *Tabulae*, quoted in *Serv. in Verg.*

<sup>1</sup> There is no manuscript authority whatever for *ne siris* (*Catullus* 66, 91). The manuscript reading *non siris* is the true one. This matter will be fully discussed in Part II of my paper.

Ecl. 8, 99 Unde est in XII tabulis: "Neve alienam segetem pellegeris"; Cic. pro Murena 31, 65 Etenim isti ipsi mihi videntur vestri praeceptores et virtutis magistri, fines officiorum paulo longius, quam natura vellet, protulisse . . . "Nihil ignoveris": immo aliquid, non omnia. "Misericordia commotus ne sis": etiam, in dissolvenda severitate: sed tamen est laus aliqua humanitatis (quoting general precepts of the '*vestri praeceptores*' which had just been mentioned. Notice the singular verb side by side with *vestri* (instead of *tui*), which seems to show that the prohibition is general); Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 16 Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo discite . . . hic inpransi mecum disquirite. Cur hoc? Dicam, si potero . . . seu pila velox . . . seu te discus agit . . . sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno *ne biberis* diluta. On the other hand, it is probable that prohibitions addressed to definite persons occasionally take the present tense at all periods of the literature, and that this use is not, even in classical times, confined to poetry, as is commonly supposed. At any rate, there are passages in prose which it requires ingenuity or violence to explain in any other way, and which, if found in Plautus or Terence, no one would have thought of explaining in any other way. This use is very common in early comedy, and I have collected the following instances from Cicero and later prose: Cic. in Verr. II 4, 23, 52 Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt. *Ne* quem *putetis* sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo quod alter eriperet protulisse; ib. de republica 6, 12, 12 "St! quaeso," inquit, "*ne* me e somno *excitetis* et parumper audite cetera" (where the imperative '*audite*' instead of a subordinate subjunctive makes it probable that *ne excitetis* is also independent); id. ad fam. I, 9, 23 Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discessum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae; *ne pertimescas*; ib. 16, 9, 4 Reliquum est, ut te hoc rogem et a te petam: *ne* temere *naviges*—solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa—cautus sis, mi Tiro—mare magnum et difficile tibi restat—si poteris, cum Mescinio (*naviges*)—caute is solet navigare (where *cautus sis* and the form taken by the rest of the sentence show that *ne naviges* also is probably independent); id. ad Att. 9, 18, 3 "Tu malum," inquires, "actum *ne agas*" (a proverb applied here to a particular person); id. ad Quintum fratrem I, 4, 1 Amabo te, mi frater, *ne* . . . *adsignes* (Cicero never uses

*amare* in this sense with a dependent clause, though its parenthetical use is common in his Letters with independent imperative constructions, e. g. ad Att. 2, 2, 1 cura, amabo te, Ciceronem; ib. 16, 16c Amabo te, da mihi et hoc; ib. 10, 10, 3; ad Quint. 2, 8, [10]<sup>1</sup>; Phil. II 5, 10 *ne puletis* (most naturally taken as independent); Livy 44, 22 Vos quae scripsero senatui aut vobis habete pro certis. Rumores credulitate vestra *ne alatis*, quorum auctor nemo exstabit (This, or some reading which involves the same construction, seems inevitably correct, and would undoubtedly be accepted by everybody were it not for the supposed rule); ib. 22, 39, 2 Armatus intentusque sis, *neque* occasione tuae *desis* *neque* suam occasionem hosti *des* (Livy and later writers freely use *neque* for *neve*); Tac. Dialogus 17 Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse (nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit). *Ne dividatis* saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnosceret ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt. It was formerly customary among editors of the Dialogus to punctuate this sentence as above. Recent editors use only a comma or a semicolon before *ne dividatis*, understand an ellipsis (i. e. *Haec dico ne*, etc.), and thus make Tacitus use a very awkward sentence. Why make this so difficult? Why not let it be what it seems to be on the face of it, namely, a prohibition?

Here, then, are several instances in prose of the present subjunctive with *ne* addressed to a definite person. The reason why it is not more common will appear later on in this discussion. But even if none of these examples existed (and there have been ingenious attempts to explain away most of them in deference to the supposed rule), there would still be no ground for such a rule. In the whole field of classical prose from the beginning of the Ciceronian period to the end of the Augustan period, and even later, there is but a single example of *ne* with the indefinite 2d person present subjunctive in a prohibition. There are a few examples from poetry, but these have no bearing upon the point in question, as it is everywhere acknowledged that *ne* with the present is common in poetry even in addressing a definite person. The single example just referred to is of course the one cited under this rule, with suspicious uniformity, by all Latin gram-

<sup>1</sup> Even in Plautus and Terence *amabo* in this sense is almost invariably thrown in parenthetically.

mars, viz. Cic. Cato Maior 10, 33, though even here it might be noticed that Cato is speaking to definite persons, addressing at one time Scipio individually, again Laelius, and still again both together. The truth is that a general prohibition in Latin is nearly always expressed by the use of the 3d person, e. g. *ne quis pulet*, etc., or some circumlocution introduced by *cavendum est ne*, or the like. It will, I think, be admitted that the above considerations at least cast serious doubt upon the validity of the grammar-rules regarding the use of *ne* in prohibitions. The question as to the true distinction between the tenses in such constructions seems to me to be still an open one, and this paper is intended as a contribution to its solution.

Let us start with certain general principles. All will agree that the perfect subjunctive, when dealing with a future act, differs, at least in some uses, from the present in representing the act as one finished in the future. For instance, in the expression *si venerit, videat* the act of coming is conceived of as a finished act in the future, about to be completed prior to the beginning of the act of seeing. In *si veniat*, on the other hand, the act is conceived of as in progress in the future. Such a distinction between the tenses of *ne feceris* and *ne facias* would not be entirely satisfactory at all points of the parallel. *Ne feceris* cannot mean literally 'Do not prior to a certain point in the future, have done it.' In one respect, however, the distinction, it seems to me, still holds. In *ne feceris* there is at least no thought of the progress of the act. The expression deals with an act in its entirety. The beginning, the progress and the end of the act are brought together and focussed in a single conception. The idea of the act is not dwelt upon, but merely touched, for an instant, and then dismissed. The speaker, as it were, makes short work of the thought. There is a certain impetus about the tense. When a man says *ne facias* he is taking a comparatively calm, dispassionate view of an act conceived of as one that will possibly *be taking place* in the future; *ne feceris*, on the other hand, implies that the speaker cannot abide the thought; he refers to it only for the purpose of insisting that it be dismissed absolutely as one not to be harbored. As far as the comparative vigor of the two expressions is concerned, the difference in feeling between them is similar to that between 'Go!' and 'Be gone!' 'Go' dwells upon the progress of the act. A man never says 'Be gone!' except when aroused by

strong emotion, which does not allow him to think of the progress of the act, but only the prompt accomplishment of it. In a similar way *ne feceris* betrays stronger feeling than *ne facias*—it disposes of the thought with the least possible ado. The same distinction should be made between *cave feceris* and *cave facias*. This feature of the tense, if my characterization of it is correct, would lead us to expect it to be used only, or chiefly, in animated, emotional, or unusually earnest discourse, and to such passages, as we shall presently see, is it almost exclusively confined. I wish to insist upon this as the only real distinction between the two tenses with *ne*. We shall now, of course, expect that in the majority of cases where a prohibition is a general, indefinite one, the present tense will be found. When a man is soberly philosophizing and writing precepts for the world at large, he is not often aroused by emotions so strong as he is when, actually face to face with a person and perhaps under the influence of anger, alarm or some other intense feeling, he orders that person not to do a certain thing. But even in this sort of writing, when he feels that his precept is of prime importance, he may occasionally fall into the more vigorous form of expression. For the satisfactory study of such expressions we look for some production abounding in general precepts, and still not written in the form of dialogue and not addressed to any one in particular. Naturally we turn to Cato's *de agri cultura*. In the seven different passages of this work cited above, Cato uses *ne* with the perfect in a general prohibition. In each case the context makes it probable, or, in the light of facts which I shall present later, practically certain, that he considers of especial importance the particular thing prohibited, e. g. ch. 4, where he is trying to show how a farmer may live happy and prosperous: *ruri si recte habitaveris, libentius venies: fundus melior, minus peccabitur, fructi plus capies. Frons occipitio prior est: vicinis bonus esto: familiam ne siveris peccare. Si te libenter vicinitas videbit, facilius tua vendes, operas facilius locabis etc., i. e. 'above all things, do not allow the members of your household to offend them. If you keep on good terms with your neighbors, you will find it easier to sell your produce,' etc.; again, 37, 1: 'If you are dealing with land that is *cariosa*, peas are a bad crop to put in; so are barley, hay, etc.; above all things, do not put in nuts (*nucleos ne indideris*).' Everywhere else in his treatise he uses the less vigorous forms of prohibition, sometimes *nolito* with the infinitive, sometimes *ne* with the*

2d imperative, sometimes *caveto* with the present tense of the subjunctive. He never uses the perfect tense with *caveto*, though this tense with *cave* is far more common in Plautus than the present. The present tense, on the other hand, occurs in Cato 17 times.

By far the best place to study the difference in meaning between the two tenses is in Plautus and Terence, because in them (and only in them) both tenses are very freely used with *ne* and *cave* in prohibitions. It is there, too, that the tone of the prohibition can best be determined, because the dramatic action makes clear the feeling of the speaker. I give below classified lists of all the passages in Plautus and Terence containing prohibitions of this sort.<sup>1</sup> In studying these lists, there are certain considerations which should be kept constantly in mind. In all but a comparatively few cases, the distinction I have drawn between the perfect and the present tenses will be very clear. But of course some instances, both of the perfect and of the present, will be found near the border-line. In some cases where the speaker is moved by only slight emotion, one tense would be as appropriate and natural as the other. Again, a speaker may be somewhat aroused while still under perfect self-control and realizing the advisability of calm language. On the other hand, a speaker may be really very calm, while wishing, for certain purposes, to seem very indignant. We should also bear in mind a natural tendency to unceremoniousness and a vigorous off-hand style in every-day conversation between friends and in the language of superiors to inferiors. If we keep in mind these considerations, a comparison of the following lists will, I think, inevitably lead to the conclusion that the distinction I have drawn is the true one.

There are in Plautus and Terence 31 instances of *ne* with the perfect subjunctive. In nearly all of these the feeling of strong emotion of some sort—e. g. great alarm, fear of disaster if the prohibition is not complied with, or the like—is very prominent. Many of them are accompanied by other expressions which betray the speaker's earnestness, e. g. *per deos atque homines*, *opsecro*, *hercle*, etc. And there is not one of them in the least inconsistent with my explanation of the meaning of the tense. Plautus has this construction in the following passages<sup>2</sup>: Am. 924

<sup>1</sup> I was surprised to find no instance of this use in the tragedies of Seneca, who, I believe, uses only *ne* with the imperative (or *vide ne* with the subjunctive) in prohibitions.

<sup>2</sup> I have not thought it necessary for my present purpose to make a separate class of such aorists as *dixit*, *parit*, etc.



Per dexteram tuam te, Alcumena, oro, opsecro te, da mi hanc veniam, *irata ne sis* (evidently here the perfect of *irascor*. The fact that this verb is inchoative in form does not militate against the principle I have laid down, as it is seldom inchoative [never so, if we may trust Harpers' Dict.] in meaning. It commonly means to *feel angry*. When the beginning of the act is referred to *incipio*, or a verb of similar meaning is used with it, e. g. ad Att. 4, 1, 8 *incipiunt irasci*. Inchoative verbs are not found in this construction); Miles 283 SC. Nescis tu fortasse, apud nos facinus quod natumst novom. PAL. Quod id est facinus? SC. Impudicum. PAL. (not wanting to hear such news) Tute sci soli tibi: Mihi *ne dixis*. Notice the many indications of earnest feeling: *Tute* (*tu* alone even would have been emphatic) *soli tibi*, and all sharply contrasted with *mihi*; ib. 862 Perii: excruciabit me erus . . . Fugiam hercle . . . *ne dixeritis*, opsecro, huic vostram fidem! ib. 1333: Here Philocomasium has just fainted and fallen into the arms of her lover, at the thought of leaving him. All is excitement. One says: Run for some water. The lover exclaims: *ne interveneris*, quaeso, dum resipiscit; Rudens 1155 Perii in primo praelio: mane! *ne ostenderis*! Here his possession of the treasure that has been found depends, as he thinks, upon its not being shown; Trin. 521 Per deos atque homines dico, *ne* tu illunc agrum tuom *siris* umquam fieri; ib. 704 (Lysiteles in a quarrel with Lesbonicus, indignant at the suggestion of anything which might reflect upon his character) Id me commissurum ut patiar fieri *ne* animum *induxeris*; ib. 1012 *Ne destiteris* currere (addressed to himself in fear of a flogging. All his words at this point indicate hurry and alarm); Asin. 839 SON (in a tone of earnest deprecation, in answer to his father's taunt): *Ne dixis* istuc. FATHER: *Ne sic fueris*: ilico ego non dixero; Curc. 599 PLANESIUM (to Phaedromus, in great fear lest the parasite escape with the stolen ring) . . . propera! . . . Parasitum *ne amiseris*! Pseud. 79 Id quidem hercle *ne parsis*! Most. 1083 THEOPROPIDES (angry, and resolved to punish Tranio, trying to get him away from the altar, where he had taken refuge): Surge . . . *ne occupassis*, opsecro, aram . . . surgedum hinc . . . surge: *ne* nugare. Aspicendum; Men. 415 *Ne feceris*! periisti, si intrassis intra limen; ib. 617 PE. (during an angry dispute) At tu *ne* clam me *commissis* prandium. ME. Non taces? PE. Non hercle vero taceo; Epid. 150 (in answer to Stratippocles' intimation that he would commit suicide) *ne feceris*! ib. 593 PER. Si hercle

te umquam audivero me patrem vocare, vitam tuam ego interimam. FID. Non voco . . . *ne fueris* pater; Poen. 552 (the lawyers, speaking with professional decisiveness and importance) Nos tu *ne curassis!* scimus rem omnem. The tone assumed here by the speakers may be inferred from the fact that they have just been accused of speaking with too much anger (cf. vs. 540 nimis iracundi estis); ib. 990 *ne parseris*; Aul. 100 (Euclio having a large amount of gold concealed in his house, is constantly alarmed lest it be stolen. He bids his servant again and again not, under any circumstances, to let any one enter the house) Si bona Fortuna veniat, *ne intromiseris!* ib. 577 EUC. (still in fear of losing his treasure) *Ne* in me *mutassis* nomen! ib. 737 LYC. (upon Euclio's threatening him with death) *Ne* istuc *dixis!* ib. 790 *Ne* me uno digito *adtigeris*, ne te ad terram, scelus, adfligam! Cas. 2, 6, 52 ST. Praecide os tu illi! Age! CLE. (trying to prevent a fight) *Ne obiexis* manum! Cist. 1, 1, 111 Silenium (speaking of her lover, with great depth of feeling that moves her hearers to tears [vs. 113]) sed, amabo, tranquille; *ne* quid, quod illi doleat, *dixeris!* The following seems near the borderline, one tense being as appropriate as the other: Merc. 396 *ne* duas *neu* te advexisse *dixeris*.

Terence has only two instances of *ne* with the perfect: Phorm. 514 Unam praeterea horam *ne oppertus sis*. The speaker is fairly beside himself throughout this scene, which sufficiently accounts for the more emotional form of expression. Ib. 742 (alarmed by fear lest his treachery be discovered) *Ne* me istoc posthac nomine *appellassis*.

The same feeling that prompts the use of the perfect tense in the passages just cited, explains the use of the same tense in prohibitions introduced by *cave*. Plautus and Terence present 33 instances of *cave* with the perfect: Plaut. Am. 608; Miles 1125; 1245; 1368; 1372; Trin. 513; 555; Asin. 256; 467; 625; Bacch. 402; 910; 1188; Stich. 284; Most. 388; 508; 795; Men. 996; Epid. 400; 434; Merc. 112; 476; Poen. 1020; Aul. 90; 600; 610; Persa 388; 933; Cas. II 5, 24; Ter. And. 753; 760; Haut. 187; Adelph. 458.

If now we turn to *ne* and *cave* with the present subjunctive we find a very different state of things. There are in Plautus and Terence more than 100 instances of *ne*, and 18 (19?) instances of *cave*, in this form of prohibition, as will be seen by consulting the following list: Am. 87 (Prologue addressing the audience) Mirari

nolim vos, quapropter Juppiter nunc histriones curet. *Ne miremini*<sup>1</sup>: ipse hanc acturust Juppiter comoediam; ib. 116 (still addressing the audience) *Ne hunc ornatum meum admiremini*; Capt. 14 Ego me tua causa, *ne erres*, non rupturus sum (probably *ne* here means 'lest'); ib. 58 (Prologue) *Ne vereamini*, quia bellum Aetolis esse dixi cum Aleis; ib. 186: The parasite (replying to Hegio, who has good-humoredly warned him not to expect too much at his table): Numquam istoc vinces me, Hegio: *ne postules* cum calceatis dentibus veniam; ib. 331 Filius meus aput vos servit captus: eum si reddis mihi, praeterea unum nummum *ne duis*; ib. 349 Nec quemquam potes mittere ad eum quoi tuom concredat filium audacius. *Ne vereare*: meo periculo ego huius experiar fidem; ib. 393 Istuc *ne praecipias*, facile memoria memini; ib. 854 Nec nihil hodie nec multo plus tu hic edes, *ne frustra sis*; ib. 947 At ob eam rem mihi libellam pro eo argenti *ne duis*: gratiis a me ducito; ib. 957 Fui . . . bonus vir numquam neque frugi bonae neque ero umquam: *ne spem ponas* me bonae frugi fore; Miles 1215 Py. Libertatem tibi ego et divitias dabo, si impetras. PA. Reddam impetratam . . . At modice decet. *Ne sis cupidus*; ib. 1274 Viri quoque armati idem istuc faciunt: *ne* tu *mirere* mulierem; ib. 1360 PA. Muliebres mores discendi. Py. Fac sis frugi. PA. Iam non possum: amisi omnem lubidinem. Py. I, sequere illos: *ne morere*; ib. 1378 *Ne me moneatis*: memini ego officium meum; ib. 1422 Aliter hinc non ibis: *ne sis frustra*; Rud. 941 Nil habeo, adulescens, piscium: *ne* tu mihi esse *postules*; ib. 968 GR. Hunc homo nemo a me feret: *ne* tu te *speres*. TR. Non ferat, si dominus veniat? GR. Dominus huic, *ne* (probably = 'lest') *frustra sis*, nisi ego nemo natust, hunc qui cepi in venatu meo; ib. 992 Quod in mari non natumst neque habet squamas *ne feras*; ib. 1012 Hinc tu nisi malum frunisci nil potes, *ne postules*; ib. 1368 Ut scias gaudere me, mihi triobulum ob eam *ne duis*; ib. 1385 Quod servo meo promisisti, meum esse oportet. *Ne* tu, leno, *postules*; ib. 1390 DAE. Opera mea haec tibi sunt servata: (GR. Immo hercle mea, *ne* tu tua *dicas*); ib. 1414 nihil hercle hic tibi, *ne* tu *speres*; Trin. 16 (Prologue, to audience) de argumento *ne expectetis* fabulae; ib. 267 Apage sis amor. Amor, amicus mihi *ne fuas* umquam; ib. 370 PH. . . . quid dare illi nunc vis? LU. Nil quicquam, pater: Tu modo *ne* me *prohibeas* accipere, siquid det mihi; Bacch. 747

<sup>1</sup>Some of these might be explained as final clauses ('that you may not be surprised,' I make the following statement, etc.).

... quod promisisti mihi te quaeso ut memineris, *ne* illum *verberes* (probably a dependent clause); ib. 758 ... ubi erit adcubitum semel, *ne* quoquam *exurgatis*, donec a me erit signum datum; Curc. 183 PA. Quin tu is dormitum? PH. Dormio: *ne occlames*; ib. 213 Si amas, eme: *ne rogites*; ib. 539 *Ne* mihi te *facias* ferocem aut supplicare *censeas*; ib. 565 Nil aput me quidem. *Ne facias* testis: neque equidem dehibeo quicquam; ib. 568 Vapulare ego te vehementer iubeo: *ne* me *terriles*; ib. 713 Non ego te flocci facio; *ne* me *terriles* (the feeling in such cases is not that the failure to comply with '*ne terriles*' will be disastrous to me, but that it will do you no good to try to frighten me); Ps. 275 ... scimus nos te qualis sis: *ne praedices*; ib. 1234 Sequere tu. Nunc *ne expectetis*, dum domum redeam; Stich. 320 Tua quod nil refert, *ne cures*; ib. 446 ... id *ne* vos *miremini*, homines servolos potare etc.; Most. 598 Pater advenit ... is tibi et faenus et sortem dabit. *Ne* inconciliare nos porro *postules*; ib. 611 TRA. Huic debet Philolaches paulum. THEOP. Quantillum? TRA. Quadraginta minas. THEOP. Paulum id quidemst? TRA. *Ne* sane id multum *censeas*; ib. 799 Ergo inridere *ne videare* et gestire admodum; ib. 994 Ad cenam *ne* me te vocare *censeas*; ib. 1010 THEOP. Minas tibi octoginta argenti debeo. SI. Non mihi quidem hercle: verum si debes, cedo. ... *Ne* ire initias *postules*; Men. 327 *ne* quo *abeas* longius ab aedibus; ib. 790 Quid ille faciat, *ne* id *observes*; Epid. 147 EP. A quo trapezita peto? STRAT. Unde lubet. Nam ni ... (promptseris), meam domum *ne inbitas*; ib. 305 *Ne abitas*, priusquam ego ad te venero; ib. 339 [hoc quidem iam periit, *ne* quid tibi hinc in spem *referas* (perhaps dependent)]; Merc. 164 CHAR. Quid istuc est mali? ACAN. *Ne rogites*; ib. 318 DEM. Ne me obiurga. LYS. ... non obiurgo. DEM. At *ne* deteriorem hoc facto *ducas* (there seems to be slight emotion here; either tense would seem appropriate); ib. 396 *Ne duas* neu te advexisse dixeris (this, like the passage just cited (vs. 318), seems on the border-line. The speaker is really very earnest, but is, as shown by the general situation, anxious not to appear too much so, lest his real motive be guessed. The sudden change of tense, then, is not surprising); ib. 457 Ad portum *ne bitas*, dico iam tibi (perhaps dependent); ib. 520 Nunc, mulier, *ne* tu *frustra sis*, mea non es; *ne arbitrere*; Poen. 520 *Ne* tuo nos amoris servos esse addictos *censeas*; ib. 526 *Ne* tu *opinere* (perhaps dependent); ib. 536 Est domi, quod edimus, *ne* nos tam contemptim *conteras*

(perhaps dependent upon 'I say this,' understood); ib. 1152 Audin tu, patre? Dico, *ne* dictum *neges* (perhaps dependent); ib. 1370 *Ne mirere*, mulieres, quod eum sequuntur; Aul. 166 Verba *ne facias*, soror; ib. 231 EUCL. At nihil est dotis quod dem. MEG. *Ne duas*, dum modo morata recte veniat, dotatast satis. EUCL. Eo dico, *ne* me thensauros repperisse *censeas*. MEG. Novi; *ne doceas*; ib. 350 Sunt igitur ligna, *ne quaeras* foris; Persa 141 Numquam hercle hodie hic prius edis, *ne frustra sis*; Truc. 477 *Ne expectetis*, spectatores, meas pugnas dum praedicem; ib. 658 *Ne* me morari *censeas*; ib. 744 Res ita est, *ne frustra sis*; Cas. Prol. 64 (to audience) *Ne expectetis* etc.; ib. II 6, 42 *Ne* a me *memores* malitiose de hac re factum, aut *suspices*; Cist. II 3, 16 Nam illaec tibi nutrix est: *ne* matrem *censeas*; ib. V (to audience) *Ne expectetis*, spectatores etc. In Capt. 548 Hegio, hic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide: *ne* tu quod istic fabuletur auris *inmittas* tuas, and in Miles 1363 (1351) PA. Si forte liber fieri occeperim mittam nuntium ad te: *ne* me *deseras*, there seems to be a certain amount of emotion, but it will be noticed that in each case the speaker is addressing a superior. In the former case, too, the speaker is anxious to appear calm and undisturbed. Furthermore, *ne* might well be taken here in the sense of 'lest.' In the other passage, the slave who is speaking does not even mean what he says. He is really glad that he is going, and never wants to see again the master whom he is addressing. In the light of this fact, *ne deseras* seems cool irony. The stereotyped formula *ne molestus sis* occurs in Plaut. Asin. 469; Ps. 118; 889; Most. 74; 572; 757; 863; 871; Men. 251; Aul. 450; but in nearly all of these instances it might be taken as dependent upon some other verb expressed or understood. In any case, one must not look for strong emotion in so commonplace a phrase. *Ne* with the present subjunctive occurs in Terence in the following passages: And. 704 Huic, non tibi, habeo, *ne erres* (perhaps dependent); ib. 706 Dies hic mihi ut satis sit vereor ad agendum: *ne* vacuum esse me nunc ad narrandum *credas*; ib. 980 (to audience) *Ne expectetis* dum exeant huc; Eun. 76 Quid agas? nisi ut te redimas captum quam queas minimo: . . . et *ne* te *adfectes*; ib. 212 Ego quoque una pereo, quod mihi est carius: *ne* istuc tam iniquo *patiari* animo; ib. 273 GN. Quia tristis es. PA. Nihil quidem. GN. *Ne sis*; ib. 388 Si certumst facere, faciam: verum *ne* post *conferas* culpam in me; ib. 786 Sane quod tibi

nunc vir videatur esse hic, nebulo magnus est: *ne metuas*; ib. 988 Ere, *ne me spectes*: me impulsore haec non facit; Haut. 745 Sy. Ancillas . . . traduce huc propere. DR. Quam ob rem? Sy. *Ne quaeras*; Phorm. 419 "Actum" aiunt "*ne agas*"; Hec. 342 Non visas? *Ne mittas* quidem visendi causa quemquam; Adelph. 22 *Ne exspectetis* argumentum fabulae. In Phorm. 508 Heia, ne parum leno sies, the *ne*-clause is rightly explained by editors as dependent 'Look out there, lest,' etc. Besides these, there are five instances of *ne attigas* which will call for comment later.

*Cave* with the present tense of the subjunctive occurs as follows: Plaut. Capt. 431; 439; Most. 797; 1012; Epid. 432; Persa 52; 812; Cas. III 1, 16; Poen. 117; Ter. Eun. 751; Haut. 302; 826 (?); Phorm. 993; Adelph. 170.

There are certain remarkable differences between the prohibitions in this latter list (expressed by the present tense) and those in the former list (expressed by the perfect) which a casual observer might not notice. If my distinction between the two tenses is correct, we should expect that a prohibition dealing with mere mental action, e. g. 'Do not suppose,' 'Do not be surprised,' 'Do not be afraid,' would commonly take the present tense, because such prohibitions would not commonly be accompanied by strong emotion, and, as far as the interests of the speaker are concerned, it matters little whether the prohibition be complied with or not. Such a condition of things is exactly what we find. Among the instances of *ne* with the perfect tense, not a single example of a verb of this class will be found; but among those of *ne* with the present there are no less than 31 instances of such verbs, or nearly a third of the entire number. Again, such prohibitions as 'Do not ask me,' 'Do not remind me' (i. e. I know already), would not ordinarily imply any emotion, and no such verbs will be found among the instances of *ne* with the perfect.<sup>1</sup> But there are 13 such verbs among the instances of the present. Substantially the same holds true for the *cave*-constructions. Among the 33 instances of *cave* with the perfect there is no instance of a verb belonging to any of these classes. There is no avoidance of such verbs with *cave* used with the present

<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to an exception is *iratus ne sies* (Plaut. Am. 924), which seems here to be the perfect tense of *irascor*. Here there is an additional idea of venting one's anger, which removes it, strictly speaking, from the class referred to.

tense (in spite of the fact that there are only about half so many instances of the present as of the perfect), e. g. Ter. Phorm. 993; Haut. 826 (*admiratus* here probably used adjectively, as in ad Att. 9, 12, 2 and Off. 2, 10, 35); Plaut. Asin. 372; Capt. 431 (?); or with *noli* (though *noli* is comparatively rare in Plautus and Terence), e. g. Plaut. Persa 619; Capt. 845; Ter. Phorm. 556; or with *ne* followed by the imperative, a construction which occurs 33 times in Plautus and Terence with such verbs (out of a total of 84 instances): Plaut. Am. 674; 1064; 1110; Capt. 554; Miles 893; 895; 1011; 1345; Rud. 688; 1049; Trin. 1181; Asin. 462; 638; 826; Curc. 520; Ps. 103; 734; 922; Men. 140; Merc. 172; 873; 879; 993; Cas. 4, 4, 14; Most. 629; Truc. 496; Aul. 427; Persa 674; Ter. And. 543; Adelph. 279; 942; Haut. 85 (*bis*).<sup>1</sup> Outside of Plautus and Terence such verbs occur, in the ante-Ciceronian period, as follows: Cato de agr. cult. 1, 4 *caveto contemnas*; ib. 64, 1 *nolito credere* ('do not believe'); Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, I 1445 *credere noli*; ib. 1453 *spernere nolei*. But nowhere in this whole period is such a verb to be found in the perfect tense in a prohibition. Why this mysterious absence of all such verbs from this one sort of prohibition? Recurring to the instances of the present tense in Plautus and Terence, we notice that in 11 of the passages the prologue, or some one else, is calmly addressing the audience with 'Do not expect me to disclose the plot of the play,' or some prohibition equally calm. But there is not one instance in the prologues either of Plautus or Terence of the

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that in Plautus and Terence more than one-third of the verbs in prohibitions expressed by *ne* and the imperative are verbs of fearing (22 of the 33), thinking, asking or advising. Of the remaining verbs, a large proportion are verbs of saying and weeping. A similar state of things prevails in Vergil, who uses this construction 27 times. In 12 of these the verbs belong to the classes just mentioned. All this is interesting in connection with the much-mooted question regarding the relative harshness in Greek of μή with the present imperative and μή with the aorist subjunctive. See Dr. Miller's paper on the Imperative in the Attic Orators, A. J. P. XIII 424. In Latin, *ne* with the perfect subjunctive is harsher than *ne* with the imperative, the latter corresponding rather closely in this respect with *ne* and the present subjunctive. Both of these last-mentioned constructions, however (*ne* with imperat. and *ne* with pres. subj.), smacked somewhat of the same familiar feeling as their sister construction. *Noli* was far more deferential, and Cicero, when he wished to soften the tone of his address, accordingly preferred that form of prohibition.

perfect tense in prohibition. And this again is exactly what we should expect. (It matters little for our present purpose whether Plautus wrote the prologues to his plays or not.) In general the fact may be emphasized that *ne* with the present is chiefly confined to prohibitions of the most commonplace sort. Where this is not apparent from the nature of the verb itself, a study of the context will show that the speaker is not under the influence of any strong emotion. There are in all only 5 instances (a small number out of so many) which can fairly be said to be accompanied by decided emotion, and in each case, strangely enough, the verb is *attigas*, viz. Plaut. Bacch. 445; Most. 453; Epid. 721; Truc. 273; Ter. And. 789. I cannot account for this strange exception, unless one accepts Curtius' suggestion that *attigas* is an aoristic form (Stud. V 433). The few additional passages that might apparently be construed as exceptions have been commented upon under the citation.

Whatever differences of opinion may be held regarding individual instances in the two lists above given, I feel sure that no one who studies them carefully can resist the general conclusion to which I have come. If, now, the distinction I have drawn between the two tenses holds so clearly for the only two authors who make frequent use of *ne* with the subjunctive in prohibitions, a strong presumption is established in favor of a similar distinction in the few instances to be found in later writers, where there are not always so many indications at hand, as in dramatic productions, to make clear the feeling of the writer. And a study of these instances confirms the presumption. There are in classical prose, from the beginning of the Ciceronian period up to near the end of the Augustan period, only seven instances of *ne* with the perfect in prohibition, and these are all in Cicero. As pointed out above, each of these occurs in dialogue where the tone sinks to that of ordinary conversation, in which some one is delivering himself of an earnest, energetic command. One is naturally more unceremonious in addressing a familiar friend than in addressing a mere acquaintance: he falls more readily into energetic forms of expression. Often he assumes an off-hand, imperious tone in such cases merely as a bit of pleasantry. This would be especially natural when one was urging his friend not to do what he feared that friend might do—namely, in prohibitions. One can hardly fail to notice this tone at any talkative gathering of intimate friends. Let us examine now more care-



fully the seven instances referred to: de div. 2, 61, 127 (a supposed command of a god to a man) hoc *ne feceris!* de rep. 1, 19, 32 Si me audietis, adulescentes, solem alterum *ne metueritis!* de leg. 2, 15, 36 (Atticus, replying sharply to Marcus) Tu vero istam Romae legem rogato: nobis nostras *ne ademeris!* Ac. 2, 40, 125 (in conversation with Lucullus at a familiar gathering of friends) Tu vero ista *ne asciveris neve fueris* commenticiis rebus adsensus! Tusc. disp. 1, 47, 112 (replying in a deprecatory tone to a suggestion that has just been made) Tu vero istam *ne reliqueris!* pro Mur. 31, 65 (quotation from the supposed command of a teacher to his pupil) misericordia *commotus ne sis!* (though *sis* alone might be looked upon as the verb here, in which case the construction would belong to the other class); Par. Sto. 5, 3, 41 (in a vigorous protest) tu posse te dicito, debere *ne dixeris.* An unusually earnest and energetic tone is to be found in each one of these. Notice, for instance, the strongly contrasted pronouns and the other indications of strong feeling. The reason why this construction is so rare in classical productions is that they are, for the most part, of a very dignified character. The prohibitions they contain are therefore commonly expressed by *noli* with the infinitive (a construction that occurs 123 times in Cicero, twice in Nepos, three times in Sallust, three times in Caesar), or by *cave* with the present subjunctive (30 times in Cicero, once in Nepos, once in Sallust), or by *vide ne* with the subjunctive (18 times in Cicero, once in Nepos). Next to *noli*, the most common form of prohibition in Cicero is, I should say, some circumlocution like *peto, rogo, oro*, etc., followed by *ne* and the subjunctive, but I have made no attempt to collect the instances. Even *ne* with the present subjunctive is less deferential than the constructions just named; it smacks somewhat of its sister construction, and so is comparatively rare. Where, next to the early comedy, do we find the most familiar tone prevailing? One may answer, without hesitation, in the Letters of Cicero. And it is in these Letters that most of the instances of *ne* with the perfect in classical times are found. It is also a significant fact, and one, I think, not hitherto noticed, that all but 2 of the 14 instances here found are addressed to his bosom-friends or relatives: 8 of them to Atticus, 2 to his brother Quintus, and 2 to his intimate legal friend Trebatius, upon whom he was always sharpening his wits and whom he never lost an opportunity to abuse, good-naturedly, to his face. One of the two exceptions is in a very impassioned

passage of a letter written by Brutus to Cicero, ad Brut. 1, 16, 6; the other is in ad fam. 7, 25, 2, where Cicero is enjoining upon Fadius Gallus, in the most urgent terms possible, not under any circumstances to reveal a certain secret. To his other correspondents he uses only *noli* or, in two instances, *cave* with the present subjunctive, e. g. to Servius Sulpicius (ad fam. 4, 4, 3), to Lucius Mescinius (ad fam. 5, 21, 1), to Cornificius (ad fam. 12, 30, 1; 12, 30, 3), to Gallus (ad fam. 7, 25, 1; 7, 25, 2), to Brut. 1, 6 twice; 1, 7; 1, 13; 1, 15, 1 twice, etc. Excepting the passionate remonstrance referred to in a letter written by Brutus, the correspondents of Cicero use only *noli* when addressing him, e. g. ad fam. 4, 5, 5; 7, 29; 12, 16, 1. In the treatise ad Herennium, I might add, *ne* never occurs in prohibition, though other forms of prohibition are common, e. g. *noli* in 4, 30, 41; 4, 41, 53 twice; 4, 52, 65; 4, 54, 67; *cave*, or *vide*, *ne* with the present subjunctive in 4, 3, 5; 4, 4, 6. Following is a complete list of the instances of *ne* with the perfect in Cicero's Letters, nearly all of which show great earnestness, either real or assumed: ad Att. 2, 5, 1 Etiam hercule est in non accipiendo non nulla gloria: qua re si quid Θεοφάνης tecum forte contulerit *ne* omnino *repudiaris*; ib. 5, 11, 7 nam illam νομανθρία (?) me excusationem *ne* *acceperis*; ib. 9, 9, 1 Quod vereri videris *ne* mihi tua consilia displiceant, me vero nihil delectat aliud nisi consilium et litterae tuae; qua re fac, ut ostendis: *ne* *destiteris* ad me quicquid tibi in mentem venerit scribere: mihi nihil potest esse gratius (Notice the emphatic position of words, indicative of strong feeling); ib. 10, 13, 1 Epistola tua gratissima fuit meae Tulliae, et mehercule mihi: semper secum aliquam (?) adferunt tuae litterae. Scribes igitur ac, si quid ad spem poteris, *ne* *demiseris*. Tu Antoni leones pertimescas cave; ad Brut. 1, 16, 6 Me vero posthac *ne* *commendaveris* Caesari tuo, *ne* te quidem ipsum, si me audies. Valde care aestimas tot annos, quot ista aetas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es; ad fam. 7, 17, 2 Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle tua causa putas, *ne* *dimiseris*; ib. 7, 25, 2 Sed heus tu . . . secreto hoc audi, tecum habeto, *ne* Apellae quidem, liberto tuo, *dixeris*; ad Quint. 1, 4, 5 Sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, *ne* *cessaris*; non enim gladiis tecum, sed litibus agetur; ad Att. 1, 9 *ne* *dubitaris* mittere ('Do not for a moment hesitate,' etc.); ib. 4, 15, 6 Veni in spectaculum, primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc *ne* *curaris*; ego ineptus, qui scripserim; ib. 7, 3, 2 Quin nunc ipsum non

dubitabo rem tantam abicere, si id erit rectius; utrumque vero simul agi non potest, et de triumpho ambitiose et de re publica libere. Sed *ne dubitaris* quin, quod honestius, id mihi futurum sit antiquius; ad Quintum fratrem 2, 10, 5 locum autem illius de sua egestate *ne sis aspernatus* (Cicero is here speaking of Caesar, which sufficiently accounts for his vigorous tone). In ad Att. 16, 2, 5 Planco et Oppio scripsi equidem, quoniam rogaras, sed, si tibi videbitur, *ne necesse habueris* reddere, we should have expected the present. Here, however, it might be noticed that the first hand of the Medicean manuscript (M), the highest possible manuscript authority and in fact the only authority of much importance, omits the *ne*. In ad fam. 7, 18, 3 Tu, si intervallum longius erit mearum litterarum, *ne sis admiratus*, *sis* is probably the verb, *admiratus* being here used adjectively, as in ad Att. 9, 12, 2 sum admiratus ('I am surprised'), and in Off. 2, 10, 35 ne quis sit admiratus etc.

Most of the instances to be found, in the prose of classical times, of *ne* with the 2d person present subjunctive in prohibitions have been cited earlier in this paper. The following should be added to complete the list: Cic. Cato Maior 10, 33 *ne requiras*; ib, ad Att. 2, 24, 1 *ne sis (perturbatus* perhaps here used adjectively, like the following *sollicitus* and *anxius*). There are a large number of other passages that might well be explained as instances of the same use, e. g. ad Att. 14, 1, 2 Tu, quaeso, quicquid novi scribere *ne pigrescere* (which Madvig, Opus. 2, p. 107, and Kühner, Lat. Gram. II, §47, 8, actually explain as independent of *quaeso*); Phil. II 5, 10; pro Cluentio 2, 6 *ne repugnetis* etc. That *ne* with the present subjunctive is not more common in the best prose is due to an increasing fondness for the *noli*-construction. *Ne* with the present was a mild prohibition as compared with *ne* with the perfect, but it was less deferential and respectful than *noli*, and in dignified address *noli* accordingly became the regular usage. In early comedy there was comparatively little call for the more calm and dignified forms of expression, and there accordingly we find that *noli* is comparatively rare. It occurs in Plautus and Terence only in addressing some one who must be gently handled. It is found only where the tone is one of pleading—it never conveys an order, in the strict sense of that word. It is almost never used by a superior in addressing an inferior. In the two or three exceptions to this rule, the superior has some motive for adopting

the mild tone. Those who wish to test the truth of these remarks are referred to the following complete list of the instances of *noli* in Plautus and Terence: Plaut. Am. 520; 540; Capt. 845; Miles 372; 1129; Trin. 627; Asin. 417; Curc. 128; 197; 697; Most. 800; Merc. 922; Poen. 367; 871; 1319; Persa 619; 831; Truc. 664; Cas. II 2, 32; II 6, 35; Cist. I 1, 59; I 1, 109; Ter. And. 385; 685; Phorm. 556; Hec. 109; 316; 467; 654; Adelph. 781.

As regards the different forms of prohibition in classical times, nothing can show more strikingly the difference in feeling between *ne* with the perfect subjunctive and *noli* with the infinitive than a comparison of the classes of verbs found in the two constructions. Of the 123 instances of *noli* in Cicero, 76 of them are used with verbs indicating some mental action, or some action which would be as unlikely to be accompanied by emotion on the part of the speaker, e. g. 'Do not suppose,' 'Do not be afraid,' etc.<sup>1</sup> In the Letters, 21 out of the 32 instances are verbs of this sort. Of the 30 instances of *cave* with the subjunctive, 17 are of this sort.<sup>2</sup> In the Letters the proportion is 11 out of 18. A glance at the instances above cited of *ne* with the present subjunctive will show that most of the verbs in this construction also belong to the same class. We found the same state of things also in Plautus and Terence. Now, side by side with these facts put the fact that in the whole history of the Latin language, from the earliest times down to and including Livy, there are to be found in prohibitions expressed by *ne* with the perfect subjunctive only two, or at most three, verbs denoting mere mental activity, viz. *ne dubitaris* (Cic. ad Att. 7, 3, 2), *ne metueritis* (de rep. I, 19, 32), *ne*

<sup>1</sup> Planc. 18, 44; 19, 46; 19, 47; 20, 50; 21, 51; 22, 52; 22, 53; Balb. 28, 64; Pis. 20, 46; 27, 66; Marcel. 8, 25; Ligar. 11, 33; 12, 37; Phil. 2, 28, 69; 7, 8, 25; 12, 6, 14; de or. 2, 47, 194; 2, 61, 250; 2, 66, 268; Brut. 33, 125, 40, 148; nat. deor. 2, 18, 47; Cato 22, 79; Rosc. Am. 24, 67; in Caec. div. 12, 39; Verr. 2, 1, 16, 42; 2, 1, 49, 128 (twice); 2, 2, 11, 29; 2, 2, 51, 125; 2, 3, 5, 11; 2, 3, 46, 109; 2, 4, 5, 10; 2, 4, 51, 113 (twice); 2, 5, 5, 10; 2, 5, 18, 45; 2, 5, 53, 139; de re pub. 1, 41, 65; 2, 3, 7; Orat. prid. quam in exsil. iret 1, 1; Tusc. disp. 5, 5, 14; imp. Pomp. 23, 68; agr. 2, 6, 16; 2, 28, 77; Mur. 19, 38; 37, 80; Flacc. 20, 48; 42, 105; Sull. 16, 47 (twice); 27, 76; de dom. 57, 146; de harusp. responso 28, 62; ad Att. 1, 4, 3; 2, 1, 5; 5, 2, 3; 6, 1, 3; 6, 1, 8; 8, 12, 13; 9, 7, 5; 12, 9; 13, 29, 2; 15, 6, 2; 16, 15; ad Brut. 1, 13, 2; ad fam. 4, 4, 3; 4, 5, 5; 5, 21, 1; 7, 25, 1; 12, 16, 1; 12, 33; ad Quint. 1, 2, 4, 14; 3, 6, 7 (twice).

<sup>2</sup> Ligar. 5, 14; 5, 16 (twice); de rep. 1, 42, 65; de leg. 2, 3, 7; Tusc. disp. 5, 7, 19; ad Att. 5, 21, 5; 7, 20, 1; 8, 15, A 2; 9, 9, 4; 9, 19, 1; 10, 13, 1; ad Brut. 1, 15, 1 (twice); ad fam. 7, 6; 7, 25, 2; 9, 24, 4.

*curaris* (ad Att. 4, 15, 6).<sup>1</sup> The only other verbs (four or five in number) dealing with mental action distinctly involve also other sorts of action. These are *ne sis aspernatus* (ad Quint. fratrem 2, 10, 5), *ne asciveris neve fueris* adensus (Ac. 2, 40, 125), *commotus ne sis* (pro Mūr. 31, 65), and *ne repudiaris* (ad Att. 2, 5, 1). There are not so many objections to regarding *nec existimaveris* in Livy 21, 43, 11 as a prohibition as there would be in Ciceronian Latin, though it is extremely doubtful even here. In any case, nothing of the sort should cause surprise in Livy, as he marks the beginning of a general breaking up of the strict canons observed in the best period. Livy (3, 2, 9) even goes so far as to say *ne time**te*, which, in prose, would have shocked the nerves of Cicero beyond expression. The almost entire avoidance, until after the Augustan period, of this whole class of verbs expressing mere mental activity in prohibitions expressed by *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, and its remarkable frequency in other forms of prohibitions, can, it seems to me, be explained only in one way. Verbs of this class are, from their very nature, such as would not often be accompanied with passionate feeling, and so are confined to the milder forms of expression. And this, it seems to me, goes far to establish my contention that *ne* with the perfect subjunctive is reserved for prohibitions that are prompted by uncontrollable emotion, or else that are intended to be as vigorous as possible in tone, either, as is generally the case, from some serious motive, or merely as a bit of familiar pleasantry. This tone is commonly one of commanding. Rarely it is one of earnest entreaty, though in such cases the prohibition is commonly introduced by *noli*. *Noli* with the infinitive is the expression best calculated to win the good-will of the hearer, as it merely appeals to him to exercise his own will (i. e. 'Be unwilling'), or to forbear using it; while *ne* with the perfect subjunctive disregards altogether the will of the person addressed, and insists that the will of the speaker be obeyed.

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<sup>1</sup>*Ne necesse habueris reddere* (ad Att. 16, 2, 5) is but poorly supported by manuscript evidence. Even if the reading is correct, as seems highly probable, the idea of *reddere* may be said to figure quite as prominently in the prohibition as that of *habueris*. Such expressions as *ne vos quidem timueritis* (Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 41, 98), *numquam putaveris* (Sall. Jug. 110, 4) and *nec putaveris* (Cic. Acad. 2, 46, 141) represent very different uses, as I shall show in Part II of my paper.

## II.—THE DOG IN THE RIG-VEDA.

In one of his ingenious if extravagant articles, Brunnhofer, writing to prove that the Rig-Veda was composed before the Aryans entered India, lays stress on the fact that the family-name of one of the Vedic seers means 'dog'; whence, as our author concludes, the poet must have been a 'dog-revering Iranian.'<sup>1</sup>

This statement surely implies that there is something unusual in finding 'dog' as a man's name in the Rig-Veda, and shows that the author thinks the dog to have been despised in the Vedic period. But, in point of fact, in the Rig-Veda we find 'Dog's Tail' as a proper name, and in the Brahmanic period we learn that a good Brahman gave this canine name in three different forms to his three sons, so that Çunaḥpuccha, Çunaḥçepa and Çunolāngula (Ait. Br. vii. 15) all rise as witnesses against Brunnhofer; while later still, withal in the most Brahmanic period, we find Dog's Ear, Çunaskarṇa, handed down as a respectable name. Āçvalāyana's teacher was a Çāunaka. Even were the animal despised, the name, then, was unobjectionable; as actually happens in the parallel case of the jackal, which is found as a proper name, although the beast was contemptible. Brunnhofer, to be sure, relegates all jackal-names, for the same reason, to the Turanians; but this is rather absurd, in view of the fact that as late as the grammatical period we have a scholar called Jackal-son. Like Çunaka, Çāunaka, we find Kroṣṭuka, Krāuṣṭuki, both the name and the patronymic (*kroṣṭar*, common and proper name), and both good Hindu names.

But it is to the implication that the dog was a despicable beast in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans that the strongest exception may

<sup>1</sup> Iran und Turan, p. 152: "Als Sohn eines vom Hunde benannten Mannes (Çunaka) kann der Stammvater des Verfassers des II. Maṇḍala nur als Iranier aufgefasst werden, weil . . . der Hund bei den brahmanischen Sanskrit-Ariern ein verachtetes Thier war, nach welchem sich Niemand benannt haben würde." Compare also ib., p. 165: "Çunaka . . . ein Name, der schlechterdings, bei der grossen Verachtung des Hundes unter den Brahmanen, nur ein hundeverehrender Iranier tragen konnte."

be taken; for the contrary point is proved by appeal to the Rig-Veda itself. Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 383) says scarcely anything in regard to the position of the dog among the Vedic people. On investigating the matter we learn that in the Rig-Veda the dog is the companion and ally of man; the protector and probably the inmate of his house; a friend so near that he pokes his too familiar head into the dish, and has to be struck aside as a selfish creature. He may have been employed as a steed—the chariot of the Maruts is pictured as one drawn by dogs; but he is, at any rate, used for hunting, and the gift of a kennel of one hundred dogs is gratefully acknowledged. He is never spoken of with scorn, and is deprecated only when he barks or offends by too great eagerness—and then the prayer against him implies familiarity rather than contempt. Once a poet complains that in his need he was forced to eat dog's flesh (entrails), but it may have been sorrow for the dog that prompts his plaint; or, if Brunnhofer would argue that the poet thereby shows contempt, it may be replied that it is cooked dog's entrails to which the poet objects, not the live dog. The dogs of Yama are for him protectors. Saramā is the *devaḥṇi*, the gods' dog, and Rudra goes accompanied with dogs (AV.). Whatever the mysterious verse means which declares that 'the goat addressed the dog as (the R̥bhus') awakener,' it is evident that it contains no malignant hit at the canine race. Here is a lullaby from the Rig-Veda which shows on how familiar a footing stood the dog:

Sleep the mother, sleep the father,  
Sleep the dog and sleep the master,  
Sleep may all the blood-relations,  
Sleep the people round about!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As ally of man compare RV. ii. 39. 4: "like two dogs guard our bodies" (Yama's dogs in x. 14. 10-11). In ix. 101. 1, 13 the long-tongued selfish dog is driven from the dish. The hunting dog is called 'boar-desiring' (*varāḥayās*, x. 86. 4; compare *ṣvāvarāhikā*). For the dog as motive-power compare *śūneṣṭa* in viii. 46. 28 (doubtful) with *ṣvāṣva*. Barking dogs may reasonably be objected to as inimical (i. 182. 4), without contempt. As a gift compare Vāl. 7. 3; as a proper name, i. 24. 12, 13; v. 2. 7. The lullaby or charm is found in RV. vii. 55. 5; AV. iv. 5. 6; the allusion to eating dog, in iv. 18. 13; the capric passage, i. 161. 13. As an evil spirit, along with other howlers of the forest, owl-ghosts and dog-ghosts are known (*śvadyātu*, vii. 104. 20, 22). In AV. compare also vi. 37. 3; xi. 2. 2; iv. 36. 6; xi. 2. 30. In Chānd. Up. i. 12 dogs sing a hymn!

It is surely an old legend that is worked up into the spiritual trial of the great king in the epic. After a glorious reign the monarch mounts to heaven with his brothers, his wife and a dog. The way is long, and one by one his human companions fall, but the dog, faithful to the end, accompanies the king to the entrance of heaven. The god appears: "Enter, O king." "But not without this faithful dog," replies the king. The god: "Desert the dog; there is no lack of mercy in doing so." The king: "*Noblesse oblige*,<sup>1</sup> I will either not share in your heavenly world or share it with this faithful attendant." The god: "There is no place in heaven for men with dogs." The king: "To desert a faithful friend is as great a sin as to slay a priest." Here we have the later idea of the ceremonial impurity attaching to the dog united with the epic freedom of regarding the dog as a friend; but perhaps this episode of the dog was imported from Iran!

The horse-sacrifice is ejected from India by Brunnhofer in the same summary way as, on the grounds explained above, he throws out the second book of the Rig-Veda. In the volume already referred to (p. 160) the author declares that the horse-sacrifice can have arisen only "in a land rich in horses," and hence, if we desire to find the country where the horse-sacrifice began and was developed "werden wir nirgends anders als nach Iran hinblicken dürfen." It is here assumed that India in the Vedic period was not rich in horses, and Brunnhofer adds that in consequence of the hot, damp climate, India was never distinguished for its steeds. The latter remark may be correct (although the Rig-Veda itself speaks of the Indus as *svāṣvā surāthā* 'having excellent horses and chariots,' x. 75. 8), but the statement that the Vedic horse-sacrifice requires a land where horses are numerous is not necessarily true, and the deduction that India was not rich in horses depends on the *a priori* assumption that India was not the land of the Vedic poets. For the Vedic poets extol the horse-sacrifice, and horses and horse-races are sprinkled over every page of the Rig-Veda. With what right, then, can it be assumed that the poets and their horses were not in India? Do not the epic heroes also have horse-races? The notion that India is not a land rich in horses emanates from Roth, who should have been cited in connection with this statement. Compare Z. D. M. G. XXXV, p. 686:

<sup>1</sup>*Anāryam āryeṇa çakyam kartum duṣkaram etad ārya*, xvii. 3. 9.



"Diese Sitte [horse-racing] kann in beschränkteren Thalebenen sich erhalten wenn sie eingebürgert ist, aber entsprungen ist sie wohl nur in angrenzenden weiten Flächen . . . Anderseits ist jedoch zu merken dass . . . das Ross [in the Rig-Veda] ein selteneres und werthvolles Thier ist, das nicht wie das Rind, zu Hunderten und Tausenden besessen und verschenkt wird, sondern in einzelnen Paaren oder wenigstens in mässiger Zahl."

On the contrary, in the Rig-Veda the horse is not rare (although he is valuable); he is, exactly like kine, owned and given by hundreds and by thousands. In Rig-Veda v. 33. 8 a gift of ten horses is recorded; in ib. vi. 47. 22-24, one of ten horses and ten chariots. Purupanthās gave one poet, according to his own acknowledgment, "hundreds, thousands of horses" (vi. 63. 10), and in the eighth book (Persian?) gifts of three hundred and of sixty thousand horses respectively are received (viii. 6. 47; 46. 22). In the passage cited above (Vāl. 7. 3), where is acknowledged the gift of one hundred dogs, the recipient acknowledges also the gift of four hundred mares. These passages may be late additions to old hymns—although Brunnhofer, who erects so much on a *dānastuti* basis, would probably not claim this—but they are, at any rate, as authentic as are the statements in regard to gifts of cattle, and unless hundreds or thousands be a 'mässige Zahl,' it will be necessary to take quite a different view on this subject than that of Roth. Wherever horse-raising began, there is no evidence whatever that India was not from the earliest times devoted to the horse or lacked a supply, even if it was not customary to have so large a herd of horses as of cattle. Certainly there is in the Rig-Veda no ground for this argument advanced by Brunnhofer in regard to the literature on the horse-sacrifice.

Brunnhofer's hobby, to the elucidation of which he has now devoted three volumes, is the idea that the Rig-Veda was written on the south or east side of the Caspian Sea, and not in India. To support this hypothesis he has brought forward a number of interesting geographical facts and some Vedic names which, as he thinks, show Turanian or Iranian origin. But besides this argument of names—many of which are of doubtful connection with the foreign names adduced as related, while some are probably no more indicative of geographical situation than are European names in America—there occurs in our author's writings every now and then an argument that is of more conse-

quence. It has been shown how, in the little matter of dogs and horses, there is not found the accuracy which would be desirable, considering how important is the use made of the asserted facts. Still more deplorable is it to find employed an argument which may be put symbolically thus: 'Since  $\chi$  is Iranian, it cannot be Indian; hence, being found in the Veda, the Veda is Iranian; and if Iranian, it must have arisen near the Caspian Sea'—and then to discover that, after all,  $\chi$  is Indian. For example, the contemplative theosophy shown in the Varuna hymns is said to be not natural to India: it must be Iranian; and then follows: "Wenn wir uns aber im gesammten Iran nach einer Landschaft umsehen wo die tropische Ueberfülle der gütigen Natur ein solches Hinbrüten über die den Augen und Ohren sich aufdrängenden Räthsel des Daseins ermöglichte, so bleibt uns keine andere Wahl als dieselbe am Südrande des Kaspischen Meeres zu suchen" (ib., p. 176). What nonsense! To maintain that a people so essentially theosophic and philosophic as the Indian could not have thought out a god like Varuna is the emptiest assumption, and on that assumption hangs the whole argument.

This from the first volume, *Iran und Turan*.

In Brunnhofer's second volume, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus* (1890), there is an interesting argument which, illustrating at once the learned author's method and the verisimilitude of his important discoveries, deserves to be cited almost entire<sup>1</sup>: "Through all the Rig-Veda there constantly recurs the prayer which, e. g., is thus formulated by the Ṛshi Ḡṛtsamada, ii. 33. 2: 'I would reach one hundred winters by means of thy best medicines,' or by Vasiṣṭha, vii. 101. 6: 'May my sacrifice preserve (me) to the age of one hundred autumns.' Even in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā, xiii. 41, and in Aitareya-Brahmaṇa, vi. 2, one hundred years are named as the highest age of life (v. Weber, Ind. St. I 313, note). The reckoning of time according to hundred winters or autumns can have arisen only in a rough mountain-district of Iran; and, too, the age of one hundred years that at first seems fantastic (in which, however, there was once doubtless some truth) can be explained only from the conserving power of the pure mountain air of a highland country." Then Armenia is shown to be a place where the age of one hundred years can be reached, and the reader is left to draw the

<sup>1</sup> With the omission of the Sanskrit text (loc. cit., p. 97).

inevitable conclusion that the whole of the Rig-Veda, which contains such prayers as those cited above, could have been composed only in Iran.

In regard to which is to be noted—First, that the use of ‘autumn’ may be a form handed down from a time centuries before the literature, in which is found the formula, was composed, even as the formula is still preserved centuries after the Rig-Veda collection was completed; for the regular epic benediction is *jīva śaradaḥ śatam* ‘live one hundred autumns.’ Again, the Vedic type for a year is less winter than autumn, while in the Rig-Veda summer also occurs as the equivalent of year. Compare vii. 66. 11: “who established the autumn,<sup>1</sup> the month and the day”; and the use of summer in iv. 57. 7; x. 85. 5; 124. 4; also the stock phrase *śatā-śaradāya*. No word for old meaning ‘possessed of winters’ occurs in a form parallel to *śarādvān* ‘possessed of autumns.’ Moreover, autumn is naturally the type of the year, and winter scarcely less so, even in India, for these are the only seasons when life is worth living; spring is debilitating and summer is unendurable.

Secondly, in regard to the use of one hundred, if wishes implied facts India is just where it is allowable to predicate one hundred years as a probable age for man to live, for in the Rig-Veda no more than in later times this length of time, or more, is the wish expressed. In Mandelslo we read that the proper formula is “may one live seven hundred years,” and as this is A. D. 1638, it will scarcely be thought even by Brunnhofer that the wisher lived in Armenia’s mountains. In the same work it is stated that the Hindus regard one hundred years as the limit of mortal life. To revert to the Upanishads, we have in the Chāndogya the historical statement that Mahidāsa lived 116 years.<sup>2</sup> Compare Ait. Ār. ii. 2. 1. 1, where it is assumed that one hundred years is the limit. Historical examples are not lacking to show that in our own time men have reached that age in India (and America) without resorting to mountain-tops. Finally, one hundred in the Rig-Veda generally means not 100, but ‘many’; compare *śatā-kratu*, *śatāmūti*, *śatāvāja*; although *daśamī*, the tenth of ten-

<sup>1</sup>Harvest. Compare for one hundred years as norm in the earlier period Čat. Br. v. 4. 1. 13, etc.; but no more so here than later, Manu, i. 83, and Kauṣīt. Upan. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Chānd. Up. iii. 16. 7: (Mahidāsa Aitareya) *sa ha śoḍaśam varṣaśatam ajīvat*.

year periods, shows that hundred may here be taken literally. But in most cases it is a mere wish that is uttered.

Therefore, whether we take one hundred as a fact or, as it should be taken, as a wish, the argument based on the number is worthless. It is not necessary to go to Iran to find the place where "may we live one hundred winters (or autumns)" must have first been formulated. All that is true in Brunnhofer's contention is, that a consistent use of winter as the type of year would point to a northern abode. But we see that in the Rig-Veda 'autumn' is also employed for year, and that this formula lasts for centuries. Hence it may have been used for centuries before the literature began; and so, too, may 'winter' have been used in just such an expression, and that formula may have been stereotyped and preserved for generations. Analogy would show this to have been the case.

But Brunnhofer has given us even a better bit of philologic logic. In his last volume, *Vom Aral bis zur Gangā* (1892), he endeavors to prove that the king mentioned in the following verse was a Parthian monarch who lived in the plains about Merw: "These [previously recounted] are the gifts of *Ṛṥthu-çravas Kāṇita*, the one who gives richly. He has given a golden car; he was a generous prince; he has got the widest glory." 'Widest glory' is a play on *Ṛṥthuçravas*, i. e. 'he of broad fame,' an appellation exactly like that in *ṛṥthuyāman* 'she of broad paths' (Dawn), and other Vedic adjectives. But Brunnhofer's argument is as follows (p. 145): Instead of meaning 'he of broad fame,' *Ṛṥthu-çravas* *might be* 'the fame of the Parthians.' This king called Fame-of-the-Parthians lived near the Caspian Sea; for the conditions under which the hymn is written require a great plain, and there is such a plain about Merw. The necessity for this plain is apparent, because an extended system of canals under a Parthian king requires a great plain. The system of canals is implied by the sobriquet *Kāṇita*. This name is a patronymic from *kanita*, usually interpreted as 'son of a maiden,' but this is impossible (compare *παρθένιος, παρθενίος, Παρθενοναίος*?), for instead of being Sanskrit (Vedic), it might be a foreign Iranian word, and then its Vedic form would be, if we assume a change of ending, *khanitar* for *kanita*; and if we explain *khanitar* from *khan* 'to dig,' as meaning a 'digger of canals,' we have the proof desired!

That is to say, assuming that *Ṛṥthuçravas* does not mean what



it apparently does; and assuming that *kanila* must be Iranian, and that if Iranian it stands for *khanitar*; and that, if it is *khanitar* = 'digger,' this 'digger' must be a canal-digger; then the assumption that this assumed 'digger of canals' is a Parthian necessitates us to believe that the assumed king called 'Fame of the Parthians' lived near the Oxus, because there is a plain there where an 'extended system of canals' is practicable!

It is scarcely necessary to point out in addition that another assumption is not proved, viz. that this tag to an earlier hymn<sup>1</sup> is itself early; or that the sole proof offered that 'digger' must be canal-digger—viz. because *khanitrima* '(water) in a ditch' might be by another assumption rendered 'canal-water'—is not sufficient evidence. In a word, there is as much presumption as assumption in the whole proof.

What is the implied principle that underlies so much of Brunnhofer's speculation? It is that similarity, when found between the customs or ideas of two peoples, signifies that these customs or ideas could not have been produced independently. We have seen this especially prominent in his interpretation of loftier Hindu religious thought, which is relegated to the Persians, or their ancestors, because it corresponds with an Iranian mood of mind.

But turning from Brunnhofer's works, let us now examine the general theory of probabilities on which rest so many comparable arguments for primitive association in law, custom and religion. Does it follow that because there is likeness in any regard between the laws, customs and religious beliefs of two members of the Aryan group, that therefore these laws, customs or religious beliefs must be referred to a common origin, or that one of the groups must have borrowed from the other?

As 'Indo-European' are cited, in view of what we know from India, Greece and Germany (Tacitus), the virtue of hospitality, the vice of desperate gaming, and other international traits. The common naming of stars (Ursa Major) as 'Bear' has also been emphasized. In Williams' Key, cited in Palfrey's History of New England, vol. I, p. 36, note, we read that the North American Indians whose habitat was Massachusetts gave the Ursa Major "their own name for the bear." And in the same work, p. 32, speaking of the traits of these Indians as recorded by

<sup>1</sup> RV. viii. 46. 24.

those that first knew them, the author notes as peculiarly characteristic of the Indian that "he was a desperate gambler"; while on p. 37 his great virtue is recorded as being "hospitality."<sup>1</sup>

In Tacitus' *Germania*, concerning the chiefs and captains there is a passage which, when compared with what is said of other Aryans, should also be set beside this note in regard to the American Indians: "The sachem was not necessarily the captain. Command fell to him who was recognized as the most capable and experienced warrior" (ib., p. 39). Compare *reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*, etc. (7).

In religion, even in the minutiae of religious hocuspocus, there is no certainty that agreement betokens inheritance. In the *Rig-Veda* seven is a mystic number, and its sanctity is trebled by the use of  $3 \times 7$ . But not only seven, even this mystic  $3 \times 7$  is a current religious number among the Mexicans.<sup>2</sup>

Worthless are many comparisons of like gods, and for the same reason. In this regard sins Ehni, who, on p. 196 of *Der vedische Mythos des Yama*, begins a "Comparison of the Indian (Hindu) Yama-myth with analogous sagas of Hellenic mythology" with the words "*Der hellenische Volksstamm . . . hat das ur-arische Erbgut . . . treu bewahrt*," and continuing, says: "*Die Identität des Namens [Yamas] . . . ist nur in einer mehr oder weniger genauen Uebersetzung (Dionysos, Rhadamanthys) bewahrt worden, oder auch ganz verloren gegangen, aber die eigenthümlichen Ideen . . . finden wir bei den Hellenen*." Thence the author goes on to find the Yama-myth in various Grecian forms, on the slender basis of similar ideas and their development in India and Hellas. Then turning to the eternal Tacitus, he finds in *Tuisco-Mannus* the exact parallel to Yama-Manu; while the cosmogony of the *Edda* helps him to refer the birds of Ymir (= Yama) from the bright and dark heavens (of the Hindu) (= *Muspelheim* and *Niflheim*) to the remotest period of Indo-

<sup>1</sup> That this criticism is not directed against a man of straw may be seen by comparing p. 5 of Holtzmann's essay *Ueber das alte indische Epos*: "*Das Mahabharata (ist) oft der beste Commentar zur Germania*." As examples to illustrate Tacitus are given from the Hindu epic 'desperate gambling, faithfulness of followers, blood-revenge, paradise as a reward for dying on the field of battle'; and these similarities between German and Hindu "permit us to assume a great antiquity for the germ of the Hindu epic." Every one of these traits belongs to the American Indians!

<sup>2</sup> The writer owes this last statement to verbal information given to him by Dr. Brinton.

European unity; nor does he hesitate, advancing consistently on the same lines, to identify the origin of man from parts of Ymir with that theologic parable which is set down in one of the latest hymns of the Rig-Veda, where men are produced from members of the Universal Person.

The moral to be drawn from this is applicable above all in the case of comparative law. Without taking this into consideration, Leist<sup>1</sup> has ventured upon a comparison of Graeco-Italian laws with those of India, claiming, because of similarity, a mutual origin for many practices, some of which have been picked out of law-books in India which are of so recent a date that their statutes should not be compared with any alien laws. And as a result he has erected quite a code, comprising what he calls by a misnomer *jus gentium*, of which it is safe to say not a quarter is primitive law.<sup>2</sup>

No law, custom, or religious belief of one country can, merely because it is like that of another country, therefore be assumed to be borrowed, or to have come from the same source. This is a principle which should be emphasized until it be followed in all comparative investigation on the Aryan group.

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<sup>1</sup> Alt-arisches Jus Gentium, and Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 605 of the *Jus Gentium*, Leist speaks of the "institutions, customs, formulae and thoughts (of India), which coincide so remarkably with Greek and Roman sources and often are so marked by the same Aryan words that I hold as certain the Indo-Graeco-Italian connection." The correspondence of words is not so frequent, and when it fails, that of ideas is not enough to prove the point.

### III.—ON THE ARCHAISMS NOTED BY SERVIUS IN THE COMMENTARY TO VERGIL.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Aeneid*, Vergil writes of men whose customs were, in many respects, different from those of the men of his own times. To picture the early times accurately, it was necessary to give to his work an antique cast and, in questions religious, to retain in his own language some expressions that were archaic. An old word in the poem would be as forcible a reminder of the early days of the Romans as would be the most elaborate description set forth in the polished language of the court of Augustus.

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With this in mind, we are not surprised at the words of Quintilian (1, 7, 18): *Vergilius amantissimus vetustatis*, and (9, 3, 14): *alia commendatio vetustatis, cuius amator unice Vergilius fuit*. The reason for this striving after the antique is given (8, 3, 24): *propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas . . . quibus non quilibet fuerit usus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus*. A similar opinion is expressed by Seneca (ap. Aul. Gell. 12, 2, 10): *Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam versus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis*. As this striving for the antique flavor was so marked, it furnished a good field for investigation to the Roman critics. Quintilian (9, 3) cites many examples; Macrobius, book VI, discusses this element quite fully; but the work of Servius is the most important of the commentaries that have come down to us. Notwithstanding the importance of his work, there is much uncertainty in reference to his name, his date, and the comments that can with certainty be ascribed to him. For the purposes of the present paper it is enough to know that they may be assigned to the latter half of the fourth century A. D. If the entire work was written about that time, we have the views of a critic who judged of the work of Vergil in the light of the changes of four hundred years. But we are left in uncertainty as to the date of some of the comments, for there are two versions of the Commentary, the shorter 'Servius,' and the longer, the so-called 'Scholia of Daniel.' There is considerable difference between the two versions, and it will be necessary to compare them with reference to the form of statement and their relative value so far as they treat of the archaisms of Vergil.

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Other works are referred to by their titles in the paper.

In this paper are given references to 278 comments in which the Commentary has called attention to the archaic character of the words of Vergil. To 14 of these no special designation has been attached, e. g. 1, 295<sup>1</sup> clam et post quae ante communes fuerunt: nunc in his mutata natura est. The remaining 264 are referred to in 18 different ways. For convenience they may be divided into four classes: archaisms so called by the commentator, and those in which he has used the words *antiqui*, *veteres*, *maiores*, or some form of these words. The following table shows the number of times each of these terms is used:

	Archaisms.	Antiqui.	Veteres.	Maiores.	Undesignated.	Total.
Servius,	11	64	1	17	14	107
Schol. Dan.	3—1 <sup>2</sup>	51—1 <sup>2</sup>	113—1 <sup>2</sup>	1	0	168—3 <sup>2</sup>
	14—1 <sup>2</sup>	115—1 <sup>2</sup>	114—1 <sup>2</sup>	18	14	275—3 <sup>2</sup>

Excluding the comments in which the word *antiqui* is used, there is a very clear line of demarcation between the two versions, as the Schol. Dan. does not use the word *maiores*, excepting once in the form *m. nostri* (6, 1, s. v. *calas*), and the Servius uses the word *veteres* in only one comment where some other word designating time is not used with it in the same comment. 1, 139 inmania aspera; manum enim antiqui bonum dicebant; cf. 2, 268 manum vero, unde est mane, bonum dixere veteres. This, according to the critical apparatus of Thilo-Hagen, is the reading of the MSS *om.* CME, and it may not have belonged to the original Servius. This same difference of expression is found also in the comments referring to the early customs of the Romans. In 130 of these comments, 71 are from the Servius (45 *maiores*, 19 *antiqui*, 7 *veteres*, but in two of the latter *ap. vet.* has been inserted, 12, 395, 606), 59 are from the Schol. Dan. (5 undesignated, 17 *antiqui*, 37 *vet.*).

In 5 comments—bipenni (2, 479), aspiration (6, 4), moerorum (10, 24), fraus (11, 708)—the Servius uses the word *veteres* with another word indicating time. There are 4—cernere (12, 709), peculi (B. 1, 32), cuius (B. 3, 1), medicor (G. 1, 193)—in which two terms are used in the same comment, but of this there are no examples in the Schol. Dan. The Servius repeats 5 comments using the same general statement and the same words referring to the archaism under discussion. In 4 comments different words

<sup>1</sup> The Aeneid is referred to by book and line only.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted by Thilo-Hagen; in Lion's edition.

are used. In the Schol. Dan., 12 comments are repeated with the same words, and 9 with different words. In 6 instances the two versions have different comments on the same word, and in 60 comments the Schol. Dan. has added, with more or less appropriateness, to the statement in the Servius. These figures do not show any special difference between the versions in reference to the repetition of comments, but there is a marked difference seen when we compare their separate comments on the same words.

In many comments the Schol. Dan. calls attention to an archaism not mentioned in the Servius. 1, 30 *Achilli propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον* detraxit 's' litteram; 2, 6 *vetus genetivus*, and 3, 87 *veteres Achilli declinabant*. G. 3, 190 the Servius reads: *aetatem generaliter dicimus pro anno et pro triginta et pro centum et pro quovis tempore*. In the Schol. Dan. 1, 283 *iuxta veteres aetas hic pro tempore posita est*. In these the Schol. Dan. has simply added the statement that the word with a certain meaning was used by the *veteres*. This applies equally well to all the list, and for that reason only the words, their meanings, and the references will be given, following the order in which the same parts of speech are to be given in this paper. *aevum (aetas perpetua)* 6, 763; 7, 776; *ars (dolus)* 2, 15; 7, 477; 11, 760: 1, 657; *axis (septentrio)* 2, 512; G. 2, 271: G. 3, 351; *flumen (fluor)* 1, 465: 12, 517; *hiems (tempus)* 1, 122; 2, 110: 1, 125; 5, 11; *interpres* 3, 359; 10, 175; 4, 608; *opes (auxilium)* 1, 601; 9, 529; 11, 532; 8, 171 (*milites*); *veniam (beneficium)* 1, 519; 3, 144; 4, 50; 10, 903; 4, 435; 11, 101; *via (ratio)* 3, 395; G. 2, 22: 4, 477; *quicquid erit* 5, 710: 2, 77 (*mors*); *honestus (pulcher)* 10, 133; G. 2, 392: 1, 289; *caeruleus (niger)* 5, 123; 7, 198; 8, 1: 3, 64; *indignus* 6, 163; 9, 592; B. 10, 10: 4, 617; B. 8, 18; *malignus (exiguus, obscurus)* 6, 270; 11, 525: G. 2, 179; *fervere* 4, 409; 8, 677; *flectere* 5, 28: 9, 603; *hausit* 1, 738: 4, 359; *id metuens* 1, 61: 1, 23; *ilicet* 6, 216, 231: 2, 424; *piare* 2, 140; 6, 379: 1, 378; *sperare* 4, 419; B. 8, 26: 1, 543; *stridere* G. 4, 556: 2, 418; *stringere* 5, 163; 9, 292, 572: 8, 63; 10, 478; *subire* 7, 161: 4, 598; *ululare* 6, 257: 4, 168; 11, 662. 5, 862 *currit iter ut Cicero ite viam, redite viam*. 4, 468 *ire viam veteri more iuxta ius, ut ite viam, redite viam, et alibi primus et ire viam*. In many of these comments the Schol. Dan. gives a quotation from an early poet, and thus shows that the word was in fact used by the *veteres*, though this must not be interpreted to mean that the

expression was not also used by the writers of a later period. The statement in the Servius would leave this to be inferred from its silence in reference to any author in which the expression was to be found.

Somewhat similar to these are the 60 comments in which the Schol. Dan. has added to the comment made by the Servius. In most of them the Servius gives a general statement in reference to a certain passage, and the Schol. Dan. has added a comment upon a single word. A single quotation will sufficiently illustrate this: 4, 130 iubare exorto nato lucifero: nam proprie iubar lucifer dicitur, quod iubas lucis effundit: unde iam quicquid splendet iubar dicitur, ut argenti, gemmarum est autem lucifer interdum Iovis: *nam et antiqui iubar quasi iubar dicebant*. The following are the short comments where the Servius expressly speaks of an expression which the Schol. Dan. declares archaic: 1, 211 tergora tergos tergoris . . . corium significat, tergum . . . dorsum significat, *sed haec a veteribus confundebantur, ut alibi taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo. item in nono ingerit hastas in tergus*. Cf. 1, 368 tergo pro terгоре. 9, 410 tergum pro tergus dixit. 9, 664 flictu pro inflictu, *vel inflictu*, id est ictu: nam detraxit more suo praepositionem. *et loquutus est iuxta antiquum morem. Pacuvius Teucro flictus navium*. 2, 140 effugia et fuga dicimus et effugium . . . *nam hostia quae ad aras adducta est immolanda, si casu effugeret, effugia vocari veteri more solet*. 1, 315 habitum vultum et amictum. *habitus apud veteres dicebatur tam corporis quam eorum quae praeter corpus sunt*. 1, 123 imbrem imber dicitur umor omnis, ut Lucr. ex igni atque anima nascuntur et imbri, id est umore. *veteres enim omnem aquam imbrem dicebant. Ennius imbrem pro aqua marina ratibusque fremebat imber Neptuni*. Cf. the use of the Greek word ὄμβρος. Munro ad Lucr. 1, 715. 8, 632 matrem quasi matrem, cuius adfectum pueris exhibebat. *sane veteres etiam nutrices matres vocabant, ut ait Plautus in Menaechmis et mater non possit dignoscere, quae mammam dabat*. Cf. Non. 423, 23 M. mater aliquando pro nutrice ponitur. 12, 437 inter praemia *inter veteres pro ad ponebant: id est ad praemia*. 4, 116 confieri con abundat . . . *quamvis veteres indifferenter confieri dicebant*. 12, 9 gliscit crescit *veteres incremento ponebant*. See Non. 22, 16; Lucr. 1, 474; Sil. Ital. 14, 308.

There are a few comments in both the versions which do not exactly agree, even though they are from the same writer. In

one comment an archaism is mentioned, but not in others. As examples of this may be mentioned the comments on *dives*, *obex*, *bina* and *tusus*, which will be given with the other comments. From the Schol. Dan. the best examples are the following: 2, 238 *feta nunc plena, ut in bucolicis* (1, 49) *templabunt pabula fetas, alias enixa iam, ut* (8, 630) *fecerat et viridi fetam*. G. 3, 176 *antiqui enim fetum pro gravido solebant ponere, ut Varro Atacinus feta feris Libye, et ipse Vergilius scandit fatalis machina muros feta armis*. 2, 148 *obliviscere quidam pro contemne vel neglige, ut* (5, 703) *oblitus fatorum*. (Cf. 4, 221.) 11, 866 *obliti nonnulli Vergilium secundum vetustatem hoc verbo usum tradunt, ut obliti ἀμελήσαντες, hoc est negligentes et contemnentes, putent: . . . ut* (5, 174) *oblitus decoris sui et* (5, 703) *oblitus fatorum*. Cf. 3, 628. These internal variations of the two versions are of little moment, as they are few in number and are not contradictory. But the differences between the two versions themselves show that the writers were looking from an entirely different standpoint, the writer of the Schol. Dan. seeming to keep constantly in view the similarity between Vergil's vocabulary and that of preceding writers. As this was a part of his object, it will be necessary to compare his work especially (though including the Servius also) with the work of some of the other Roman commentators. Mention has already been made of the comments of Quintilian and of Macrobius, both of whom criticised in general terms and not so minutely as Servius.

Two other commentators, Porphyryon and Donatus, have followed the same plan as Servius. From the comments of Porphyryon on the works of Horace but little can be gathered bearing on the question of archaic language. The comments on *lavère* O. 3, 12, 2; 4, 6, 26; Ep. 17, 50; on *dives opum* (*pro opibus*) S. 2, 3, 142; on *Ety. Figura* O. 3, 29, 50, agree with the comments of Servius on the same expressions. Commenting on *unde* O. 1, 12, 17, he quotes *genus unde Latinum* (Verg. 1, 6), where the Schol. Dan. finds an archaism. The simple verb *cedunt* O. 2, 6, 15; *adorea* O. 4, 4, 41 (quoted by Schol. Dan. 10, 677), are not called archaic. O. 2, 6, 15 *Graeca figura dictum est illi certat pro cum illo certat*. Servius B. 5, 8 *usurpatum est: nam hodie certo tecum dicimus*. Cf. G. 2, 138. In the following, Servius and Porphyryon do not agree in their comments: P. ad O. 1, 15, 34 *Achillei et Ulixei veteres dixerunt*. Cf. S. ad 1, 30. P. ad O. 2, 1, 1 *non civile sed civicum dixit antiqua figura*. S. ad

6, 772 *civica* debuit dicere, sed mutavit, ut e contra Horatius . . . *civicum* pro *civilem*. O. 3, 4, 29 ut enim *veteres* non numquam pro *locali* particula ponebant, ut Vergilius (5, 329). Ep. 1, 16, 31 nomine . . . dici. ἀρχαϊσμός figura. Vergilius (G. 4, 356) et te crudelem nomine dicit. S. 2, 4, 81 *mappas* antiqui dicebant quae nunc *mantelia*. Lucilius et *velli mappas*. Cf. S. ad 1, 701, where he uses both words. A. P. 457 antiqui enim et *ructo* et *ructor* dixerunt. S. ad 3, 576 *ructo ructas* tantum facit. . . . Horatius usurpavit *ructatur*. These citations show a tendency on the part of Porphyryon to refer to the *veteres* in about the same way as the writer of the Schol. Dan.

Dr. K. W. Smith (Archaisms of Terence mentioned in the Commentary of Donatus, p. 4) calls attention to the fact that Vergil is the author most freely quoted by Donatus for illustrations of archaic usage. As both commentators were working in similar fields and followed the same general line of treatment, it will be in order to compare their statements in reference to the words commented on by Servius. In a few comments Don. calls attention to an archaism not mentioned by Servius. Phor. 3, 2, 37, Don. says ὁμοιοστέλεον usitatum veteribus. Servius calls frequent attention to the fact that Vergil avoids it. Cf. 1, 30; 11, 112; B. 3, 1; G. 3, 539, et al. See Smith, p. 13; Moore, p. 52. Phor. 5, 1, 29 *composito*: sic *veteres*, nos ex *composito*, ut (Verg. 2, 129). Ad. 1, 2, 47 *abiero* ἀρχαϊσμός, ut (Verg. 2, 719). (Cf. ad Phor. 2, 3, 73.) Ad Phor. 1, 2, 91 nos dicimus *dimitte*, antiqui . . . *amitte* (Verg. 2, 148). Ad Eun. 5, 8, 62 numquam pro non, ἀρχαϊσμός, and at Ad. 2, 1, 3; 4, 2, 31; 4, 5, 26; And. 2, 4, 7, Verg. 1, 670 is quoted. Ad Ad. 2, 3, 11 *mage* pro *magis* ἀρχαϊσμός. Not mentioned in the long note ad Verg. 10, 481. "*Mage* is frequent in Plautus, but does not occur in Terence," Smith, p. 25. Ad. 1, 1, 23 quod nos *educare* dicimus, *educere* *veteres* dicebant, ut (Verg. 6, 765). And. 1, 3, 18 *obiit* *mortem*: plene dixit, quod nos *obiit* tantum (Verg. 10, 641). Ad And. 3, 2, 12 *temno* *veteres* dicebant sine *praepositione*. Ad Verg. 1, 665 *temnis* *aphaeresis* est pro *contemnis*. Cf. 1, 542. 5, 21 *tendere* pro *contendere*; 1, 203 *mittite* *pro* *omittite*. These seem to show that Donatus resorted to the archaistic explanation more frequently than Servius, but, on the other hand, there are 23 comments—17 in the Schol. Dan., 5 in the Servius, and 1 in both—which call attention to an archaism not mentioned by Donatus. Servius 11, 592 pariter similiter uno modo. et est antiquum. G. 1, 189

*similiter. antique dixit, ut Plautus in Aulularia pariter moratus, ut pater avusque fuit, hoc est δμολως.* This meaning is rare in Cic. Hand Tursell. 4, 389; Reisig-Haase, 3, N. 419 b. Don. Eun. 1, 2, 12 quotes from Sallust, but does not speak of an archaism. Don. Phor. 2, 2, 10 amicus, nominativum pro vocativo posuit. Servius does not decide in similar instances. 1, 451 apud maiores idem erat vocativus et nominativus, ut hic Mercurius et O Mercurius. 1, 734 Bacchus aut antiptosis est, aut antiquus vocativus. Cf. 8, 77; 10, 327; 11, 464; 12, 192. Don. Eun. 2, 1, 13 mentions *insomnia* (singular) without comment: Serv. 4, 9 insomnia enim, licet Pacuvius et Ennius frequenter dixerint, Plinius exclusit et de usu removit. Don. Eun. 2, 3, 12 et alacer et alacris (Verg. 5, 380). Serv. 6, 685 et sciendum antiquos et alacris et alacer . . . dixisse. nunc masculino utrumque damus, de feminino alacer et acer numquam dicimus. The different forms for the masculine and the feminine of adjectives were not always used in Early Latin, and masculine adjectives in *is* occur in Cic., Livy and Tac.; Munro, Lucr. 4, 160; Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 16; Engelbrecht, p. 26. Don. Hec. 5, 3, 13; Ad. 2, 4, 15 etiam particula consentientis. Serv. 11, 373 apud maiores etiam consentientis fuerat, quod tamen in his recentibus non invenitur. However, it is here used by Vergil to emphasize a pronoun in contrast with a preceding one, *nos . . . etiam tu.* Don. And. 3, 3, 11 ne me obsecra: pro ne me obsecres. 5, 2, 27 ne saevi tantopere: ne imperativo magis quam conjunctivo adiungitur, ut Vergilius, ne saevi, magna sacerdos. Serv. 6, 544 antique dictum est: nam nunc ne saevias dicimus, nec imperativum iungimus adverbio imperantis. 2, 606; 7, 202; 9, 113, he does not mention it as an archaism, while B. 2, 17 he says 'ne crede' ne confide. *Ne* with the imperative is poetical and characteristic of the *sermo vulgaris* (Handbuch, 2, 409, 37; Reisig-Haase, 3, 506).

The comments in which the Schol. Dan. mentions an archaism not noticed by Donatus are generally short, and the statement is generally based upon a citation from Plautus or Terence. Two comments will show sufficiently clearly the difference between the two commentators. Don. And. 2, 6, 27 ille est huius rei caput: caput est origo et summa unius cuiusque rei, ut Vergilius O Latio caput horum et causa malorum (11, 361). Servius: caput principium et est antiquum. *quia qui auctor et princeps rei gestae fuerat, caput a veteribus dicebatur: Terentius (supra), Plautus in Asinaria (3, 3, 138) ego caput huic fui argento inveniundo.*

See 12, 600. Don. Phor. 1, 2, 73 *confidens* . . . *pro improbo, audaci ac temerario posuit, ut* (And. 5, 3, 5): *O ingentem confidentiam*. Schol. Dan. G. 4, 444 *confidentissime pro audacissime: confidentiam enim veteres pro impudenti audacia dicebant ut Terentius* (supra). In the remaining comments the references will be given to the two commentators, and also an indication in parentheses of the quotations, when they both cite the same passage or when the commentator cites Ter. or Verg. The words on which the comments are given do not involve any principles of syntax, and most do not need any special mention. *fiducia*: Don. And. 3, 5, 7; 5, 3, 5; Hec. 4, 1, 13 (Sallust): Schol. Dan. 2, 61. (Cf. 1, 132.) Don. Ad. 5, 6, 6 (Verg. 2, 632): Schol. Dan. ad loc., s. v. *deo*. *via*: Don. Eun. 2, 2, 16: Schol. Dan. 4, 477. *nullus* for *non*: Don. Hec. 1, 2, 4; Eun. 2, 1, 10; Phor. 1, 4, 25: Schol. Dan. 1, 181; G. 1, 125 (Hec. 1, 2, 4). This use of *nullus* is found in the Epistles of Cic. ad Att. See Haupt, Quaest. Catull., p. 5; Reisig-Haase, 3, 158; Spengel, Ter. And. 370, 599; Lorenz, Plaut. Pseud. 282. *proprium* (*perpetuum*): Don. And. 5, 5, 4; 4, 3, 1 (Verg. 6, 872); Phor. 5, 5, 2 (Verg. 1, 73): Schol. Dan. B. 7, 31 (Ter. supra). *profecto*: Don. And. 3, 3, 22: Schol. Dan. 8, 532. *unde* (*ex quo*): Don. Ad. 3, 2, 4; Eun. Prol. 11 and 1, 2, 35 (Verg. 1, 6): Schol. Dan. ad loc., 8, 71. Don. *faxo*: Phor. 308, 1208 et al.: Schol. Dan. 12, 316. Here the latter commentator is correct, as *faxo* was certainly an archaism at the time of Terence. See the exhaustive work of E. Lübbert, Der Conjunctiv Perf. u. das Futurum exactum im ält. Lat., Breslau, 1867. *colere*: Don. Ad. 3, 2, 54: Schol. Dan. 1, 17. *confit*: Don. Ad. 5, 8, 23: Schol. Dan. 4, 116. *habet*: Don. And. 1, 1, 56: Schol. Dan. 12, 296 (Ter.). *ilicet* (*actum est*): Don. Phor. 1, 4, 31; Eun. 1, 1, 9; Ad. 5, 3, 5: Schol. Dan. 2, 424 (Ter.). *oblitus*: Eun. 2, 3, 14: Schol. Dan. 3, 628; 11, 866. Don. And. 3, 3, 47 *tute adeo*. *adeo modo et abundat, ut Vergilius G. 1, 24*. Schol. Dan. ad loc. *quidam adeo abundare putant antiqua figura, ut 3, 242*. Here we may also put the note of Donatus Ad. 2, 1, 15 *propter hunc: iuxta hunc*, and Schol. Dan. 1, 233 *ob Italiam. multi iuxta Italiam antiquo more dictum accipiunt*.

While the two commentators do not correspond in their statements in these comments, there are points at which they do agree. Occupying a middle ground there is a class of comments in which there is both agreement and disagreement. In commenting on the use of compound for simple verbs they sometimes say that



the preposition 'abundat,' sometimes refer to the words as archaisms. Don. And. 3, 2, 28 *renuntio. re syllaba apud veteres interdum abundat ut modo renuntio pro nuntio.* Re abundat is the explanation in other cases. See Smith, p. 21. The Schol. Dan. 2, 378 *retro pedem repressit aut retro vacat aut in repressit re vacat. sed veteres retro repressit dicebant.* 10, 766 *referens pro ferens more antiquo.* The same explanation is given of *reddita* 3, 333. There is quite a large number in which it is said of the preposition 'vacat' or 'abundat,' e. g. *adoro* 10, 677; *confieri* 4, 116; *ingreditur* 6, 157; *decedere* G. 4, 23. See Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis (Program)*, Budweis, 1882. The use of the compound for the simple verb is common in the early comedy and in late writers influenced largely by the *sermo vulgaris* (Handbuch, 2, 552, 39).

As the Donatus seems to be the work of several hands, it is not possible to compare the genuine Donatus with the genuine Servius, but it is probable from the general resemblance of the Servius to Donatus that the original editions discussed archaisms in the same general way. As was shown in the comparison with Porphyryon, so in comparison with Donatus it is the Schol. Dan. which shows the greatest difference of treatment, and shows a much greater tendency to declare that an expression is an archaism. Still, the word *veteres* must not be interpreted too rigidly, as it can hardly be claimed that it was the intention of the writer to confine the limit of its use within the *veteres*. He was looking at Vergil's indebtedness to the past and showed what Vergil had borrowed, but in most cases he is silent in reference to the fate of an expression after the time of Vergil. Many a word which 'veteres dicebant' held its place in the current of language after the time of Vergil, but this the commentator neither affirms nor denies. This is true to a greater extent of the Schol. Dan. than of the Servius, which is the more valuable commentary.

To the Servius belong most of the comments concerning orthography, gender, case-forms, pronouns, adjective forms, prepositions and verb forms. Questions of syntax and the meaning of words are discussed chiefly in the Schol. Dan. Though there is no dividing line between the different classes of comments, still the Servius is characterized by comments on forms, the Schol. Dan. by comments on meanings. The comments of the latter are sometimes supplementary to the former,

and are frequently unsatisfactory, owing to the indefiniteness of the statement; e. g. ad 12, 268 *simul—simul* is termed antique, though the first example of its use is found in Caesar. The shortness of many of the comments, the repetitions, and the variance in the statements made indicate either that the work was never carefully revised by the author, or else that other hands have inserted, sometimes at random, such comments as came to mind. The writer of the Scholia is not in all cases well acquainted with the language of the Servius. Ad 1, 293 Servius says: *compaginis enim nemo penitus dicit*; *compagine* is found Schol. Dan. 4, 464. Servius G. 3, 245 *nos hic et haec leo dicimus*; *lea namque usurpatum est*. See 12, 519 *usurpata a poetis*. *Leam* is used Schol. Dan. B. 6, 22. Servius G. 3, 124 *nam nec pinguedo nec pinguetudo latinum est*. Schol. Dan. G. 3, 438 has *pinguedinem*. The word occurs also Schol. ad Persium 2, 63. 10, 306 *fragmina antique dictum*. G. 4, 303 *ramea fragmenta, id est ramorum fragmina*. It is not at all probable that in Servius the passages containing these words should have been written by the same person.

Considered as a whole, the comments do not have the exactness that we could wish. But we must bear in mind that Servius did not have at hand complete lexicons of Latin writers by means of which he might have traced the history of every word on which he commented. But if we consider his comments on archaisms, not as attempts to prove that such expressions were confined to the past, but that they were so used, most of them must be accepted as correct. As in the case of Donatus (see Smith, p. 31), there are some important omissions in the commentary of Servius. The genitives of the first declension in *ai*, the passive infinitive in *ier*, *ausim*, *fuat*, *-it* in the perfect, *-bāt* in the imperfect, and some of the figures mentioned by Donatus, ought certainly to be considered as archaisms, though not mentioned as such by Servius. There is some vagueness in some of the comments, as he does not attempt to decide which of several possible explanations ought to be accepted. He frequently records, not his own opinions, but those of others, and connects them with the words *aut . . . aut . . . aut*. He frequently states that a word or syllable 'vacat' or 'abundat,' or that an expression is antique, even though it would require the complete recasting of a line to avoid using it. Metrical exigencies, rather than an archaic tendency on the part of Vergil, will frequently explain what Servius considers an archaism.

Following the edition of Thilo-Hagen, the readings of the Schol. Dan. are given in italics. The shorter commentary has been spoken of as the Servius, while the word Servius has been used to refer to the entire work, without reference to the two versions. No attempt has been made to give all the references accessible, as this would result in needless repetition. Most of the passages referred to in Plautus and Terence have been annotated by different editors and are easily accessible. While the Commentary does not give us much information that cannot be found elsewhere, while some of the comments are incorrect and but very few fix the limits within which an expression was used, still there is much valuable material in the comments, and it is to be hoped that a careful consideration of the differences between the two versions which we have sought to emphasize may not be valueless as an aid to a better understanding of their relation to each other.

#### THE SERVIAN COMMENTS.

##### I. *Changes in Letters.*—A. *Vowels.*

The comments in reference to vowel changes are from the Servius. 10, 24 *moerorum pro murorum* antique. This is a genuine archaism, and numerous examples are cited. See Corssen, 1, 702; Seelmann, p. 165; Reisig-Haase, 1, 80. Two other comments are made, both based on a mistaken etymology: *stuppa* for *stippa* 5, 682, and *pennas* for *pinnas* 2, 479.

##### B. *Consonants.*

There are three important notes in the Servius and one in the Schol. Dan. referring to the changes in consonants.

1. *Aspiration.*—G. 3, 223 *inchoo, quod tamen maiores aliter scribebant, aspirationem interponentes duabus vocalibus, et dicebant inchoo. tria enim tantum habebant nomina, in quibus c litteram sequeretur aspiratio sepulchrum, orchus, pulcher, e quibus pulcher tantum hodie recipit aspirationem. 6, 4 anchora . . . apud maiores sine aspirationem proferebatur. contra thus et orchus veteres dicebant et lurcho . . . quibus sequens aetas detraxit aspirationem. Cf. 1, 169; G. 1, 57. He is in doubt as to the aspiration of *harena* 1, 172, and 1, 213 states that *aena* by the *maiores* was spelled *ahena*. G. 1, 277, Schol. Dan. states that Probus and Cornutus differed as to the aspiration of *Orchus*. 8, 330 *Thybris* is derived from *ἰβρις*, nam amabant maiores ubi*

aspiratio erat  $\theta$  ponere. A similar statement is made B. 2, 11 in reference to S. The Early Latin did not have aspirated consonants. See Cic. Orator 48, 160; Quint. 1, 5, 20; Handbuch, 2, 251; Seelmann, p. 252 seqq.; Revue de Philologie 16, 184; (A. J. P. 15, 106.)

2. *Assimilation*.—1, 616 adplicat secundum praesentem usum per d prima syllaba scribitur, secundum antiquam orthographiam, quae praepositionum ultimam litteram in vicinam mutabat, per p, secundum euphoniam per a tantum. The list of similar words in Neue, 2, 709–11, shows that there is assimilation in a majority of the words, with numerous exceptions in Plautus, Terence and other writers. See Dorsch, Assimilation in den Compositis bei Plautus und Terentius (Prag, 1887). In Sallust assimilation does not take place. Constans, p. 3. Cf. Seelmann, p. 61; Munro, Lucr. 1<sup>4</sup>, 34.

3. *Rhotacism*.—4, 219 *veteres aras asas dicebant. sicut Vale-sios Valerios, Fusios Furios*. This is a well-known change, recognized by the Romans themselves. Varro, L. L. 7, 26; Macrobius, Sat. 3, 2, 8; Quint. 1, 4, 13. Cf. Cors. 1, 299; Seelmann, pp. 314–15.

## II. Nouns.—A. Case Endings.

In the comments on the case forms there is some wavering on the part of the commentator, though the comments of the Servius are much more satisfactory than those of the Schol. Dan., and where they differ, the Servius is to be preferred.

1. *Nominative*.—The Schol. Dan. 1, 200 (*rabies*), 2, 374 (*segnities*), 11, 327 (*materies*), G. 1, 112 (*luxuries*), calls attention to the ending *ies* for *ia*. Both forms are classical, and are to be found in the Schol. Dan. (2, 215; G. 2, 367) and in the Servius (G. 3, 290; 4, 1; 2, 253; 3, 135). Plautus uses *intemperies*, *materies*, *segnities*. See Slaughter, p. 21. Am. Mar. uses both endings.

8, 383 *omnia enim quae in eus exeunt hodie apud maiores in es mittebant, ut Nereus Neres, Tydeus Tydes*. Editors now read *Nerei*, and Neue, 1, 329, gives examples of this form in early writers.

1, 293 *ambages et compages antiqui tantum dicebant, posteritas admisit ut etiam compago dicatur*. Probus, Cath. 1, 21 *ambago non est Latinum*. *Compago* is rare and not classical. See Krebs, s. v. (Cf. p. 174.)

10, 344, 788. It is stated that Caper mentions nom. *femen* without giving an example.

G. 2, 372 frons tenera fronds est vera lectio *et antiqua*. Lucr. (1, 18) frondiferasque domos avium.

1, 587 nubes tantum dicimus, non nubs. 10, 636 he states that Livius Andronicus used the short form.

12, 298 illud Ennii et Pacuvii penitus de usu recessit, ut hic torrus, huius torri dicamus. Also found Att. ap. Non. 15, 30.

2. *Genitive*.—11, 801 auras antiqua lectio. hinc paterfamilias et materfamilias quae tantum remanserunt: nam nec huius auras dicimus nec huius custodias secundum Sallustium, qui ait castella custodias thesaurorum. For form see Bücheler, Grundriss der lat. Declination, p. 32; Handbuch, 2, 338; for examples see Neue, 1, 5.

The difference between the comments on *Ulixi* (2, 7) and *Achilli* (3, 87) has been given p. 167. Charis. 8, 15, 52 refers to both words and says: inveniuntur apud veteres quae sine ratione genetivum faciunt per i. See Neue, 1, 331, 334.

G. 1, 208 libra die non est apocope pro diei sed (secundum antiquos *add. R. et Stephanus*) regularis genetivus est. Sall. ait dubitavit acie pars. *Plautus in Amphitruone* (1, 1, 120) *neque nos quoquam concedit die pro diei*. Cf. 1, 636. Gellius 9, 14, 7 quotes G. 1, 208 libra dies, and in 26 adds: C. Caesar in libro de analogia secundo huius die et huius specie dicendum putat.

1, 636 munera laetitiamque dei seemed to puzzle the commentators, as they were not certain of the text. Serv. id est *Liberi patris, ac per hoc* vinum. aut certe ut multi legunt laetitiam die, id est diei. . . . *non nulli dii legunt, sicut veteres famis fami*. Gellius 9, 14, 9 non dubium est quin dii scripserit pro diei. Sall. has *die* Jug. 52, 3; *acie* fr. Hist. 1, 107; *requie* 1, 99. See Neue, 1, 379; Munro, Lucr. 4, 1083; Brix, Plaut. Trin. 117.

G. 1, 129 virus hodie tres tantum habet casus: hoc virus, hoc virus, o virus. antiqui huius viri dicebant. This form is rare; but see Lachmann, ad Lucr. 2, 476; 6, 805; Neue, 1, 486.

3. *Dative*.—The dative in *u* is commented on 1, 156; 3, 540; 9, 602; 12, 511; G. 4, 158, 198. Gellius 4, 16, 9 quotes datives in *u* from Lucil., Verg. and Caesar, and adds that the latter considered the form in *u* as the proper one. Sallust has one example, *luxu*, J. 6, 1. The form is fairly common both in poetry and in prose. Neue, 1, 356–8; L. Müller, Q. Ennius, p. 194; Altenburg, p. 13; Schultze, p. 24.

4. *Vocative*.—1, 451; 1, 734; 8, 77; 11, 464; 12, 192 mention is made of a vocative in *us*, though in most of the comments an alternative is given, aut antiptosis aut antiquus vocativus. See Neue, 1, 83; Antoine, p. 30. (Cf. p. 171.)

5. *Forms of domus*.—In a long note 2, 445 the Schol. Dan. mentions a change in the declension of *domus* from the second declension to the fourth. Juvenal 3, 72 is quoted: viscera magnarum domuum. The forms used depend rather on the individual writers than on the period. For the gen. sing. *domi* (generally a locative) is used by the writers of comedy, *domus* by writers of the Augustan age. *Domui* in the dat. sing., *domo* in the abl. sing., and *domos*, acc. pl., are the forms most commonly used. *Domorum* is more common than *domuum*, and is found 4 times in Vergil and 8 times in Lucretius. See Neue, 1, 517-21; Bouterwek, p. 29.

The Servius 10, 244 comments on the vera lectio, crastina lux . . . spectabit. (See Val. Max. 2, 566.) The Schol. Dan. adds alii more antiquo lux pro luce accipiunt. Lucil. . . nox pro nocte. The Laws of the Twelve Tables are quoted by Gellius 8, 1 nox pro noctu. See also the quotation of *nox* by Macr. Sat. 1, 4, 19; Enn. A. 439 M.

### B. Syntax.

The comments referring to syntax are found chiefly in the Schol. Dan., and in most instances refer to constructions that are poetical rather than archaic.

1. *Genitive*.—1, 14 dives opum modo tantum dives dicimus, antiqui adiungebant cuius rei, ut dives equum, dives pictai vestis et auri iungentes tantum genetivo casui. (1, 343; 9, 26; 9, 638.) This is also the view of Donatus ad Eun. 2, 2, 43, and apparently of Porphyryon ad Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 142. In Verg. the ablative is used 10, 563; B. 2, 20; G. 2, 136, 467. This usage is poetical. See Reisig-Haase, 3, 554, N. 525; Handbuch, 2, 421.

*Egens* with the genitive instead of the ablative is mentioned 9, 87; 11, 27; 11, 343; *laetus* 11, 73, while *largus opum* 11, 338 is simply mentioned as equivalent to *dives opum*.

2. *Dative*.—8, 127 cui . . . precari. antiquum est, nam modo quem precari dicimus. sane veteres et precor illi pro precor pro illo dicebant: Plautus in *Amphitryone* noli pessimo precari. The dative was used by Plautus, was gradually crowded out by the accusative, but came back into use during the Silver age. Krebs, s. v.

Three other poetical constructions with the dative are mentioned: 1, 475 *congregior* (Draeger, 1, 414); 4, 598; 8, 125; 8, 363; 10, 797 *subeo* (Draeger, 1, 381, 11). Schneemann, p. 46. *B. 5, 5 succedo*. With *succedo* the dative is classical. See Badstübner, p. 17. These verbs are quite frequently used by Vergil, and the construction is commented on several times in both versions.

3. *Accusative*.—10, 532 *talenta parce per accusativum Plautine dictum, qui ait in milite (4, 6, 5) parce vocem*. *parce* autem secundum antiquos serva, ut apud Lucilium et Ennium invenitur. Poetical. See Draeger, 1, 404, 4.

9, 399 *antique properet mortem*. Cf. 12, 425. See Constans, p. 167; Wordsworth, p. 623.

4, 575 *festinare fugam antique*. Not in Cicero, though elsewhere found with the acc. Sall. J. 73, 2; 77, 1; Tac. Ann. 4, 28, et al.

The use of the acc. with the above verbs is poetical and can hardly be regarded as archaic.

4. *Ablative*.—10, 329 *sepsem numero hoc est pro sepsem: veteres enim ita enuntiabant, Lucilius in IV triginti numero*. This use of *numero* is classical, and is also found Am. Mar. 16, 12, 26, 60; 22, 14, 8, so that it was in actual use at the time of Servius.

1, 75 *pulchra prole*. *quod nos per genetivum singularem dicimus, antiqui per septimum dicebant*. This use of the ablative is frequently referred to by Servius, but nowhere else is it called archaic. See Moore, p. 45; Smith, p. 15.

### C. Gender.

Servius recognized the influence of the metre on the gender of the words used. 5, 122 *sciendum genera plerumque confundi aut metri ratione, aut hiatus causa*. But in his comments he generally considers a variation from the usual gender as an archaism. 9, 122 and 9, 467 he mentions *amnis*, fem. (Neue, 1, 672); G. 4, 247 *araneus* (Neue, 1, 620); G. 4, 296 *imbrex*, fem. (Neue, 1, 663); 2, 355 *lupus*, fem. (Neue, 1, 617); 10, 377 *obex*, fem. (Neue, 1, 665). Am. Mar. 21, 12, 13; 27, 10, 8 has *obex* in the fem.

7, 568 *specus hoc nomen apud maiores trium generum fuit. Ennius feminino posuit—Horatius masculino, . . . Vergilius neutro, quod hodie in numero singulari tribus tantum utimur casibus hoc specus, huius specus, o specus. nam pluralem tantum a genere masculino habemus in omnibus casibus*. Cf. G. 4, 417. Neue, 1,

346-7, 681 gives examples and references to Latin grammarians who mention this change of gender.

(3, 540 the edition of Lion has a comment on *armenta* in the fem., with quotations from Enn. and Pac. Neue, 1, 552.)

#### D. Meanings.

1. *Noun for noun*.—Most of the nouns that properly belong here (*aetas*, *ars*, *axis*, *confidentia*, *fiducia*, *fictus* and *flumen*) have already been mentioned (pp. 167 foll.) in the comparison of the two versions or in the comparison with Donatus. There remain but five that can be placed here.

G. 1, 9. Both versions state: *generaliter aquam veteres Achei-loum vocabant*.

4, 424 the Schol. Dan. in a long note, quoting Plautus *Curculio* 1, 1, 5 and *Asinaria* 1, 3, 20, calls attention to the use of *hostem pro hospite*. This archaism is well known, from the words of Cic. de Off. 1, 37 *hostis enim apud maiores nostros dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus*. Indicant duodecim tabulae aut status dies cum hoste, itemque: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas . . . a peregrino enim recessit et proprie in eo qui arma contra ferret remansit*. See Reisig-Haase, 2, 38, 56; Wordsworth, pp. 519, 520; Brix, Plaut. Trin. 102.

1, 378 *vetuste pietatem pro religione posuit*. Sall. . . *delubra deum pietate . . . Plaut. in Pseud. non potest pietati obsisti. piare antiqui purgare dicebant; inde piamina, quibus expurgant homines*. The Servius 1, 545 speaks expressly of the *pietas* of Aeneas without any indication that the word is archaic. See also 5, 783; 12, 465. The Schol. Dan. 4, 141 *cum religiosum ostendit, dicit pium*; 4, 393 *probat religiosum*, does not consider the word an archaism. If we looked for uniformity of statement in all cases on the part of each commentator, it would seem from this that these comments represented the views of three commentators: Servius representing Aeneas as *pious* absolutely; another representing him as *pious religiosus*; a third, *pious antique religiosus*.

*Piare* is rare in prose, but is found Tacitus, Ann. 1, 42. See Draeger ad loc. *Piamina* is found Ovid, Fasti 2, 19; 3, 333; *piamen* 2, 32. (See Harper's Dict., s. v.)

*Indulgitas*, G. 2, 345, is supported by a quotation from Coelius and is also found Sisenna ap. Non. 126, 9. B. 8, 12 *laurus veteres laudum dicebant*.

(3, 55 *veteres plerumque truncum pro unoquoque genere interemptum dixerunt*. *Lione teste add. Guelferb. I.*)



2. *Archaic meanings*.—In this list may be placed the words which Servius has given as the names of things in days of old. 7, 730 *aclides* sunt tela quaedam antiqua, adeo ut nequaquam commemorentur in bello. Non. 554, 3 defines as *iacula brevia*. Along with this might be placed the word *caleia* 7, 741, as it equally merits a comment. 6, 234 *aerium*, nomen montis antiquum. 8, 332 *Albula* antiquum nomen a colore. 8, 63 *Tiberinus* . . . ab antiquis Rumon dictus est, quasi ripas ruminans et exedens.

6, 1 *vallum autem dicebant calam, sicut Lucilius scinde calam, ut caleas, id est, o puer frange fustes et fac focum*. A Lucilian pun.

1, 744 *arcturum* . . . *hanc quidam agere arcton dicunt, quia arceram veteres vehiculum vocabant*. Varro, L. L. 5, 140 *vehiculum* . . . *arcera* dictum. The word is quoted from an old law by Gellius 20, 1, 25, and in 29 is given the description: *arcera* . . . *quasi arca quaedam magna*.

8, 336 *antique vates carmentes dicebantur*. 2, 19; 2, 53; 8, 242 *cavernae concava loca*.

11, 496 *quidam cervicibus plu. num. secundum veteres dictum volunt, et Hortensium primum singulari numero cervicem*. The sing. is found in Pac. ap. Cic. Divin. 2, 64, 133; in Cat., Lucr., Hor. et al.; the plural is found Lucil. 6, 34; Inc. 101 M., and is the only form in Sall. and Cic. See Varro, L. L. 6, 78; Reisig-Haase, 1, 193, N. 154; Krebs, s. v.

There are a number of comments calling attention to a special or transferred meaning of a word. The Schol. Dan. refers this usage to the *veteres*, though the words are of common occurrence, and the same meaning can be frequently given to them. 4, 194 *cupido (immoderatus amor)*; 1, 155 *Dei (patres)*. Cf. 2, 632; 8, 187; Macrobius 2, 8, 2; Weissenborn, Livy 8, 9, 6. 10, 398; 11, 732 *dolor (ardor)*; 1, 215; 11, 571 *ferae (quadrupedes)*; 11, 299 *fremitus (aquae sonitus)*. Cf. G. 1, 13; 4, 168 *pecus (animal)*; 11, 322 *struices*.

G. 1, 109 the archaic and provincial use of *elices* is mentioned. 8, 203 *Hercules* as a heroic epithet is supported by a quotation ad 8, 564 from Varro: *omnes qui fecerant fortiter hercules vocabantur*. 9, 603 is mentioned *flexuntes*, the old name of the Roman cavalry, a statement supported by Pliny 33, 2, 9, 35. Of more importance is the comment 10, 306 *fragmina antique dictum*. See com. 1, 275 *legmen*. *Fragmen* is poetical and post-Augustan, frequent in Lucr. and Verg. In the hexameter, words in *men* are much the more common, the favorite position

being in the fifth foot. (See Ovid *passim*.) *Men* is the earlier form (Reisig-Haase, 1, 171, N. 125), though Plautus has 48 words in *mentum*, 19 in *men*; Terence 14 in *mentum*, 7 in *men*; Cato 10 in *mentum*, 2 in *men*. In Silver Latin there was a preference for the longer form. See Slaughter, pp. 23-4. Nouns in *mentum* are rarely used by Cicero and his contemporaries. Constans, p. 8. For the usage of Tacitus see Philol. XXV, pp. 99-100. Cf. Altenburg, p. 15; Schubert, De Lat. Verb. Form., pp. 23-4; Paucker, Vorarbeit zur lat. Sprachgeschichte, p. 13; Rönsch, Italia und Vulgata, p. 28.

12, 468 virago . . . *id est mulier quae animum viri habet: has antiqui viras dicebant*. Isid. Orig. 11, 2, 23 quae nunc femina, antiquitus vira vocabatur. Cf. Suet. Cal. 8 antiqui puellas pueras dictitarent.

9, 484 funera. Both versions have explanations, the Schol. Dan. adding to the Servius. *apud maiores funeras dicebant eas ad quas funus pertinet, ut sororem, matrem: vel derivavit veteres secutus ut funeram pro funesta diceret, ut homo scelerus sicuti scelestus vel scelerosus dicebatur*. Plautus in *Pseudulo* (3, 2, 28) *teritur sinapis scelera, in eadem* (4, 5, 3) *nunc iube venire Pseudulum, scelerum caput, id est scelestum*. See Neue Jahrbücher für Phil. u. Paed. 1891, p. 676 foll.; (A. J. P. 15, 97.)

The Servius 8, 649 comments on *coclites, luscus dixerunt antiqui*; 11, 708 *fraus (poena)*; B. 1, 32 *peculium (patrimonium)*; 1, 176 mentions *pinsores qui nunc pistores vocantur*. *pinsere autem dici Persius probat, ut a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit*. The noun is found Varro ap. Non. 152, 14. The verb is found chiefly in early writers.

4, 320 *nihil intererat apud maiores inter regem et tyrannum, ut* (7, 266) *pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni*. 7, 266 this is spoken of as a Greek usage. It is poetical, following the Greek. See Krebs, s. v.

11, 687 *apud maiores indiscrete virgo dicebatur et mulier*. See also Don. Ter. 4, 5, 16. This is a poetical usage. See Smith, p. 19.

### III. Pronouns.

In commenting on the pronouns, the Servius is much better than the Schol. Dan., and all the archaisms mentioned by it are genuine archaisms. 2, 595 *nostri autem et vestri genetivus est antiquus et ex Graeco veniens, sicut singularis est mis et tis*. Prisc. 13, 2, 4 states that Enn. used *mis sis tis*. Quint. 8, 3, 25

mentions *mis* as an archaism of Vergil's. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 347; Brix, Plaut. Trin. 343.

3, 477 *ecce tibi aut vacat tibi . . . aut certe tibi id est quod ad te attinet: nam ita veteres ponebant, ut Terentius in Adelphis* (4, 1, 24) *en tibi autem: quid est? lupus in fabula.* 5, 162 *vacat mihi, ut solet plerumque.* See also 8, 84. The ethical dative is found chiefly in the comic writers and in Cicero's Epistles. Reisig-Haase, 3, N. 542; Draeger, 1, 433. The same difference between the two versions is seen 1, 3 *multum ille et ille hoc loco abundat . . . est autem archaismos. aut certe ille quia haec particula more antiquo aut nobilitati aut magnitudini dabatur.* See 3, 558; 10, 707; 12, 5. For this pleonastic use of *ille* see Draeger, 1, 84, 39. 11, 236 *olli secundum Ennium.* Though frequently occurring, not elsewhere mentioned as an archaism. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 423-4.

1, 95 *quis* of the third declension is noticed. *denique Cato in originibus ait ques sunt populi et declinavit ques quium, ut puppes puppium.* Examples are numerous. See Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 496; Engelbrecht, p. 40. 4, 98 *sed quis erit (modus) archaismos.* Evidently taken as a plural.

B. 3, 1 Servius very correctly says: *cuicumque autem antiquae ait.* This form is of frequent occurrence in Plautus and Terence. See Engelbrecht, p. 41; Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 471; Brix, Plaut. Trin. 45.

#### IV. Adjectives.

1. *Form.*—Nearly all the comments on adjectives refer to their meaning, and have already been given p. 167. Four comments refer to form, and are all from the Servius. The comment on *alacris* (masculine) is given p. 171. 6, 603 *adsimilis valde similis: ad enim vacat, et ab maioribus ad ornatum adhibebatur, ut Hor. qua populus adsita.* (Ep. 2, 2, 170.) *Adsimilis* is poetical and post-Augustan, but is found once in Cic., N. D. 2, 55, 136. Krebs, s. v. *Beliebt war a. im P. L. seit Plautus.*

3, 539 and 12, 519 the form *paupera* is quoted from Plautus. It is also found in the Vulgate and in very late writers. See Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 25.

2. *Meanings.*—All the comments referring to the meaning of adjectives are found in the Schol. Dan., and, as in the case of the nouns, little that is new is presented. Most of them are very short and, excepting four, need no special notice.

11, 651 *bipennis* (*duas pennas*); 1, 4 *memor* (ὁ μνημένος and ὁ μνήμων); 3, 119 *pulcher* (*exsoletus*); 12, 463 *pulverulentus* (*sicut vinolentus*). Cf. Gell. 19, 7, 7; 2, 285 *tristis* (*nubilus*).

9, 638 *cum veteres natalem diem vel locum vel tempus dicerent, ut Hor. (O. 1, 21, 10) natalem diem Delon Apollinis, et Plautus in Pseud. natalem hunc mihi diem scitis esse, Vergilius his omissis dixit Phyllada mitte mihi, meus est natalis, Iolla*. B. 3, 76 sane natalis apud maiores plenum fuit, licet posteritas natalis dies dicere coeperit: nam cum Hor. dixerit natales grate numeras, Iuvenalis ait (12, 1) natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux. The ellipse of *dies* is not common in classical Latin, and is not found in the Oration of Cicero. Don. Ter. Phor. 1, 1, 14 Vergilius serviens personae rusticae meus est natalis inquit nec addidit dies. See Mayor ad Juv. 12, 1; Krebs, s. v.; Moore, p. 47.

12, 694 *verius alii veteri more dictum accipiunt: verum enim quod rectum et bonum esset, appellabant: Ter. inde est verum modo? . . . Sall. in primo ea paucis, quibus peritia et verum ingenium est, abnudentibus*. Don. says nothing about an archaism Andr. 4, 1, 5, and the word with the same meaning is found Caes. B. G. 4, 8, 2; Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 312; Ep. 1, 7, 98.

G. 3, 175 *vescum apud antiquos significabant macrum et quasi quod escam non reciperet. Afranius . . . puer est vescus . . . Lucr. certe pro edace posuit, ut (1, 326) vesco sale saxa peresa*. Cf. G. 4, 131. Ribbeck, Lat. Partik., p. 10, makes *vescus* = *ve-escus* with both an active and a passive meaning, 'nagend' and 'abgenagt.' The active meaning is to be assigned to it in the passage cited from Lucretius; Festus, p. 368; Lucil. ap. Gell. 16, 5, 7; Non., p. 186. It is passive in Vergil, in Afranius, in Ovid, F. 3, 446 *vesca parva vocant*, and elsewhere. See also Munro, Lucr. 1, 326.

B. 4, 19 *errantes hederas passim vagantes. unde antiqui lyrici dixerunt flexipedes hederas, quod hac atque illac vagantur*. The only passage where the expression is found is Ovid, Met. 10, 99. If this is the one that Servius had in mind, he has made a broad assertion and has used *antiquus* of a comparatively late Roman author.

3. *Comparison*.—4, 31 *magis dilecta sorori. id est dilectior: nam antiqui frequenter pro comparativo iungebant particulam magis*. 5, 725 *care magis pro carior*. Ter. (Eun. 5, 4, 12) *magis elegans*. The comparison with *magis* was required with some adjectives, and in poetry the *magis* was used for the sake of the

meter. See Wölfflin, *Comparison*, pp. 31-4; Reisig-Haase, 3, 163, N. 398; Altenburg, p. 17.

4. *Numerals*.—The comments on the numerals refer to the form of *ambo* and *duo*, and the use of distributives and multipliers for the cardinal numbers. B. 5, 68 *duo vetuste dixit ut ambo* (6, 18) . . . *hodie hoc significatu duos et ambos dicimus*. Cf. 12, 342. In poetry the metre often decides which form is to be used. *Duo* was the original form, but it gradually acquired the regular acc. plural ending *os*, and is the form most commonly used in prose. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 277; Archiv, 3, 550.

The use of substitutes for cardinal numbers is poetical, but the explanations of the comments vary. 1, 313 *bina . . . antiquus mos est bina pro duobus poni sicut et duplices*. See 1, 93, 8, 168 *bina poetice*. 10, 329 *more suo*. Elsewhere, e. g. B. 5, 67; 7, 140, the numeral is given without comment by Servius. The usage is not classical. Draeger, 1, 107; Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 321, 331.

#### V. *Particles*.

1. *Form*.—8, 423 *hoc tunc id est huc tum . . . crebro in antiquis lectionibus invenitur, sicut in epistulis Verrius Flaccus probat exemplis, auctoritate, ratione, dicens pro u 'o' maiores ponere consuetos*. Attius, Lucilius and Ennius have *huc*. *Hoc* is found in Plautus and in Cicero's Epistles. Brix, Plaut. Capt. 329, 480; Wordsworth, 102; Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 613.

Here we may also place *ergo*: 6, 670 *coniunctio fuit sed per accentus mutationem in adverbium transiit, et est sola particula, quae habet in fine circumflexum*. As a preposition *ergo* is not used by Plaut. and Ter., but is found Sisenna, fr. 120 (Peter); Quadrigarius ap. Gell. 3, 8, 8; Lucr. 3, 78. In classical writers it is found chiefly in quotations from old laws or in religious formulae, e. g. Livy 37, 47; 40, 52; Cic. de Legg. 2, 23, 59; 3, 4, 9. Reisig-Haase, 1, N. 236; Krebs, s. v.

With these may also be placed the comparative *ocius*: 8, 555 *ocius positivus antiquus est . . . tractum ex Graeco ὀκίως*. 9, 402 *ocius pro ociter*. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 213: "Zu *ocius* . . . kennen wir allein den adv. *ociter* aus Apul. Met. 1, 23, 72 und Serv. Verg. 9, 402." The use of the comparative for the positive is noticed 1, 228; 6, 304 without special comment. The comment in the Schol. Dan. seems to be a late one, and the word *ociter* belongs to the time of the writer. *Ocius* occurs frequently in Am. Mar. as a positive.

2, 651 *praepositiones vel adverbia in a exeuntia modo producunt*

ultimam litteram, excepto puta et ita, apud Ennium et Pacuvium brevia sunt.

2. *Position*.—G. 4, 444 *nam*, hodie enim *nam* particula postponitur antea praeponitur, Ter. in Phor. (5. 1, 5) *nam* quae est haec anus. Donatus ad loc. Ἀναστροφή ut Vergilius. The position of *nam* is due to metrical causes. For the instances in the Augustan poets where *nam* is postpositive see Draeger, 2, 155, §349; Lachmann, Lucr. Com., p. 246; Smith, p. 14.

3.—There are two other comments from the Servius: 3, 686 *ni* pro *ne* Plautus *ni* mala *ni* stulta sis. Cf. Don. Eun. 2, 3, 36; 3, 3, 2. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 969. 9. 37 *heia* est Ennianum. Cf. 4, 569 *heia saepe* age *significat*. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 982.

A few comments not already referred to are found in the Schol. Dan.: 1, 329 *an pro sive. comminus* (*veteres in loco ponebant*). Hand Tursell., s. v. Servius explicat quod abhorret ab usu Vergili. 2, 382 *haud secus. non aliter*. 12, 268 *simul—simul antique, ut* 1, 631; 12, 758. Found first in Caes. B. G. 4, 13, is not in Cic. or Sall. From the time of Vergil is common, except in Silver Latin. See Draeger, Tac. Agr. 25; Hist. Syn. 2, 94. 2, 680 *subitum pro subito*, a common use of the adj. instead of the adv. See 11, 583 *aeternum id est aeterne*. G. 1, 248 *sera pro sero*.

## VI. Prepositions.

With the exception of two comments—1, 233 *ob* (*iuxta*) and 12, 437 *inter* (*ad*)—all the comments on the prepositions are from the Servius. The comment of the Schol. Dan. on *inter* is an addition to the comments of the Servius, which makes similar comments without any reference to an archaism, e. g. 1, 231 in (*pro*), 2, 60 in (*ad*, *contra*). The comments of the Servius refer to the origin, position and use of the preposition. 6, 670 he explains *ergo* with the gen. as an adverb formed by change of accent. In other comments he speaks of the change of accent of words, but cannot decide whether they are adverbs or prepositions. 6, 409 *longo post aut adverbium est, aut praepositio antique posita*. 4, 416 *litore circum postposita praepositio et accentum mutavit et perdidit vires. circum non est praepositio sed adverbium loci*. Cf. 12, 177; B. 5, 3. The prepositions were originally adverbs, and some of them retained their adverbial force and position after the noun even after they became prepositions. Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 762; Reisig-Haase, 3, N. 570 *b*; Handbuch, 2, 453, 152.

The change of case after certain prepositions is mentioned I, 295 *saeva sedens arma secundum antiquam licentiam*. sciendum tamen est hodie in et sub tantum communes praepositiones. ceterum super et subter iam accusativae sunt, sicut clam et post, quae ante communes fuerunt. nunc in his mutata natura est. B. 1, 29 longo post tempore aut archaismos est; antiqui enim post ante circum etiam ablativo iungebant, quod hodie facere minime possumus. In classic prose *clam* is used only as an adverb. As a preposition in a few doubtful instances with the ablative. Archiv, 7, 278: with the acc. it is vulgar and archaic. Krebs, s. v.; Handbuch, 2, 453, 151. For *circum*, *ante* and *post* see Krebs, s. v.; Neue, 2<sup>s</sup>, 762 seqq. *Super* with the abl. is poetical and late prose. In Early Latin it is used with the acc. *Subter* with the abl. is found only in Catull. and Vergil. See Handbuch, 2, 453; Weissenborn, Livy 2, 14, 4; Doberenz, Caes. B. C. 2, 10, 4.

Most of the comments on the prepositions refer to the preposition *in*. I, 253 and 6, 203 Servius speaks of the antiqua licentia communium praepositionum, and I, 176 quotes in nubem (G. 1, 442), in alvo (2, 401), super arma (2, 295), super arbore (6, 203), and Cic. quod ille in capite . . . acceperat, and fortes fueritis in eo. *In* with the ablative instead of the acc. is called archaismos 2, 541; 6, 339; 9, 441; 10, 387, 807, 838; B. 8, 83. 11, 686 silvis pro in silvis: et est archaismos. Lachmann, Lucr. 6, 630, commenting on the words *pluit in terris* (10, 807), says: Servius mire archaismos dicit in terris . . . quod mihi antiqua simplicitate additum esse potius videtur. The distinction in the use of the cases with the prepositions does not seem to have been so marked in early as in later Latin. See Wordsworth, p. 450; Draeger, 1, 660; Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata, pp. 406-7; Reisig-Haase, 3, 710.

## VII. Verbs.

1. *Form.*—The comments in the Schol. Dan. call attention to the change of conjugation of *fervere* and *lavere* (8, 677; 4, 169; G. 3, 221) and *stridere* (2, 418; G. 4, 555), and the participial form *ostentus* for *ostensus* (G. 1, 248). Cf. 9, 20. Both of the forms are found. Neue, 2<sup>s</sup>, 569-72. 12, 316 faxo is termed *archaismos*.

The comments of the Servius do not mention the passive infinitive in *ier*, *it* in the perfect, *bāt* in the imperfect, *ausim* nor *fual* as archaisms, though it does call attention to the other most

important archaisms. *osus sum*, an old perfect of *odi*, is given 5, 687. See Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 347, 617. G. 1, 262 obtusi antiqui n addebant. Cf. 1, 480. In early writers this word is spelled both ways, but the form in *n* is the more common. Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 568; Reisig-Haase, 1, 376, N. 296. Am. Mar. 15, 12, 4 obtunsis.

11, 467 iusso, antiquum. Seneca, Ep. 6, 6, 3. *accestis* (1, 200), *extinxem* (4, 606) and *vixet* (11, 118) are mentioned as cases of syncope; *direxti* (6, 57), *extinxti* (4, 692) and *traxe* (5, 786) are not mentioned. For lists of examples see Proll; for the grammatical treatment, Lübbert.

1, 144 adnexus antiquum est, ut conixus, quibus hodie non utimur; dicimus enim adnexus et conisus. sed et multa alia usus contra antiquitatem vindicavit. illi parsi dicebant, nos dicimus peperci. item nos dicimus suscepi illi dicebant succepi. The last form is used by Verg. 1, 175; 6, 249. *Parsi* is ante-classical and poetical. Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 474; Reisig-Haase, 1, 317, N. 286 k. The forms in *nisus* are more common than those in *nixus*. Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 375; Reisig-Haase, 1, 376, N. 295 e.

9, 409 conicit antiquum est. The form in *con* is quoted by Gellius 17, 2, 10, and the form in *co*, 16, 7, 5. *Coniciunt*, Am. Mar. 23, 6, 87. For the dropping of *n* in *con* before *i* see Dorsch, p. 31. The use of *conicit* was not confined entirely to the antique, for it is found in the Servius 7, 346; B. 4, 7.

G. 2, 384 saluere antiqui salui dicebant. Diom. 1, 374, 5 K. plerique veterum salui dixerunt, ut Vergilius. *Salui* is the form used by Vergil and Ovid. Reisig-Haase, 1, 375, N. 295-295 c; Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 482-4.

4, 66 est verbum est indeclinabile . . . invenimus, sed quod abolitum est, *et* edo es est, unde est edere et comedere, quod hodie non dicimus. 5, 785 edo habet et rectam, sed antiquam declinationem, ut edo edis edit. The short forms are common both in prose and poetry. The longer forms are not uncommon in early poetry. Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 603.

6, 468 lenibat pro leniebat et antique dixit, ut 7, 436 polibant pro poliebant. The Servius uses the word 7, 34. The other examples of this form are not commented on. Only one example is cited from early prose-writers: Quadrigarius, fr. 77, Peter. For lists of examples see Neue, 2<sup>2</sup>, 444; Kühn, p. 19; Wordsworth, p. 145; Westphal, p. 118.

There are a number of comments in both versions calling attention to a change from the active to the deponent form, or the reverse. 1, 527; 12, 263 (populo), 11, 169 (*digno*), G. 1, 185



(*munero*), G. 1, 193 (*medico*), et al. The examples of this change are numerous. See Jahnsson, p. 75; Reisig-Haase, 1, 356-7; Neue, 3<sup>3</sup>, 37, 55.

2, 471 *mala pastus gramina legimus et* (10, 709) *silva pastus harindunea . . . rarum apud antiquos*. (Neue, 3<sup>3</sup>, 14.) The use of the participle with a middle meaning is common in the poets of the Augustan age. It is rare in Early Latin, was introduced into prose by Sall., and into poetry by Vergil. It is rarely found in Livy, Tacitus and later writers. See Schaeffler, *Die sogenannte Syn. Graec. bei Aug. Dichtern*; Jahnsson, p. 62; Antoine, pp. 52-6.

2. *Compound verbs*.—The use of the compound for the simple verbs has already been noticed (p. 172-3). The Schol. Dan. 12, 136 *aspectabat amat usurpare antiquitatem*. The compound form is common in Plaut. and Verg. Overhalhaus, p. 16. This comment seems to indicate that the commentator thought that the compound form was archaic. There are two comments that oppose this view: 12, 709 *cernere ferro vera et antiqua est lectio, nam Ennium secutus est qui ait olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes. posteritas coepit legere decernere ferro*. The same statement occurs Sen. Ep. 6, 6, 3. 4, 390 *linquens multi pro relinquens Aeneam, alii pro deficiens volunt more antiquo*. The use of the simple for the compound is poetical. Handbuch, 2, 552, 36-9; Draeger, 1, 136, 85. "More veterum," Constans, p. 48. Riemann (*Langue et Grammaire de Tite-Live*, p. 191) combats the poetical theory.

Somewhat similar to this are the comments in reference to the use of a compound verb instead of a simple verb with a preposition. 7, 217 *adferimur urbem ad urbem ferimur*. 1, 147 *perlabitur undas figura est. quod enim dicimus per praepositionem nomini copulatam sequente verbo, antiqui verso ordine praepositionem detractam nomini iungebant verbo . . . nos dicimus per undas labitur, illi dicebant perlabitur undas. item per forum curro et percurro forum*. See 1, 307. Lucr. 5, 762 *perlabitur undas*; 5, 475 *per summas labier oras*. Tib. 4, 1, 127 *perlabitur auras*. See Keller, p. 38. The simple verb with the prep. is much more common than the compound, which is poetical, though the use of each form was affected by the metre.

12, 1816 *adiuro pro iuro*. 12, 197 *sidera iuro ornatior elocutio et crebra apud maiores quam si velis addere praepositionem*. (1, 67 *navigat aequor figura graeca nos dicimus per aequor navigat*.) The regular construction is the acc. with *per*. The

acc. without the prep. is poetical, 'nach griech. Muster.' Siebelis, Ovid, Met. 2, 44. The construction with *adiuro* is the same, the only exceptions being Catullus 66, 40; Vergil 12, 816. The comment in the last two instances seems to be based on the passages under consideration.

3. *Verb for verb.*—All of the comments referring to this usage are from the Schol. Dan., and call attention to the transferred meaning of the words under consideration. None of the meanings given depart very far from the usual meaning of the words, and the comments are of little importance. 9, 693 *se agebat (veniebat)*; 12, 657 *mussat (timet, tacet)*; G. 1, 18 *favere (velle)*; 4, 193; 9, 56 *fovere (inhabitare)*; 4, 244 *resignare (adsignare)*; G. 1, 29; 8, 672 *venire, ire (esse)*; 1, 52 *vastus (desolatus)*.

4. *Archaic meanings.*—Among the comments referring to the archaic verbs there are a number on words which had a religious connotation. In the Schol. Dan. the most important of these are on *adoro* and *macte*. 10, 677 *adoro id est iuxta veteres, qui adorare adloqui dicebant. nam ideo et adorea laus bellica quod omnes eum cum gratulatione adloquebantur, qui in bello fortiter fecit.* Handbuch, 2, 621, 18: "So scheint es, dass das Wort *adorare* (als Kompositum) den älteren Latein noch völlig fremd war. Denn die ältesten Stellen, wo es mit Sicherheit nachzuweisen ist, findet sich erst bei Vergil und Livius; und doch hätten Plautus, Lucrez, Varro und vor allem Cicero sehr oft Anlass gehabt, es zu gebrauchen wenn sie es eben gehabt hätten." The comment on *macte* 9, 638 refers to two points: *veteres macte esto dicebant, mactus ap. vet. etiam mactatus dicebatur.* Neue, 2<sup>3</sup>, 178–81 cites numerous examples without *esto* from the early writers. See Reisig-Haase, 3, 537, N. 519 a; Antoine, pp. 32–4. Krebs, s. v. The definition given of *macte* is *magis aucte*, and it seems to be the old participle of the verb of which *macto* is the frequentative. Wordsworth, p. 618.

10, 270 *apere (adligare)*; Festus 18 M. *apere comprehendere.* B. 8, 71 *cantare, unde et excantare magicis carminibus obligare.* Plaut. in *Bacch.* 33. 1, 17 *colere*; 4, 301 *commotis sacris verbo antiquo usum tradunt.* Plaut. in *Pseud.* *commovissem sacra.* 2, 669 *instaurata (renovata).* 1, 543 *sperare.*

Five other comments are found in the Schol. Dan.: *celebrat*, a variant reading of some 4, 641; *fullus super quod iacebat fullus dicebatur* B. 6, 53. Cf. 4, 247; 6, 604; *effullus* 8, 368. *res rapere (laedere)* 10, 14; *vocari* 10, 241. (Ed. Lion, 1, 59 verrant archaismos.)



There are but few comments in the Servius which belong to this division. They are chiefly the retention of old special meanings. 6, 90 *addita inimica. est autem verbum Lucili et antiquorum, ut Plaut. (Aul. 3, 6, 19) additus Ioni Argus. Macr. Sat. 6, 4, 2* calls attention to the archaism. For other instances of the use of the word see Plaut. Mil. 146, 298; Hor. O. 3, 4, 76. 6, 229 *circumtulit purgavit antiquum verbum est. Plautus te circumferam id est purgabo. Non. 261, 26 circumferre est proprie lustrare. 7, 804 florentes, Ennius et Lucretius florere dicunt omne quod nitidum est. Lucr. 5, 1442 florebat navibus pontus. Poetical usage. See Bindley ad Tertull. Apol., p. 43.* There are two other comments—12, 352 *adspirat (accedit)* and B. 1, 8 *inbuere (perfundere)*—both of which refer to rather common meanings of the words. The first occurs several times in Gellius, and the second is found Minucius, Oct. 30, 5. 3, 42 *scelerare polluere, et est sermo Plautinus, quo hodie non utimur. nomen tamen sine verbi origine, non enim dicitur scelero.* The verb occurs in Statius, Theb., and in his comments Lactantius Placidus does not call the word archaic.

1, 56 *apud antiquos enim sedet considerat significabat, ut alio loco ait Turnus sacrata valle sedebat. 9, 4 secundum Plautum sedere est consilium capere. 4, 15 sederet placeret, ut (2, 660) et sedet hoc animo.* Here the transferred meaning of the word arises from the mental action of the one seated.

### VIII. Tropes and Figures.

The tropes and figures referred to by Servius have been fully discussed by Moore. There does not seem to be any uniformity of comment, as Servius frequently refers to an expression as a figure, while in other similar instances it is not mentioned.

11, 160 *vivendi vici. id est supervixi: veteres enim vivendo vincere dicebant supervivere, ut multa virum volvens volvendo saecula vincit. Plautus in Epidico (2, 1, 8) quia licuit eum vivendo vincere.* Though not mentioned as a separate figure, except under the name parhomoeon, alliteration is one of the characteristics of Early Latin writers, though condemned by later critics. 3, 183 *casus Cassandra canebat haec compositio iam vitiosa est: quae maioribus placuit, ut (82) Anchisen agnovit amicum, et (5, 866) sale saxa sonabant.* A similar comment occurs 2, 199, but 5, 866 simply the imitation of sound is mentioned. See Munro, Lucr. 2<sup>d</sup>, pp. 15–16; L. Müller, Q. Ennius, p. 248. Moore, pp. 52–3.

Antiptosis, or the use of one case for another, is frequently mentioned by Servius, though he often refers to it simply as a figure. Most of the comments have already been given: *pulchra prole* 1, 75; *Bacchus* 1, 734; *perlabitur undas* 1, 147. 1, 573 *urbem quam statuo vestra est. hoc schema de antiquioribus sumptum possimus accipere. ait Cato in legem Voconiam agrum quem vir habet tollitur, et Ter. Eun. (4, 3, 11) quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit.* 1, 120 figura qua plerumque utuntur poetae. See Moore, pp. 44-7; Smith, p. 15.

4, 598 *quem secum patrios et reliqua. quidam in utroque versu pro quem legunt (qui) ut sit vetus figura per ellipsin: ubi sunt qui aiunt patrios penates portasse et parentem umeris subisse.*

110 instances of ellipsis are noted by Servius, though he does not often use the technical word. Moore, p. 59.

Epexegesis, though noticed quite frequently by Servius, is referred to but once as an archaism: 1, 12 *tenuere coloni deest quam. amant namque antiqui per epexegesin dicere quod nos interposito pronomine exprimimus.* Moore, p. 57.

1, 464 inani epitheton est picturae . . . *nam apud veteres παραοι-τεχνία vel ψευδοτεχνία dicta est.* See Moore, pp. 17-20.

12, 680 *furere ante furorem figura antiqua, ut servitutem servit, dolet dolorem.* 2, 53 *Graeca figura ut vitam vivere, mortem mori.* This is common in all periods of the language, but is especially frequent in archaic writers, e. g. Apuleius. See Landgraf, *De Figuris Etymologicis Ling. Lat. Act. Sem. Erlang.* 2, pp. 1-69.

1, 161 *inque sinus antiqua est locutio sic ipse alibi inque salutatam linguo. C. Memmius . . . inque luxuriosissimis Asiae oppidis.* 1, 412 figura est tmesis . . . *faciebat antiquitas, ut cere comminuit brum.* Brix, *Plaut. Trin.* 833; Moore, p. 34.

G. 1, 24 *tuque adeo. adeo hic praecipue. quidam adeo abundare putant antiqua figura, ut (3, 242) omne adeo genus in terris.* Cf. 11, 487 *adeo vacat.* See p. 172.

#### IX. *Novae Elocutiones.*

Closely connected with the comments on archaisms are the twenty-eight comments in which Servius has commented on the *nova dicta* of Vergil. Some of the comments are incorrect, others seem to call attention to the common poetical property of the age of Vergil. *caprigenum pecus* 3, 221 is like *c. genus ap. Macr. Sat.* 6, 5, 14. *noctivago* 10, 321 *ap. Macr. Sat.* 6, 5, 12. *superat* is found in Caesar. *macte* without *esto* 9, 638, and *indulgentia* G. 2, 345 are found in Cic. *labores praebuit* 10, 321 equals

Caesar's *opinionem timoris praebuit*. *nutribat* 11, 572 is found in early authors with the same meaning, and is used by Vergil again 7, 485. (*locum quo litore* 7, 477), the relative between two nouns is repeated Verg. 1, 517; 5, 570; 7, 409. *vulnera siccabat lymphis* 10, 834, and *ruit ad caelum* G. 2, 308 are but slightly changed from the words of Lucil. and Lucr. *mensae erili* 7, 490 is paralleled by Plaut. Bacch. 2, 1, 1; *currum et rotas instabant* 8, 433 by *instant mercaturam* ap. Non. 212, 30. *aligerum* 1, 663; *occumbere morti* 2, 62; *sacris litatis* 4, 50 and *minores* 9, 263 belong to the age of Vergil. *maculis albis* 9, 48 occurs without comment 5, 565. On *prorumpit nubem* 3, 572; *biuugo* 5, 144; *vota* 5, 53 both versions have comments, and the Schol. Dan. mentions the new diction. The other expressions commented on are *armenta* 1, 185; *lentandus* (?) 3, 384; *excussa magistro* 6, 353; *Inarime* 9, 712; *cedat ius* 11, 358; *ater odor* 12, 591; *exudat umor* G. 1, 88; *saxea umbra* G. 3, 145.

The comments on *superat* are the most varied: 3, 339 *superatne vivit*. *sane nove dictum est et caret exemplo ut pauca in Vergilio*. G. 2, 314 *superat superest, ut quid puer Ascanius? superatne?* This comment is repeated 12, 630. 2, 597; 5, 713; B. 9, 27 the word is defined *superest* in spite of the statement 3, 339.

#### X. *Neotericae Elocutiones.*

The comments in which Servius has referred an expression to the *neoterici* do not differ much from those in the last division. Persius is put among the *neoterici* (6, 187), Lucan (6, 320), and Juvenal (11, 715). The word seems to refer in a general way to poets later than Vergil. 6, 320 *lividum* (*invidum*) is said to be found only *apud neotericos*, though it occurs with the same meaning in Cic. and Hor. 6, 167 *si . . . per se plenum, sicut et O, quamquam neoterici haec iungant et pro uno ponant: Persius (2, 10) O si ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus. O si. Horace uses the words together in the Satires 2, 6, 8 and 10. 10, 192 canentem senectam pro albo colore neoterice dictum. 10, 418 canentia lumina has no special comment. 11, 590 sagittam ultricem is called *neotericum*. 11, 715 *vanos stultos posteriores dicere coeperunt, inde tractum est in neotericis: Iuvenalis (3, 159). The long comment added by the Schol. Dan., and also 1, 393, makes the word mean mendax. 12, 605 is given a note by Probus: neotericum erat flavos.**

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#### IV.—THE ORIGIN OF THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

1. The origin of the gerund and gerundive, in spite of all the attempts of scholars, can hardly yet be considered satisfactorily elucidated.

In the American Journal of Philology, vol. IX, 2 and 4 (1888), Mr. S. B. Platner set forth clearly and in detail the statistics of the use of the gerund and gerundive in Pliny's Letters and in Tacitus' Annals, and more recently, in vol. XIV, 4 (Dec. 1893), he has done the same for Plautus and Terence. The latter is the more important for us, as the language was nearer the primitive form in the time of Plautus and Terence. The result of his analysis shows that in Early Latin the gerund is more frequently used than the gerundive. "Exactly the opposite," he says, "was found to be the case in Silver Latin, as was to be expected, especially if it is assumed that the latter is a development from the former." Of this more hereafter. Mr. Platner, however, is concerned with the *uses*, not the *origin* of the gerund and gerundive.

As regards the origin:—Brugmann in the Grundriss, II, §69 (1889), derived the *-ndo-* from *-tno-*, comparing the Lithuanian verbals in *-tinas* (see A. J. P. VIII 441-7). Professor Conway (Class. Rev. V, p. 297, July, 1891) showed the weak points in this comparison, and Brugmann (Gr. II, §1103, 3, 1892) has withdrawn his former conjecture, at the same time adding that he is unable to accept Conway's own conjecture (Cl. Rev. V 296 sqq.) (which is itself only a repetition of Curtius' view given in the second edition of his Greek Etymology, p. 590) or those put forward by Thurneysen (*-mn-* in Latin—Die Bildung des ital. Gerundivums—Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 493 ff.) and Mr. Dunn (Cl. Rev. VI 1 sqq.). He then proceeds in a long 'Remark' to give a new theory of his own which in some respects is excellent.

He says that the inquiries of Weisweiler have rendered it highly probable that the meaning of 'deed to be accomplished' belonged to the gerundive from the beginning, and further, that the gerund (which does not appear in the Umbr.-Samn. monu-

ments) was first developed from the gerundive when, e. g., to *virtus colenda est* was formed *colendum est*, as 'modus impersonalis.' The fact that in Early Latin the gerund is more frequently employed than the gerundive proves nothing against this, for the gerund arose to fill the gap created by the loss in Latin of the Prim. Ital. infin. in *-m*, which still survived in Umbrian and Oscan—that is, it arose in Latin as an abstract noun, and as such was naturally in frequent use. Further, says Brugmann, as the other Indo-Germanic languages, so far as one has yet been able to see, offer nothing wherewith to connect the suffixal ending of the Italic gerundive, it is *a priori* credible that this developed itself on Italic soil, on the ground of the final infinitive, just as German 'der zu lobende, ein zu lobender' on the ground of 'zu loben,' Skr. *çravāy-iyas* 'laudandus' on the ground of the infinitive *\*çravāi*. On this he bases his new conjecture.

He starts with the Primitive Ital. accus. infin. in *-m*, e. g. Umbr. *fašiu(m)*, *fero(m)*. This, he says, was combined with the postposition *\*dō* or *\*de* (for which he compares Latin *en-do indu*, *dō-nicum dō-nec*, Avestic *vaēsman-da* 'to the house, home,' Greek *ἡμέτερον-δε* and *ἡμέτερον δῶ*), with the meaning of the German 'zu with the infinitive.' *-md-* must have already in Primitive Italic become *-nd-* (cf. Old Latin *quan-de*, Umbr. *pane* (= 'quam'), etc., Grundriss, I 207),<sup>1</sup> and thus the combination with the postposition acquired an isolated place compared with the other infin. in *-m*.

Lastly, adjectives of the *o*-declension were made to the forms in *-dō* or *-de*, just as the adjectives *subiugu-s*, *antenovissimu-s*, *perfidu-s* arose to *sub iugō*, *ante novissimum*, *per fidem*.

Brugmann gives two alternative theories to explain the forms such as *plendu-s videndu-s flandu-s arandu-s*:—(1) They may come from a primitive form *\*plē-m \*vidē-m \*flā-m \*arā-m* in the sense of *plēre*, *vidēre*, etc.; cf. the Avestic *dam* 'to place, give' (Grundriss, II, §1089, 1), in which case *plendu-s arandu-s* Osc.

<sup>1</sup> *-nd-* is, as a general rule, the form shown by inscriptions, but the Lex Iulia Municipalis (B. C. 44), C. I. L. I 206, presents nine instances of the gerundive spelt with *-md-*, viz. *damdum*, *damdam*, *tuendā*, *tuendarum*, *faciūmdei*, beside thirty-two spelt with *-nd-*, e. g. *tuendam*. These nine instances show the earlier form of the gerundive according to Brugmann's theory and my own (v. infra), but as I cannot find any other instance of the gerund or gerundive so spelt in the C. I. L., it seems improbable that any etymological value should be attached to the *-md-* in these nine instances.

úpsanna<sup>m</sup> would contain these older infinitive forms unchanged. For Latin *rotundu-s*, *rubicundu-s* we must then assume the infin. \**rotō-m* \**rubicō-m* (cf. *aegrō-tu-s*); *rotundu-s* for \**rotondo-s* as *latrunculus* for \**latron-culu-s*; *ferendo-s* arose in Pr. Ital. from \**ferondo-s* (*ferundu-s*) beside present participle *ferent-*, on analogy of *arandu-s videndu-s* beside the present participle *arant- vident-*. Or (2) possibly Osc. *fatium*, *censaum*, Umbr. *stiplo(m)* (for \**stiplā-om*) 'stipulari' came from Primitive Italic \**-ē-īom* \**-ā-īom* (cf. 1 s. pres. in \**-ē-īō* \**-ā-īō*), and corresponding to these there had existed *-ē(ī)on-do-*, *-ā(ī)on-do-* (cf. Latin *faci-undu-s* to Umbr. *fašiu(m)* 'facere'). The relation of \**ferondo-* to the participial stem \**feront-* (cf. *eunt-*, etc., §126) would have caused not only *ferendo-* on analogy of *ferent-*, but also *arando-videndo-* on analogy of *arant- vident-*. By this means we may explain *rotundu-s rubicundu-s* as proceeding regularly from \**rotā(ī)ondo-* \**rubicā(ī)ondo-* through the intermediate stage \**rotōndo-* \**rubicōndo-* (cf. 1 s. *rotō* for \**rotā-(ī)ō*).

In contrast to *rotandu-s*, *rubicandu-s* they held fast the original form of the infin., since they had quite early become pure adjectives.

Of these two views, Brugmann prefers the second.

2. Brugmann is probably right in thus starting from Prim. Italic to explain the gerund and gerundive, and I would follow him thus far in starting with Prim. Italic accus. infin. in *-m*, e. g. Umbr. *fero(m)*, *fašiu(m)*, as basis; but his theory of explanation by means of the postposition \**dō* or \**de* seems to me very unlikely. Postposition undoubtedly occurs frequently in Umbr. Samnite, e. g. Umbr. *manuv-e* 'in manu,' *ebetraf-e* 'ad exitus,' Oscan *húrtín* for *hortei* (locative) or *hortoi* (dative) + *en* (Bréal); cf. Latin *tecum*, *quem ad* beside *ad quem*.

Brugmann (in Grundriss, II, §162, rem. 2<sup>1</sup>) explains the Latin<sup>2</sup> passive infin. in *-ier* also by postposition: he conjectures that *-er* represents the preposition *ar* (*arbiter ar-vorsus*), which appears to be of dialectic origin (I, §369, rem. 1). For the change of *-ar* to *-er* see I, §97, 3, and he compares *in-ers arti-fex im-pertiō*; and for the position of the word he compares *quem ad* beside

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Grundr. II, §1094, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Deecke, reading *doivom atoier pactia(ni)* 'sacrum agi vovent' in the *Marsian* inscr. (Zvetaieff No. 45), explains *atoier* as infin. passive = \**actu-ier* 'agi.' If Deecke is right, this pass. infin. in *-ier* is not confined to Latin.



*ad quem* and Umbr. *asam-ař* 'ad aram.' He continues that it need not surprise us to find at so early a stage of Latin, the combination of the infinitive with a preposition which is established in the Romance languages (cf. *ad* before the infinitive, as Ital. *ho a scrivere*<sup>1</sup>), since even in Latin the infinitive had again approximated to the noun, and at least *inter* and *praeter* were used with it, e. g. *nīl praeter plōrāre* (Hor.).<sup>2</sup> But this theory has not met with general acceptance; Stolz (Latin Grammar, p. 380) gives a more plausible theory to explain these forms.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the infinitive was originally an abstract substantive, and as such presumably might have a preposition postfixed to it; but if so, it can only have taken place in Prim. Italic before the infinitive lost its original use as a substantive pure and simple, and must have died out very soon, for otherwise we should expect to find at least some trace of it on inscriptions; but there is none such whatever to warrant the assumption that it ever took place. Thus it seems that there is nothing which can bear out Brugmann's theory of postposition in the explanation of (1) the pass. infin. in *-ier*; (2) the gerundive.

Assuming, however, that the gerundive be rightly thus explained, let us see what it can mean. It can hardly mean more than 'to the doing' (cf. English 'to do'); it could not *originally* be passive, 'deed to be done,' the meaning which Brugmann would give to it. It might of course gradually shade into such a passive meaning (cf. *facile dictu* 'easy to say' is much the same as 'easy to be said'), but it cannot have had it originally.

Nor, again, does the German 'der zu lobende, ein zu lobender' seem to me to be a good parallel. It is true that there is a preposition in the composition of these German phrases, but the second part is a *bona fide* present participle active, whereas that can hardly be said of the Italic gerundive.

It may also be mentioned, by the way, that the derivation given

<sup>1</sup> To quote from an author: "Il suocero, che ben sapeva d'averla a dare, tutta l'aveva provista," 'The father-in-law, who well understood to have to give it, had provided it altogether.' Fortini, Nov. II, p. 287, in *Novelle di Autori Fiorentini e Senesi* (Torino, 1853). This is a good example, showing two infinitives governed by different prepositions.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also *hic vereri* (= *verecundiam*) *perdidit*, Plaut. Bacch. 1, 2, 50, and *nostrum istud vivere triste*, Persius, 1 9.

<sup>3</sup> F. Müller (Grundr. der Sprachwiss. III 2, 650 f.) explains *-er* in these forms as the passive exponent, and Brugmann (Gr. II, §1094, 3, rem.) compares Osc. *vincler* 'vincitur,' karanter 'pascunter.'

of ἡμέτερον δῶ (v. Fick, Verg. Wörterbuch der Idg. Sprachen, I, p. 458) is hardly likely to receive much favour<sup>1</sup>; for other explanations of it *vide* Brugmann, Gr. II, §223, rem. 3 (Engl. ed., vol. III, p. 102).

3. I would venture to suggest another theory for the origin of the gerundive and gerund, based, as Brugmann's, on the Prim. Ital. infinitive in *-m*, e. g. (to take a different word) the Oscan infin. *edum* 'eating' or 'to eat.' To this infinitive<sup>2</sup> as basis was added the suffix *-do*, which appears in adjectives such as *imbridu-s*, *lucidu-s* (for which cf. Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominal-comp. 121 ff.; Thurneysen, Ueber die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io*, 1879, p. 13; and Corssen, Krit. Beitr., pp. 97-9. Cf. also Brugmann, Gr. II, §128). This suffix *-do* may, so far as Latin alone is concerned, represent either Idg.  $\sqrt{dō}$ - 'give' or possibly  $\sqrt{dhē}$ - 'place,' or rather 'make,' since the Idg.  $\sqrt{dhē}$  had lost its meaning 'place' in Italic, and retained only that of 'to make.'

Thielmann (Das Verbum *dare* im Lateinischen, Leipzig, 1882) gives reasons to support the theory that often in Latin we find *dare* used with the sense of  $\sqrt{dhē}$ - instead of with that of  $\sqrt{dō}$ -. Cf. Dr. Postgate, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1880-81, p. 99 f., where he suggests that there was a pair of roots in Indo-Germanic, *da-* and *dha-*, with much the same meaning, and that in some languages the two roots were preserved with differentiated meaning (e. g. Greek and Sanskrit), and in other languages (e. g. Latin and Avestic) one was lost and the survivor had to do duty for both. Cf. also his remarks in the Academy, 1882, No. 552, p. 400. Brugmann, Litterarisches Centralblatt, 1882, No. 41, col. 1390, objects that Idg. *dh* at the beginning of a word becomes *f* (as in *felare*, *fumus*), and not *d*; from  $\sqrt{dhē}$ - in all probability come *faber* and *facio*, hence we should expect *\*fare* τιδέναι beside *dare* διδόναι. But in the Grundriss, I, §370, 1888, he shows that in the middle of a word in some cases we find Idg. *dh* represented in Latin by *d*; instances are *mediu-s*:

<sup>1</sup> Streitberg, in his recent essay, Idg. Forsch., vol. III, p. 331, fairly disproves this explanation of δῶ. One of his objections is that the circumflex is thus left quite unexplained.

<sup>2</sup> That the infinitive in *-m* should be thus used as a substantive need not surprise us, if we consider its origin; we may well compare the Skr. infinitives made from the root-noun, and from the noun in *tu*, which, amongst other uses, we find in the accusative as object of a verb, e. g. *śak-* 'be able,' *dhṛ-* 'undertake,' *arh-* 'be worthy, have the right,' *vid-* 'know' (v. Whitney, Skr. Gr., §981).

Skr. *mādhya-s*, Gk. Hom. *μέσσο-ς* from \**medhjo-*; *aedēs aedilis*: Skr. *édha-s*, Gk. *αἶθ-ω* from √*aidh-* 'glow'; *vidua*: Skr. *vidhāvā*; *fidō*: Gk. *πειθω*, gf. \**bhēidhō* from √*bheidh*, and *con-dō* from \**con-dh-ō*, *con-ditu-s*<sup>1</sup> beside *fa-c-iō* from √*dhē-* 'place,' hence it is possible that \**dare* = '(place), make' originally arose from compounds such as *con-dō*; at any rate, Brugmann's criticism<sup>2</sup> would not affect the suffix *-do*, for the *d* here would come in the middle of the compounded word, just as it does in *con-dō*.<sup>3</sup>

In SANSKRIT we find the two roots used almost synonymously in e. g.

<i>artha-da-s</i> 'bringing benefit, generous,'	
<i>gara-da-s</i> 'giving poison,'	
<i>garbha-da-s</i>	} (Vedic) 'causing or giving a
and	
<i>garbha-dhā-s</i>	} birth, impregnating,'
<i>jala-da-s</i> 'giving water,'	
<i>māna-da-s</i> 'giving self-respect, pride-giving,'	
<i>a-doma-dā-s</i>	} (both Vedic) 'causing no pain.'
and	
<i>a-doma-dhā-s</i>	

From the Rig-Veda alone we have—

compounds with *dā-*:

*jani-dā-*  
*sahasra-dā*  
*vāja-dā-*  
*dhana-dā-*  
*ātma-dā-*  
*hiraṇya-dā-*  
*vastra-dā-*  
*bala-dā-*  
*aṣva-dā-*  
*anaṣva-dā-*  
*vasu-dā-*  
*go-dā-*  
*ojo-dā-*  
 etc., etc.

compounds with *dhā-*:

*jani-dhā-* (of uncertain meaning)  
*sahasra-dhā-*  
*ratna-dhā-*  
*apa-dhā-*  
*nāma-dhā-*  
*sarva-dhā-*  
*madhu-dhā-*  
*vipo-dhā-*  
*vayo-dhā-*  
*varivo-dhā-*  
*dhiyaṃ-dhā-* (quoted above)  
 etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> The compounds of √*dhē-* and √*dō-* were confused in Latin, beginning with the 1st and 2d plural, *-di-* = (1) \**-fa-* \**-dh-ā-*, (2) \**-da-* \**-dā-* (v. Brugmann, Gr. II, §505, rem. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann (Gr. II, §688) assigns to the √*dō-*, besides the meaning 'give,' also a similar meaning to √*dhē-*.

Of the former Grassmann gives twenty-four instances in all, of the latter sixteen. We should especially note the last example quoted, *dhiyam-dhā-* 'thought-directing,' for in this compound the first member is still seen *in the accusative case governed by the root dhā-*.

In LATIN it is very common, especially from verbs of the *e*-conjugation; e. g. *rubī-du-s*, *ari-du-s* *umi-du-s* *liqui-du-s* *madi-du-s*, *algi-du-s* *cali-du-s* (and *caldu-s*) *torri-du-s* *frigi-du-s* *tepi-du-s* *fervi-du-s*, *niti-du-s* *splendi-du-s* *fulgi-du-s* *candi-du-s* *albi-du-s*, *timi-du-s* *pavi-du-s*,<sup>1</sup> beside which we must compare the substantives ending in *-ē-do*, e. g.

*rubē-do* *albē-do* *frigē-do*

From a verb of the *i*-conjugation we have

*cupi-du-s* beside *cupī-do* (and *cupē-do*) and Old Latin *cupī-re*

From verbs whose stems end in *-i* in the present:

*sapi-du-s* *in-sipi-du-s* beside *sapi-ō*  
*rapi-du-s* beside *rapi-ō*

From verbs of consonant conjugation:

*vivi-du-s*  
*flui-du-s*

Also from nominal stems:

*herbi-du-s* from *herba*  
*morbi-du-s* " *morbo-*  
*imbri-du-s* " *imbri-*  
*geli-du-s* " *gelu*

For instance of the later loss of the *i*, cf. e. g.

<i>caldu-s</i> (mentioned above)	beside	<i>cali-du-s</i>
<i>valde</i>	"	<i>vali-du-s</i>
<i>soldus</i>	"	<i>solī-du-s</i>
<i>ardus</i> (Lucil.)	"	<i>ārī-du-s</i>

<sup>1</sup> These adjectives are, I believe, usually derived from the substantives in *-es*, where such exist beside them, e. g. *frigus*, *liquor*. In support of this derivation for the adjectives, the dative-ablative in *-ibus* is generally quoted. J. Schmidt explained *-ibus* as coming from *\*-es-bhos*, but Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 489) opposed this theory, and Brugmann (Gr. II, §397, rem. 2) supports him emphatically in his opposition.

In all these instances (pace Victor Henry, who condemns this view as "peu vraisemblable," *Précis de Gramm. comparée du Grec et du Latin*, §163 (3)) the suffix *-do-* means 'giving,' or perhaps 'causing,' e. g. 'giving forth redness, heat, dampness, moisture, coolness, warmth,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

In GREEK this suffix is hardly to be found,<sup>2</sup> but Greek uses the suffix *-φόρος* (from the verb *φέρω*) in an exactly parallel way:

δοσπραγ-φόρος	beside Latin	<i>fulgi-du-s</i>
φωσ-φόρος	"	{ <i>luci-du-s</i> <i>luci-fer</i>
ὀμβρο-φόρος	"	{ <i>imbri-fer</i> <i>imbri-du-s</i>
κερασ-φόρος } κερο-φόρος }	"	{ <i>corni-fer</i> <i>corni-ger</i> (cf. perhaps Greek κόρυ-δο-s, supra).

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra on Umbr. *kaleřuf*.

<sup>2</sup> Although the suffixes *-dho-* and *-do-* are not frequent in forming Greek nouns like Lat. *rubidus*, etc., yet we often find the *-dh-* and *-d-* used otherwise, e. g. the *dh-* suffix in forms like *βρί-θω* *πλή-θω* *φλεγέ-θω* has often been referred to *√dhē-* 'place,' and likewise the *d-* suffix in certain cases was considered as from the *√dō-*, which (according to Brugmann, II, §688), beside the meaning 'give,' had also a like meaning to *√dhē-*. (On these suffixes see especially Brugmann, Gr. II, §§694, 695.) We may perhaps see the *√dhē-* in the *-dhi*, which is a method of forming the 2 s. imperat. act. in Aryan Greek and Baltic-Slavonic, e. g. Skr. *viddhi*, Gk. *ισθι*, Old Lith. *veizdi*, from \**uid-dhi* from *√uid-*; Gk. *δρνυ-θι* beside *δρ-νύ*, Skr. *g-ṇu*, to *δρνύμι* 'I stir'; Skr. *g-ṇu-dhi* and *g-ṇu-hi* beside *g-ṇai* to 3 s. indic. *g-ṇō-ti* 'hears.' *-dhi*: *-hi* = *-dhita*: *hild*. This *-dhi* became so crystallized in this use that it was even added to form the imperative of its own root *dhē-*, e. g. Skr. *dhēhi* from Pr. Aryan \**dha-s-dhi*. The literal meaning would then be 'make the knowing, the stirring, the hearing,' etc. The *i* of *-dhi* may be due to the analogy of *-si*, the Idg. personal ending of 2 s. pres. indic. act., especially as indicative forms were used (along with others) as imperative, e. g. Skr. 2 s. *vē-ji* 'come hither,' *kṣē-ji* 'delay,' *sat-si* 'seat thyself,' *prā-si* 'fill,' Gk. *λέξαι* from \**λεκ-σ-σαι* 'lay thyself' (cf. Brugmann, Gr. II, §§956, 969, 2). (On this *i* in *-mi*, *-si*, *-ti*, *-nti*, as contrasted with *-m*, *-s*, *-t*, *-nt*, cf. Brugmann, Gr. II, §973, who there regards it as possibly a particle indicating present time, and §463, 1, where he regards it as probably a demonstrative particle.) This explanation of *-dhi* is supported by the fact that Brugmann sees *√dhē-* also in the Aryan dat. infin. in *-dhīāi*, e. g. Skr. *vdha-dhyāi*, Av. *vazaiḥyāi* 'to drive, carry,' beside which are found in like function *-dhēyāya* *-dhāi* *-dhi* (v. Grundr. II, §§1088, 9, 1089, 12), and in Greek mid. pass. infin. in *-othai*, which seems to have originated with words like *eideo-thai*, which were wrongly analysed as *eide-othai* beside *eide-tai* (v. Grundr. II, §1093, 8).

νυκτι-φόρος	beside Latin	<i>nocti-fer</i>	'the evening star'
ὀδυνη-φόρος	"	<i>morbi-du-s</i>	
ξιφη-φόρος	}	"	{ <i>ensi-fer</i>
ξιφο-φόρος			
σελασ-φόρος	"	"	<i>splendi-du-s</i>
ἀνθεσ-φόρος	"	"	<i>flori-du-s</i>
σαπρο-φόρος	"	{	<i>feti-du-s</i>
			<i>puti-du-s</i> <sup>1</sup>

From these examples it seems clear that nothing prevents the suffix *-do-* from being derived from a verbal root, either  $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$  or  $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$ , or both. On the whole, I decide in favour of  $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$  rather than of  $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$ , because, although *dh* could become *d* in Latin (see above), yet it can hardly have become anything except *f* in Umbr.-Osc.<sup>2</sup> and so we should have to regard the gerundive as borrowed by Umbr.-Osc. from Latin, if we were to determine *dh-* as the primitive ground-form.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, on account of Umbr. *kaleřuf*, *calersu* = 'calidos' or 'callidos' where *řrs* is the result of *d* (not *dh*) between vowels, it is more probable that we should trace  $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$  than  $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$  in the Latin adjectives in *-du-s* (given above). My view, then, is that to form the gerundive this suffix *-do-* was added in Pr. Ital. to the Pr. Ital. infinitive (a substantive) in *-m*, and governed the infinitive as its object. This explanation, moreover, receives much support from the fact that in the case of "Gerundives used in a passive sense in the predicate, after certain verbs, to denote the object of their action" (Mr. Platner in A. J. P. XIV 4, 1893), *dare* is by far the most frequent verb, e. g.

Dato excrucandum me. Plaut. Mil. 567.

Te elinguendam dederō. Id. Aul. 250.

Statuam faciundam dare. Id. Curc. 440.

Anulum utendum dederat. Id. 603.

"It will be seen," says the writer, "that this usage is almost a stereotyped formula, and that in Plautus, in two-thirds of all the

<sup>1</sup> I do not imply by these comparisons that *every one* of the Latin instances shews clearly a nominal form before *-do-*, and so far they are not *all* strictly parallel to the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Oscan *ařidil* 'aedilis' from  $\sqrt{ařidh-}$  'glow' was a Latin loan-word (Brugmann, Gr. I, §370).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Dunn (Class. Rev. VI, p. 3) was unable to decide between  $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$  and  $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$  as the origin of *-do-s*. The Umbr.-Samn. forms (unless borrowed) will admit only of the latter.

cases of its occurrence, it is with the verb *dare*, and in four more with *locare*. In Terence the proportion is somewhat less, but the inference seems warranted that the ordinary earliest use was with *dare*, and one or two verbs like *locare* and *conducere*, and that its use with other verbs like *petere* and *rogare* was the result of analogy and a somewhat later development."

We find exactly the same use of *dare* in Osc. *trííbúm ekak ... úpsannam deded* 'domum hanc ... operandam dedit' (Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Inf. Dial., No. 143; cf. also Nos. 96, 97, 145).

The close connection here visible between *dare* and the gerundive seems to support my theory.

4. There is no real objection to my theory that the *-do-* governs a case here, for compare e. g.

In SANSKRIT, especially in Vedic, where we might expect to find compounds in the primitive stage of formation (i. e. that of a syntactical combination), such compounds as

Vedic	{	<i>dhiyaṃdha</i> 'thought-directing' (quoted above)
		<i>dhiyaṃjinva</i> 'thought-furthering'
		<i>dhanamjayá</i> 'wealth-winning'
		<i>puramdará</i> 'city-destroying'
		<i>abhayaṃkará</i> 'causing absence of danger'
		<i>samudramīṅkhaya</i> 'sea-exciting'
		<i>puṣṭimbhará</i> 'prosperity-bringing'
		<i>vājambará</i> 'booty-winning'
		<i>arimḍama</i> 'foe-taming'
		<i>viśvambhará</i> 'all-supporting'
		<i>vācamīṅkhayá</i> 'voice-inciting'
		<i>abhramliha</i> 'cloud-licking'
		<i>paramtapa</i> 'foe-vexing.'

Add also (for the accusative is often found in Skr. as object of verbs of 'going' and the like, which in the related languages are not transitive,<sup>1</sup> e. g. *divaṃ yayuh* 'they went to heaven'; cf. Whitney, Skr. Gr. §274 a):

*patamgá* (Vedic) 'going to flight, flying'  
*hṛdayaṃgama* 'heart-touching'  
*sāgaraṃgama* 'sea-going.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Italic the accus. of the supine used after verbs of motion, e. g. Lat. *datum eo*, Umbr. *aserialo eest* 'observatum ibit' (whence arose the so-called fut. infin. pass. *datum iri*); the same use of the accus. in *-tu-m* we find also in Skr. and Balto-Slavonic.

In all these compounds the first member is an accusative case governed by a root-stem or a derivative in *a* of equivalent meaning. Cf. Whitney, *Skr. Gr.* §§1250 *a*, 1269 *b*, 1270 *c*.

Similarly

**AVESTIC:** *ahūmer<sup>c</sup>ñc* (*ahūm*, acc. of *ahu* 'world,' governed by root *marec*) 'world-destroying' beside *ahu-mer<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>1</sup>

*māthremperesa* (*māthrem*, acc. of *māthra* 'word, holy writ,' governed by root *pares* = *Skr. prach-* 'ask') 'one who has studied the Avesta.'

*vīrenjan* (from *vīrem*, acc. of *vīra* 'man,' governed by root *jan*) 'man-slaying,' beside *vīra-jan-*, *Skr. vīra-hān-*.

*drujemvana* (from *drujem*, acc. of *druj*, name of some female demons, governed by root *van* 'conquer') 'female-demon-conquering.'

*vīspā-hiśant-* (acc. pl. neuter of *vīspa-*) 'able to do everything.'

**ARMENIAN:** *mels-a-sēr* 'loving sins,' *mels*, acc. pl. of *mēl-* (for this *-a-*, the vowel of composition, v. Brugmann, *Gr. II*, §28, 1).

*stn-dī* 'sucking the breast, suckling' (*stin*, gen. *stean* 'woman's breast') may possibly be an instance in point (v. Brugmann, *ibid.*, rem. 2).

**GREEK:** *δικασπóλος* from \**δικανς-πολος*.

*μογοσ-τόκος* from \**μογονς-τοκος*.

*νουν-εχόντως* and *νουν-έχης* as if from a verb *νουνέχω*.

From *ἀταλά φρονέων*, *ἀταλα-φρονέων*, we get *ἀταλάφρων*.

*πυρ-φόρος* beside *πυροφόρος*.

*ἀμφορεᾶ-φόρος*.

*ποδα-νιπτήρ*, *ποδά-νιπτρον*, beside *χέρνιψ* and *χερόνιπτρον*.

*μῦσ-φόνος* beside *μυοφόνος*.

*βιβλιά-γραφος* (*Cratin. Χειρ.* 18; but v. Lob. *Phryn.* 655) beside *βιβλιόγραφος*.

*βιβλια-φόρος* beside *βιβλιόφορος*.

*παν-όπτης* beside *παντόπτης*.

*ὄνομα-θέτης* (but Lob. *Phryn.* 688 corrects to *ὀνοματο-θέτης*). Cf.

*ὀνομακλήδην*, *ὀνομακλήτωρ* (late), *nomenclator* below, and *ὀνομάκλυτος*, on which vide Victor Henry, *Préc. de Gram. Comp.*, §176.

*φωσ-φόρος* beside *φασεσφόρος* and *φωτοφόρος*.

<sup>1</sup>One *m* is dropped in *ahūmer<sup>c</sup>ñc* for \**ahūmm<sup>c</sup>ñc*; Avestic allows no double consonants, v. Jackson's *Av. Gr.*, part II, §186. Brugmann is therefore wrong in writing it with double *m*, in *Grundriss*, II, §§27 and 163.



κερασ-φόρος beside κεροφόρος.

κωλα-κρέτης, the form given by Photius and Suidas, is sometimes derived from κῶλα (acc. pl. of κῶλον) and κείρω. The Schol. Aristoph. and Timae. quote the form with a γ, κωλα-γρέτης, which is supposed to come from ἀγείρω.

χσα-χιτής is quoted by one German writer, but Hesychius does not know the form, and Liddell and Scott omit it.

καρη-κομῶντες 'long-haired,' from κάρη and κομάω; cf. the phrase τὰς κεφαλὰς κομῶσαι used of the women of a certain Libyan tribe in Hdt. IV 168.

In some, however, of these (e. g. μῦσ-φόνος) the first member is explained by others as the stem, and not the accusative case (cf. Brugmann, Gr. II, §29), but there is not much argument either way; the existence of the forms μνοφόνος κεροφόρος, etc., beside μῦσφόνος κερασφόρος seems to favor my explanation of these latter forms. (For instances of other cases which are perhaps more commonly used, cf. ἀλοσάχνη Διόσδοτος πνλοιογῆς δορίληπτος.) On these compounds generally, vide G. Meyer, C. St. 6, 382 ff., and Clemm, C. St. 7, 95 f.

ITALIC:

Latin: *vindex* from \**vim-dex* 'one who shows the violence,' i. e. 'the avenger' (Schweizer-Sidler, Latin Gr.<sup>2</sup>, explain this as from \**venundex* 'one who shows the penalty-price'; but if so, why is it not *vendex*, like *vendo*?).

*iudex*<sup>1</sup> from \**iouz-dic-s* 'one who shows the law,' i. e. 'the judge' (cf. Avestic *yaoždath-* infra), beside *iuridicus*.

*iu(s)-stitium*.

Oscan: *meddei*<sup>1</sup> from \**medos* (= Umbr. *meřs*)—*deix*, \**medos* becoming in Oscan by syncope \**meds*, and the voiced *s* falling out before *d* (cf. *nidus* from \**ni-zd-o-s*).

Latin: *nomenclator*. Here *nomen* may be accusative case governed by the second member of the compound. Cf. Gk. ὄνομα-θείτης, supra, and ὀνομά-κλυτος (Brugmann, Gr. II, §§12, 29, takes it as the stem, -*en-* being simply from -*η-*).

*domuitio* from \**domum-itio*<sup>2</sup> may be compared with Sanskrit *sāgarāṃgama* above.

<sup>1</sup> *iudex* and *meddei* might of course be explained as containing the stem and not an accusative case, but *vindex* seems to favour the explanation which I have given.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the periphrastic fut. infin. pass., e. g. *datum iri*, where fusion of the two words is attested in the writing -*tuiri* for -*tum iri* (vide Brandt, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. II 349 ff.; Schmalz, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1892, p. 79 f.).

*mus-cipula* 'a mouse-trap.' Is *mus* perhaps a fossilized acc. plural formed on analogy of the *u*-stems, e. g. *manūs* (cf. Gk. *μῦας μῦς*, a reformat following *ὀφρύας ὀφρύς*)? Compare, beside it, *muricidus*.

*Lariscolus* = probably 'is qui Lares colit' (cf. Skutsch, De nominum Lat. compositione), beside which compare *Larifuga*.

*legiscrepa*, *νομοδίφας* gloss Philox. (Forcellini presumably regards this as a mistake of the scribe for *legicrepa*, which is the form which he quotes); compare *legirupa*.

*forasgerones*, cf. Forcellini, s. v. *foras*, nota. 2) Item *foras* usurpatum tanquam nomen reperitur apud Aggen. de contr. agr., p. 53, Goës. 3) Per hyphen composuit Plaut. Truc. 2. 7. 1, *foras-gerones*. *foras* is probably an accus. plur., of which perhaps *foris* was the ablative, from an obsolete noun *fora* = Skr. *dvār*, Gk. *θύρα*. (Brugmann, Gr. II, §358, suggests that *forās* 'outside, out of doors' may be a loc. plur., but says that *forās* 'out, outwards' is accusative.)

We may add also here two Plautine comic names:

*Argentumexterebronides*, Plaut. Pers. 4. 6. 21 (but Forcellini prefers to read *argentiexterebronides* or *argenti exterebronides*), beside *argentifodina* 'a silver-mine.'

*Quodsemelarripides*, id. 4. 6. 22, from *quod semel* + *arripio*, = 'is qui aliquid semel arripit.'

┌ *Kalendae* 'The Calends'; *kalandae*, found e. g. in CIL. 5. 1682, 9. 1095, 10. 539, is perhaps the original form; it may be derived (just as I would derive the gerundive) from Pr. Ital. infin. *\*kalām* or *\*kalāom* (✓ *kal-*, cf. Gk. *καλέω*, Lat. *calō* of the 1st conjugation) + the suffix *-do-* 'giving the proclamation.' Compare Varro, L. L. 6, §27, Müll.: *primi dies nominati kalendae*, ab eo quod his diebus calantur eius mensis nonae a pontificibus, quintanae an septimanae sint futurae. It is fem. plur., in agreement with *dies* understood. The *e* of *kalendae* is difficult: perhaps *calo* may have been of the 3d conj. as well as of the 1st in very early Latin; cf. *lavo*, *iuvo*, which are of both 1st and 3d conjugation. Compare also *ē-legāns* beside *ē-ligere*.<sup>1</sup> This view

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Umbr. *portust* 'portaverit' beside *portatu* 'portato,' Osc. upsed 'operatus est,' uupsens *οὐπσενσ* 'operaverunt,' etc., which Brugmann (Gr. II, §874) explains as probably built on the model of the primary *ā*-verbs with strong perfect (like Lat. *iuvāre iūvi*), which he supposes Umbr.-Osc., like

is supported by the Umbrian forms *kařetu kařitu carsitu* = 'calato, vocato' (*l* having become *d*, whence ř *rs*), on which Bücheler, *Umbr.*, p. 50, says: "*carsitu* discedit paulum a *calato*, magis congruit cum *calendis*."

LITHUANIAN: *gera-dėjis* 'benefactor' (cf. Lat. *benefactor*, *benefacio*, *infra*) and

*viša-galįs* (beside *vis-galįs*) 'all-powerful'; perhaps contain an accusative neuter governed by the second member (cf. Brugm., *Gr. II*, §46).

This kind of composition, wherein the first member is an accusative case governed by the second member, perhaps first took place in compounds with the finite verb, and was extended thence, e. g.

*Latin crēdō* (with Pr. Idg.  $\sqrt{dhē-}$ ) corresponding to *Sanskrit* *ṛad-dadhāmi* from Idg.  $*kred + dhe-dhē-mi$ . That the two members of the compound have not yet in Sanskrit become fused into an inseparable unity may be seen by such passages as *ṛad asmāi dhātta* 'put your trust in him' (*RV. ii 12. 5*). That the verb governs the dative in Sanskrit and Latin is the natural outcome of its original meaning 'I lay my heart to,' hence 'put my trust in, believe.' Cf. *Plaut. Am. I. I 284 sqq. iniurato, scio, plus credet mihi, quam iurato tibi*.

*Avestic yaoždath-* (from *yaoš + dath-*, a reduplicated form of root *dā-* 'to make') and *yaoždā-* (from *yaoš* and root *dā-* 'to make') = 'to purify,' where *yaoš* (= Sanskrit *yōṣ*, n., Latin *ius*, n., cf. *iudex* from  $*\text{īouz-dic-s}$  above) is really an accusative governed by the verbal root *dā-* (which may represent either Idg.  $\sqrt{dhē-}$  or  $\sqrt{dō-}$ ).

*Skr. mṛdā-ti* 'is gracious, pardons,' *mṛdikā*, n. 'grace, pardon,' *Avestic mer'zdika*, n. 'grace, pardon,' the original form of which is probably an old syntactical combination  $*mṛḡ dō$  'grant a purity ( $\sqrt{merḡ-}$  'wipe off') from sins'; *Skr. mṛṣ-ya-tē* 'forgets,' *marṣāyatē* 'bears patiently, ex-

Latin, to have had at one time; the *ā*-denominatives may have possibly adopted their mode of flexion, just as in Late Latin we find (ppl.) *probitus*, (imperat.) *probuto* from *probāre*. We may perhaps compare also the Latin verbs which have the *ā*-flexion when compounded, but some other when not, e. g. *occupāre* beside *capiō*, *aspernāri* beside *spernō*, etc., which Brugmann (*Gr. II*, §583) explains as due to a difference in meaning, the *ā*-formations having an aoristic meaning, so that *occupāre* : *capiō* = Gk. *μαρῆναι* : *μαίνομαι*.

cuses, pardons,' *Lith. mirsz-ti* 'to forget,' which can equally well be regarded as being from an old *\*m̃gs dō-* (by assimilation *\*m̃gz dō-*) 'grant a forgetting, excuse' (Brugmann, Gr. I, §404, 1).

We may add

LATIN: *animus-adverto*, whence *animadverto*, from which arose *animadversio*.

*bene-dico bene-facio male-dico male-facio* (*bene* and *male* are very possibly primitive substantives in the accusative case which later became crystallized as adverbs; cf. beside *potis sum*, also *pote sum*, wherein *pote* is probably acc. sing. neut. for *\*poti*, crystallized already as adverb; we find also *bene sum* in the same way), whence *benedictio maledictio*.<sup>1</sup>

*sallo* 'I salt,' from *\*sal-dō*.

*nuncupō*, perhaps from *\*nōmen-cupō* (for the latter half of the compound cf. *oc-cupō* : *capiō*); Brugmann, however (Gr. II, §34), derives it from *\*nōmi-cupō*; others, again, from *\*nōmine-cupō*.

*palam-facio*, if *palam perperam promiscam coram clam protinam multifariam*, etc., are really feminine accusatives from e. g. *perperus promiscus*, etc. (vide Osthoff, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 90 ff.). Brugmann, however (Gr. II, §276), seems inclined to regard them as instrumentals.

A compound verb formed from the Prim. Ital. infin. in *-m + √dō-* seems to me to be found in *venundō* 'I sell.'

Of *venum* Forcellini says: "Quidam putant esse supinum verbi *veneo*; sed potius *veneo* est a *venum*, quasi *venum eo*. Aliquando

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, Gr. II, §275, 1, regards *bene male* as instrumentals.

We shall do well to compare the corresponding word to *bene* in Germanic: O. Eng. *wele*, AS. *wela*, Dan. *vel*, Sw. *väl*, OHG. *wola*, MHG. *wol*, NHG. *wohl*, are all found used both as subst. and as adv. corresponding to Modern English *weal* and *well*. We find the word also compounded like *bene*: In Danish, for instance, the substantival use of *vel* is manifest in *velhavende* (adj.) 'wealthy, prosperous,' lit. 'weal-having'; *velgiøren velgiører* correspond to Lat. *benefacere bene-factor*; *vel* is a pure adverb in *velbekient* (adj.) 'well-known.' In Dutch *wei* by itself is found only as an adverb; but a trace of its original substantival use is visible in *weldoer* 'benefacere,' *weldoener* 'benefactor.' In Gothic, on the other hand, *vaila* is used solely as an adverb, e. g. *thu is sunus meins sa liuba, in thusei vaila galeikaida* 'thou art my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased' (St. Mark, i. 11). Probably the adverbial use arose originally from compounded words, e. g. Latin *bene-dico*, pass. *bene-dictus*, whence *bene* came to be regarded as an adverb.

per casus inflexa legitur: itaque potius nomen esse dicendum est, cuius in usu frequentissimo est *venum*; dicimus autem *venum ire*, h. e. *vendi* 'to be exposed or set to sale,' *venum dare* aut *tradere*, h. e. *vendere* 'to sell, expose to sale.'"<sup>1</sup> *Venum* may perhaps be better explained as an old Prim. Ital. infin. = 'sale.'

The word *venum* is, I believe, the only form found in classical Latin of the so-called substantive *venum*. It is not until we come down to Tacitus that we find the form *veno*, e. g. Tac. Ann. XIII 51, XIV 15, and it is only still later that we find the form *venui*, App. M. 8, p. 210; id. 8, p. 221, 29. That *veno* and *venui* arose may be due to a misunderstanding of the origin of the word, owing to its isolated position.

Perhaps *pessumdo* may be explained in the same way, as a relic of the Prim. Ital. infin.

*Venum do*, originally = 'I give as a selling or a sale,' *venum* being in apposition to the object of *do*, or it may be equally well explained 'I give a selling (i. e. the sale of) some object,' e. g. Si pater filium ter *venum* dūit (? or davit) filius a patre liber esto, Leg. XII Tab., 'If a father thrice gives his son as a sale' (or 'the selling his son'). Hence *venum do* became gradually regarded as a unity = 'sell.' We find it both uncompounded and also compounded as *venumdo* or (just like the gerundive forms) *venundo* (cf. *vendo*, an abbreviated form for *venum do*, and *veneo* for *venum eo* 'I come as a sale,' i. e. 'am on sale').

Is it possible to find the primitive nominal infinitive also in compounds such as Latin *arē-facio* 'I make a heating, make warm,' cf. also *concale-facio* *fervē-facio* *contabē-facio* *liquē-facio*, etc.? These may have been for *\*arem-facio* *\*concalem-facio*, etc., in which the *e* was short because before a nasal + spirant (cf. Brugmann, Gr. I, §612). The *m* may have become lost,<sup>1</sup> because

<sup>1</sup> For the loss of *-m-* in these compound verbs we may compare the history of the numerals ending in *-em*, when in composition. The very definiteness required of a numeral served to keep these in their original form till far into the historical period, but in many instances they too succumbed eventually to this process of weakening (analogy of other numerals perhaps tending to influence them), e. g.

*decimodiae* beside *decemmodiae*  
*septuicollis*  
*septiformis*  
*septimestris* beside *septemmestris*  
*septilpes*  
*septiremis*, etc.

in an unaccented syllable, e. g. *concale(m)-fácio* [cf. *homicida*, from *homin-* (the stem of *homo*) -*cida*, beside *homunculus*; cf. also *reccidi* from *\*rêc(e)cidi*, *opilio* from *\*ôv(i)pilio* (cf. Stolz, L. G.<sup>2</sup> §75)]. The variation, long *ê* beside *ç*, in these verbs may be due to 'compensatory lengthening' at the time of the loss of the *m*.<sup>1</sup> If this explanation of these verbs be right, we must suppose the origin to have been forgotten quite early, for we find in Cato: 'ferve bene facit'; Varro, R. R.: 'perferve ita fit,' 'excande me fecerunt'; Lucretius: 'facit are'; where there is no cause for loss of *m*, except perhaps in the second example from Varro, where *m* might have fallen out before the *m* in *me*.

The adjectives ending in *-ficus*, e. g. *arificus candidicus languificus*, and those ending in *-dus*, e. g. *aridus candidus languidus*, etc. (given above), were formed on the model of the verbs when these latter had reached the forms in which they finally survived, e. g. *liquê-facio*; but owing to their losing all connection with the verbal system,<sup>2</sup> they went still further than the verbs, and changed their *e* to *i* (by rule cf. Brugmann, Gr. I, §65).<sup>3</sup> [We may contrast herewith the Aryan adjectives formed directly from accusative case of a substantive, governed by the suffix, e. g. RV. *dhtyam-dhâ-* (accusative from *dhi* 'thought' and root *dhâ-*) 'thought-directing,' *dhiyam-jinva-* 'devotion-promoting,' Avest. *yaožda* = probably 'giving purity,' hence 'pure' (cf. Lat. *lucidus* 'giving brightness,' hence 'bright'), *yaoždāna* = 'purifying.']

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The intermediate stage is perhaps traceable in *septejugis*, Inscr. Grut. 337. 8, and *septesmos* on the Columna Rostrata, C. I. L. I 195. *Novem* in composition seems to have been saved from this weakening process through fear of confusion with the derivatives of *novus*.

Compare also *faenugraecum*, Cael. Aur. acut. III 3. 16, 8. 78, beside *faenum-graecum*, Cato, R. R. 27. 1. *malogranatum*, Hier., Vulg., Th. Prisc., beside *malum granatum*, apud Col. XII 42. 1; Pliny, XIII 90, al.; in this compound, however, there is perhaps an assimilation to *mālôbathron*—which is really a Greek word—beside Lat. *malicorium*.

<sup>1</sup> Ritschl, Opusc. II 618 sqq., lays down the rule that in the scenic poets the *e* is long in verbs with long penult, short in verbs with short penult.

<sup>2</sup> May we compare French *complément*, English *complement*, in which the inherent meaning of the verb is still manifest, beside French *compliment*, English *compliment* (cf. New Eng. Dict.)? Eng. *compliment* came in through the French at the end of the 17th century, *complement* direct from Latin a century earlier.

<sup>3</sup> A new group of verbs arose, based on these adjectives in *-ficus*, e. g. *candifico candidicus*, *expergifico expergificus*.

They were no doubt originally spelt with *e*; this is supported by Umbr. *kaleřuf*, *calersu*, 'calidos' or 'callidos' (quoted above). The inscriptional forms *soledus* C. I. L. I 1166, X 5807 (153-89 B. C.), *splendedissimus* C. I. L. XIV 4144 (147 A. D.) and XIV 474 (circa 200 A. D.), and *provedus* C. I. L. XII 2153 (quite late) can hardly be brought as evidence.

With these verbs, if my explanation be right, we may perhaps compare the Sanskrit periphrastic perfect, which was made in its earliest use by prefixing the accusative of a derivative abstract noun (in *-ām*)<sup>1</sup> to the perfect tense of the root *kr̥*- 'to make,' e. g. *gamayām cakāra* (AV.). This accusative of the abstract noun must have become quite fossilized to allow of its later composition with the perfects of the roots *as*- and *bhū*- 'to be'; in composition with the former of which it became practically a 'word-unity' like the O. C. Sl. imperfects *vidě-achū děla-achū*; for example, *sāntvayāmāsa* 'he hushed, soothed' (M. Bh. Nala x 3).

I should mention, however, that Brugmann (Gr. II, §896, rem.) regards all these forms—Latin, Sanskrit and O. C. Sl.—as instrumentals.

The primitive nominal infinitive we may probably find also in such expressions as *i-licet sci-licet vide-licet* (which are not shortened forms from *ire-licet*, etc.) = 'the going, the knowing, the seeing is lawful.'<sup>2</sup>

If Brugmann may adduce evidence from the ROMANCE languages to support his explanation of the Latin pass. infin. in *-ier* (v. supra), the same course is open here to me as well. In the Romance languages we find the future indic. formed by an infinitive governed as object by *habeo*, e. g. French *aimerai* (Old French *amerai*), Italian *amerò*, Spanish *amaré*, from Latin *amare habeo*; French *chanterai*, Italian *canterò*, Spanish *cantaré*, from Latin *cantare habeo*. We also find in Spanish and Provençal the two parts separated, and not yet fused into an inseparable unity (cf. Max Müller, *Science of Lang.*, vol. I, p. 267), e. g. in Spanish, instead of *lo haré* 'I shall do it,' we find the more

<sup>1</sup> Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* 426 f.

<sup>2</sup> This primitive infinitive is to be found also in the future infinitive in *-turum* (where, however, the infinitive is purely verbal, having lost its original nominal signification), e. g. *dicturum* from *dictū + erum* (= Umbr. *erom*, Osc. *ezum* 'to be'). This theory of Dr. Postgate (*Cl. Rev.* V 301) is accepted by Brugmann (Gr. II, §900).

primitive form *hacer lo he*, i. e. *facere id habeo*; and in Provençal *dir vos ai* instead of *je vous dirai*, *dir vos em* instead of *nous vous dirons*. *Habeo* governing an infin. as its object is not rare in Latin, e. g. Cic. pro Rosc. Amer., c. 35 *habeo etiam dicere, quem . . . de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit*; id. Epp. ad Att. II 22, 6, Epp. ad Fam. I 5; Varro, R. R. I 1, 2; Livy, XLIV, c. 22 *Illud affirmare pro certo habeo, audeoque*; Sil. I 16, 209 *Quare age, laetus habe nostros intrare penates* (v. l. *ave*); Valer. Flacc. I 1, 671; Tertull. de habitu mulier. 1, Apolog., c. 37; Lact. IV 12, 15; 18, 22; 30, 2.

5. Having thus endeavoured to prove that there is no real objection to the theory that the suffix *-do-* governs the first element of the compound as an object, let us return to *edum*. We have thus *edum* + *do-*, whence *edundo-*, + nominative masculine suffix *s*, whence *edundus*, and the change of *-undus* to *-endus* would be on the analogy of the present participle *edens edent-*. This theory will (just as well as Brugmann's theory) suit Oscan and Umbrian quite well on phonetic grounds, for *-nd-* becomes *nn* in Oscan, e. g.

úpsa nnam 'operandam.'

sakrannas 'sacrandas,' Rh. M. 45, 1.

eehiianasúm, of uncertain meaning, Rh. M. 43, p. 557 f., I, with *n* instead of *nn*, as in Umbrian *pihaner* 'piandi.'

and *n* in Umbrian:

*anferener* 'circumferendi.'

*pihaner* 'piandi.'

Next as regards the *meaning* of the gerundive so derived. It may be asked why we have parallel forms such as

*timi-du-s*    *timen-du-s*  
*horri-du-s*    *horren-du-s*  
*tumi-du-s*    *tumen-du-s*  
 etc., etc.

The answer to this objection is, that forms like *timidus*, etc., became already in Primitive Ital. regarded in the 'Sprachgefühl' so entirely as simple adjectives that they lost all connection with the original verb from which they came, and hence also in Primitive Ital. a new form destined to remain in connection with the verb and capable of governing a case like the verb *finite* had to be coined, and it was coined by means of the same suffix as the earlier form, hence *timendu-s* : *timi-du-s*.



*Edendus*, if my theory be right, will mean 'giving (or, if from  $\sqrt{dhē}$ -, 'making, causing') the act-of-eating.' Thus *cibus est edendus* 'food is giving (causing) the act-of-eating,' i. e. 'the food may (must) be eaten.'

Roby (Latin Gr. II, p. lxxiv) mentions "two points, which, though certainly not conclusive, seem to afford some confirmation of the view, that the passive sense of the gerundive is really due to an attraction and not to any original passive meaning." His first point is that the agent with the gerundive is regularly expressed by the dative, whereas the agent with passive verbs is regularly expressed by the ablative with *ab*. The uses, it is true, do overlap, but only very slightly. He gives the statistics on pp. lxxiv and lxxv, and adds that in most cases where we find the agent after the gerundive expressed by the abl. with *ab*, the reason for the divergence from the ordinary construction is evident. It is in many cases due either (*a*) to a fear lest ambiguity should arise if the dative were used, or (*b*) to a desire to balance neighbouring clauses.

The second point to which Roby draws attention is that deponent verbs have the gerundive in full use just as much as other verbs. In none other of their forms have they a passive meaning, hence it is hardly likely that they have such a meaning in the gerundive.

Roby also shows that the use of some past participles of deponents, e. g. *testatus*, *meditatus*, etc., in both an active and passive sense, is far from parallel, for various reasons given on p. lxxvi.

Both these points which Roby mentions seem quite easily explicable by the theory which I have given of the origin of the gerundive:—

(*a*) The so-called 'dative of the agent after the gerundive' would turn out to be really an ethic dative, or better, 'dative of advantage,' after the idea of 'giving' in the suffix *do-*; e. g. *Aliorum iudicio permulta nobis et facienda et non facienda et mutanda et corrigenda sunt* (Cic. Off. I 41) 'In the opinion of others there are very many things which give (cause) us the doing, the non-doing, the changing and the correcting,' i. e. 'there are many things which we may or should do,' etc., i. e. 'which should be done by us,' etc.

(*β*) The deponent verbs may have a gerundive just as much as the active verbs. *Admirandus est* 'he gives a cause of wonderment,' the meaning is originally active, but it is obvious that

'he gives a cause of wonderment' is equivalent to 'he is to be wondered at.'

Next, to take an instance which does not fall under either (a) or (β), e. g. Oscan *trífbum ekak . . . úpsannam deded* (quoted above) 'he offered this building as giving or causing work,' i. e. 'gave this building to be worked or built.'

Thus, then, these forms in *-ndo-* were originally active, but from their use they shaded into a passive meaning, and hence came to be regarded as passives. The active meaning, however, is manifest in a few forms, all of which are intransitive.

*Volvendus* 'rolling,' or more literally 'giving a roll,' i. e. 'allowing of a roll,' occurs frequently, e. g. *plumbea glans longo cursu volvenda calescit*, *Lucr.* 6. 177; *secundus* 'that which gives the act of following,' hence 'following.' Cf. also *oriundus*, *iucundus* 'that which gives or allows pleasure,' hence 'pleasant'; cf. *Roby*, *Lat. Gr.*, p. lxxviii: "Though some of these (e. g. *oriundus*, *secundus*, *jucundus*) have become mere adjectives without any special verbal use, the meaning of a present participle appears clearly to be the original meaning with all. And this participle was not passive. The only words which could suggest a passive meaning are *volvendus*, *oriundus* and *rotundus*. But in the case of *volvendus*, Vergil has negated the necessity of the supposition by putting *volventibus annis* (*A.* 1. 234)<sup>1</sup> by the side of *volvendis mensibus* (*ib.* 269); and Lucretius speaks of *volventia lustra* (5. 931) as he does of *volvenda aetas* (*ib.* 1276); *oriundus* is from a deponent (comp. also *oriens*), and *rotundus* may be compared to *rotans* in Vergil's *saxa rotantia late Impulerat torrens* (*A.* 10. 362)."

That my translation of *volvendus*, etc., 'giving a roll,' etc., as applied to the substantive with which *volvendus*, etc., are in agreement, and as equivalent to 'rolling,' is perfectly defensible is shown by the frequent use of *dare* in this way in Lucretius, e. g. II 311 *dat motus* = 'facit motus, movetur'; II 1149 *dabunt labem putrisque ruinas* (said of the things themselves falling to ruin); and similarly V 347 *darent cladem magnasque ruinas*; cf. also *dare pausam* = 'facere pausam, cessare.' Vergil also uses *dare* thus, e. g. XII 575 *Dant cuneum* = 'They make themselves into a wedge.'

According to Max Müller (*Science of Language*, 2d series, p. 224), it is possible that here we have a trace of the  $\sqrt{dh}$ . On this point v. *supra*. Compare the English expressions 'give a cry, a laugh, a shout, a cough, a start, a leap, a jump, a shudder,'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *περιτελλομένων ενιαντών*.

which simply mean 'cry, laugh, shout, cough, start, leap, jump, shudder,' as referring to the subject of the verb in question. We may add also Gk. *ἐλ-ο-μαι* from \**Feλ-o-* (beside Lat. *vel-le*) 'give a wish,' whence 'wish'; *μει-δω* (beside Skr. *smāy-a-te*) 'give a smile,' whence 'smile'; etc. (vide Brugmann, Gr. II, §695).

As regards the form of words like *rotundu-s*, *rubicundu-s* I would agree with Brugmann in his second theory (v. supra).

6. Having thus explained the gerundive both as to form and meaning, we are now in a position to examine the gerund. The gerund probably did not arise until such time as the infinitive had lost its use as a substantive, and had come to be used as essentially part of the verb. To supply the need thus created, the neuter singular of the gerundive was employed as an abstract substantive, both with the inherent meaning of the gerundive and also with the original meaning which the infinitive, whose place it was to fill, had while it was still a substantive, viz. *the abstract idea of the meaning indicated by the root of the word itself*. Like the gerundive, it is originally active in meaning; thus, *edendum est* 'there is an eating,' i. e. 'one may eat'; *eundum est* 'there is a going,' i. e. 'one may go'; *vir ad agendum idoneus* 'a man fit for doing'; *Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed saepe cadendo* (Lucret.) 'The drop hollows the stone not by its violence, but by often falling.' Again, to take an example of a gerund with a case after it: *Domino est parendum* 'There is an obeying the lord,' i. e. 'the lord should be obeyed.' In all these we may still see the force of the *-do-* by translating literally, e. g. 'there is a giving (or causing) the act-of-giving,' i. e. 'one may or should go'; likewise 'a man fit for a giving-the-action,' i. e. 'for a chance of acting.'

The notion that the gerund is passive as well as active is based on its use in sentences such as e. g. (1) *anulus subter tenuatur habendo*, Lucretius 1. 312; (2) *equi ante domandum ingentes tollunt animos*, Verg. 9. 3. 206; (3) *cibus facillimus ad concoquendum*, Cic. Fin. 2. 28. But these are explicable in the same way: (1) 'A ring is worn away by giving or allowing the holding,' or by the abstract idea of 'holding,' which is indefinite—neither active nor passive; (2) 'Horses before "taming" or "before the giving a chance to tame" raise their spirits high'; (3) 'Food very easy for giving thorough cooking.' With regard to the first instance, 'anulus subter tenuatur habendo,' taken in conjunction with the above-quoted 'Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed saepe cadendo' (also Lucretius), it may be worth while to compare

Ovid, p. 4, 10. 5 *Gutta cavat lapidem, consumitur anulus usu*, obviously a reminiscence (or a plagiarism) of Lucretius. Ovid thus uses the abstract word *usu* as equivalent to the *habendo* of Lucretius, thus showing how easily the gerund, though originally active both in form and meaning, could nevertheless shade off into an apparently quasi-passive meaning.

7. It will be well to add the possibility (pace Brugmann) that, after all, the gerund was the earlier formation, and the gerundive the later. It is true that we find no instance of the gerund in the Umbrian-Samnite monuments; but they are scarcely sufficiently extensive to enable us to assume therefrom that the gerundive was *necessarily* the earlier formation of the two. Moreover, as mentioned above, the gerund is more frequent than the gerundive in Early Latin.

My explanation of the form will fit equally well with this view.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e. g., the gerund *agendum* would have been formed as a substantive with the meaning 'that which gives action,' or more abstract still (as it was to take the place in Latin of the vanished infin. in *-m*), 'action.' Then to *agendum* was built the adjective *agendus* = 'giving action,' which may have arisen originally from cases where *agendum* was the predicate, e. g. *hoc est agendum* 'this is a thing giving (or causing) action,' where *agendum* was misunderstood as an adjective.

Again, take a deponent verb *admirandum est* 'it is a wonder,' whence *admirandus est* 'he is a wonder,' i. e. 'wonderful.'

It may be said that this explanation falls to the ground because in Umbrian-Samnite these Prim. Ital. infinitives in *-m* survive, and that therefore no gerund was needed to take their place as in Latin. *But they do not survive with their primitive meaning of abstract nouns*; they have become thoroughly incorporated in the verb-system, and show no trace of their original meaning as substantives; and therefore there is no reason why a gerund should not have existed in Umbrian-Samnite, even though we have none actually preserved to us in the surviving monuments.

However, all said and done, I still adhere to my former view that the gerundive was the earlier formation of the two.

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<sup>1</sup> Or, inasmuch as there is nothing to show the original quantity of *-dum* on this theory, it might therefore be itself an infinitive = *\*da-om*, *\*dha-om*, etc., but still governing the first member of the compound as its object.

## NOTE.

### THE LATIN GERUNDIVE -*ndo*-.<sup>1</sup>

This formation is explained in the handbooks before me as follows: 1st, as indirectly, that is to say, by an unusual phonetic, connected with the Greek suffix *-μενο-*. Accordingly it is assumed that the original meaning of the future participle of obligation is that of a simple passive participle (cf. V. Henry, *Gr. Comp.*, §137).

2d. Brugmann, in his *Vergl. Gram.* II, §69, equates *-ndo-* with a suffix *-ino-* after vowels (A. J. P. VIII 441-7). This was based on the use of the same suffix in Lithuanian as a participle of necessity.

3d. Brugmann abandons this view in §1103 and makes the form an infinitive in *-m* (accusative) plus a postposition *do* ('to').

The objections to the first view lie in the defective phonetic, and a strained sematology. Brugmann abandons the second view because there is nothing necessarily Aryan in the Lithuanian suffix *-tinās*. The third view is based on the assumption that the formation is specifically Latin, and must fall to the ground as soon as an Aryan connection is made good.

This I now attempt to do. I begin by insisting on the syntactical relation of the gerund and gerundive—a dat. gerund + acc. object may become a dative of both gerundive and governed noun. Now this phenomenon meets us in the Sanskrit dative infinitives, that the object noun is attracted into the dative case. Such a marked correspondence ought not to be accidental.

What is the infinitive in *°dhyāi*? Brugmann (§1088, 9; 1089, 12), following Bartholomae, explains *°dhyāi* as a dative to a noun from the root *\*dh̥*, whose weakest stage is *dh-*. Accordingly the form *Feideσ-θai* is explained as an acc. (loc.?) of the root-noun *\*Feides* + a root-infinitive *\*dh̥i* = 'for putting,' ∴ = 'for putting into knowledge.' The subsequent division *Feideσ-θai* was a very natural popular etymology.

<sup>1</sup> Professor FAY's note on the Gerundive was written in January last, and came into the Editor's hands only two or three days after Mr. HORTON-SMITH's essay on the same subject had been sent to the printer. It is needless to emphasize the interest of the coincidences and differences of the simultaneous research along the same lines.—B. L. G.

With the details of this explanation I do not entirely agree, though accepting its substance. We should expect in Greek  $^{\circ}\theta_{ai}$ , not  $^{\circ}\sigma\theta_{ai}$ . This confusion crept in from 2d sg. act.  $^{\circ}\sigma\theta e$ , by which 2d plur.  $^{\circ}\sigma\theta e$  was affected, for the distinction of number breaks down entirely in the 2d person. It is possible that  $-\sigma\theta-$  ||  $-\theta-$  crept in with the 1st plural  $-\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta a$  for  $-\mu\epsilon\theta a$ , by a popular interpretation of  $\mu\epsilon + \sigma\theta a$  'I and thou.' (Cf. the summary of my Studies in Agglutination in Proc. Am. Or. Soc. 1894.)

In this explanation we must observe that Grk.  $^{\circ}\theta_{ai}$  does not equal Sk.  $^{\circ}dhyāi$ , a dative from a feminine stem in  $dh-i$  according to my explanation, but equals an Aryan  $*dhāi$ , a dative to a fem. in  $-ā$ , Sk.  $*dhā$ . So we have in the root-noun  $jā$  a dative (fem.)  $jē$ , but an infinitive-dative ( $prati$ -) $māi$ , ( $parā$ -) $dāi$ . An infinitive  $*dhāi$  is every way justified. To a typical infinitive  $yājadhyāi$  we can assume (as must be assumed for the Greek infinitive above) a by-form  $*yajadhāi$ .

It was seen in  $Feide\sigma-\theta_{ai}$  that we have a locative, or at any rate some terminal case in composition with  $^{\circ}dhāi$ . Now  $*yajadhāi$  may be a similar syntactical formation. Suppose we restore an Aryan  $*yajndhāi$  from  $yāj\eta n dhāi$ , a suffixless locative from an  $-en$ -stem? Now this corresponds precisely with a Latin type *legendae*, e. g. Sk.  $*bharadhāi = ferendae$ ; the form  $bhāradhyāi$  is in actual existence. The assumption of this locative to a stem in  $-en$  is most easy: Sanskrit uses datives from  $man$ - and  $van$ -stems as infinitives, and so does Greek; cf. the stock examples *vidmāne*:  $Fid\mu\epsilon\nu ai$ ,  $dāvāne$ :  $\delta\acute{o}F\epsilon\nu ai$ . Greek further shows forms in simple  $-en$ -stems, e. g.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\nu$  and other Doric forms (cf. Boisacq, *Les Dialectes Doriens*, p. 201). Whitney explains the Sk. infinitives in  $-sani$  as locatives of  $-en$ -stems to roots increased by  $-s$ . Brugmann suggests that Grk. imperatives in  $-\sigma\nu$ , e. g. Syrak  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\sigma\nu$ , Att.  $\delta\epsilon\iota\phi\sigma\nu$  are infinitives. We can explain the Att.-Ionic pres. infin.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\nu$  as from  $*\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma i = Sk. bhārase$  (Wh., Gr.<sup>2</sup> 973 a), whence  $*\phi\epsilon\rho\eta$ ; and by association with  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$ , made the easier by the paragogic  $\nu$ , we reach  $*\phi\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$  and  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$ . According to this line of argument we must restore Sk.  $bhāradhyāi$  from  $*bherṇḍhyāi$  and Lat. *ferendae* from  $*bherṇḍhāi$ .

There is no reason, however, why we should not regard this form in  $-en$ - as an acc. to a root-noun, and this seems to me the better explanation.

The accentual conditions of the Aryan form seem not to have been fixed. We have in Sk.  $bhāradhyāi$  a strong stem

and the accent on the root. In Latin *ferundus* from *\*ferondus* we have the *e* and *o* grades in the position they would take most naturally in a rigid gradation, such as I have indicated for the perfects in my article in *Am. Jour. of Philol.* XIII 479. We also have Sanskrit types with weak roots and penultimate accents, e. g. *huvádhyāi*, where in a perfect gradation we ought to expect *\*huvándhyāi*. We have also strong roots with penultimate accent, e. g. *tarádhyāi*. We should expect for *tarádhyāi* an accentuation *\*taradhyāi*, representing an Indo-European *\*torṇ-dhyāi*. Now remembering that we have set up an origin out of a syntactical combination for this infinitive, we may reconstruct a combination *\*spāṣan dh(y)āi* = 'for putting in vision (i. e. seeing)' (cf. *tákṣ-an-*, Brug., *Verg. Gr.* II, §114), where each word has its own accent; in *\*ukṣán dhyāi*, however, after the combination became inseparable the accentuation might naturally become *\*ukṣándhyāi*; *\*táksṇ dhyāi*, on the other hand, gave *\*táksa-dhyāi*, and these types remained after *\*ukṣándhyāi* had become *\*ukṣádhyāi* to correspond with *táksadhyāi*.

A trace of the double accentuation may still be found, perhaps, in Sanskrit. At a time when they still said *\*táksṇ dhyāi*, and very possibly *\*táksṇ dhé* from *\*dhāi* (cf. *supra*), the infinitive *étave* acquired an analogical by-form *étavāi*, fashioned after *\*táksṇ dhyāi* and endowed, like it, with two accents; now when *\*táksṇ dhyāi* was later affected by *\*ukṣándhyai*, as assumed above, *étavāi* retained its analogical accent after its prototype had lost the same. No other explanation so well accounts for the puzzling double accent.

Lat. *ferendae* may represent an Indo-European *\*bhérṇḍhai*, Sk. *bhāradh(y)āi*, or a possible accentuation *\*bharṇḍhāi*, a type of formation testified to by Avestan, and possibly by Greek. In Sanskrit the infinitive always appears as *-a-dhyāi*. In Avestan *-dyāi* is generally added directly to the root (*Kanga, Avest. Gram.*, §566); sometimes the termination is *-a-dyāi*, as in Sk., used sometimes with a tense-stem, giving *-a-* the appearance of being a thematic vowel. This is also true in Sanskrit (*Wh.*<sup>3</sup>, §976). Bartholomae (*Alt-ir. Dial.*, §352) cites the form *ver'ndyāi*, in which he ascribes the *n* to the *nā*-class present stem. With this we must compare Vedic *pr'nádhyāi* :  $\sqrt{pr} < n >$ . We see that the formations are not identical. We ought instead to compare *ver'n-d-yāi* with Lat. *volen-d-i*.

In Greek also traces of this formation are to be found. The form *πεφάνθαι* (Plato) is too late to claim for primitive type, though if we put Vedic *vāṇṛdhādhyāi* beside it we might ascribe it to a primitive *\*be-bhṇ-n-dhāi*. We may, however, give a typical character to *Μελανθεύς* || *Μελάνθιος*, *Μελανθώ*, son and daughter of *Δολίος* (ρ 212, σ 322). I define by 'servitor': *μελω* 'care for,' and compare Lat. *mereo* 'serve.' In Greek there is variation between ρ and λ—*μέριμνα* : *μελέδημα* 'anxiety.' *Μελανθεύς* was a sort of general-purpose servant—a goat-herd by profession (ι 1 times), he acts as butler (υ 255) and fire-maker (φ 176, 181). The notion that *Μελανθεύς* was by origin a common rather than a proper name finds support in its double form, -*θεύς* being, as it were, an individualization of -*θιος*, and in its having a feminine -*θώ*.

This argument becomes stronger when we consider the name of the father *Δολίος*,<sup>1</sup> who was a *δμῶς* ('domestic') Penelope had brought from her father's (δ 736); his sons got ready the meal in ω 412 (cf. Lat. *merenda* 'meal').

In the -*ανθ*- of *Μελανθεύς* I see an -*ṇ*- + *dh*-, and explain -*αν*- (for -*α*-, i. e. *α*, from *ṇ*) as due to the conservatism of proper names (cf. Class. Rev. VII, p. 61).

In -*θιος* the kinship with -*dhyaī* || -*dhiyāi* is patent.

In accordance with the above explanation the aor. infin. in -*α<σ>θαι* might be explained for *ṇ* + <*σ*>*dh*-. This would lighten the rather overweighted analogical explanation of the σ-aorist in Greek. Only 1st sg. *σα* is strictly phonetic, for 3d plur. -*σαν* should be -*σα(τ)*.<sup>2</sup>

I have sought to justify phonetically the equation Latin *fer-end-ae* = Sk. *bhār-a-dh-yāi*; cf. Grk. *φέρε<σ>θ-αι*. I end with a comparison of the syntax of *ferendae* and *bhāradhyāi*.

It must be noted that Sanskrit does not always attract the acc. object of the infinitive into the dative: *tvāñ sñh vṛshann akṣṇor duṣṭārītu sāho vīgvasmāi sáhase sáhadhyāi* (RV. 6. 1. 1) = 'Thou

<sup>1</sup> *Δολίος* 'tricksy' is a form parallel to *δοῦλος* 'slavish,' from a stem *doiyo-* || *doliyo-*, a relation seen in *ἄλλος* : Lat. *alius*. The meaning 'slave' for *δοῦλος* was got by contrast to *ἐλεύθερος* 'outspoken, frank, free' (cf. Aesch. Pers. 593 *ἐλεύθερα βάζειν* with *δόλια ἔπεα*, ι 282); *κρητῆρα*—*ἐλεύθερον*, Z 528, has back of it somewhere the notion *in vino veritas*, and *ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ*, Z 455, compared with *δοῦλιον ἦμαρ*, ξ 340, lets us suppose a contrast of *ἐλεύθερα ἔπεα* with *δόλια ἔπεα* 'frank' opposed to 'guarded' ('tricksy') speech.

<sup>2</sup> In my Studies in Agglutination (supra l. c.) I explain the -*σα*- aor. as a feminine verb-form.



showest, hero, unsurpassable might for overcoming every force.' Cf. Sall.: *Lepidus arma cepit libertatis subvertendae* 'Lepidus took up arms to overthrow liberty'; *dviṣās tarādhyā ṛṇayā na iyase* (RV. 9. 110. 1) = 'As an avenger dost thou come to conquer our enemies'; *iusiurandum rei servandae, non per-  
dundae conditumst* (Plaut. Rud. 1374) 'the oath was seasoned to preserve and not destroy my stuff.' In the last Latin example *rei* may be a dative, and not a genitive; the first example shows that the genitive of characteristic, along with the indistinguishable gen. and dat. forms of 1st and 5th declensions, had shifted the Latin conception from a dative to a genitive. In the grammars I have at hand I find among the examples for this construction 16 feminines to 7 masculines, and register in the feminines 9 first- and fifth-declension nouns to 5 of other declensions. Sanskrit and Latin furnish similar examples for the construction with nouns or adjectives, e. g. *dādhr̥vir bhāradhyāi* = 'capable of bearing'; *referundae ego habeo linguam natam grātia* (Plaut.) 'I have a tongue was born (is fit) for showing gratitude.'

Touching the active and passive meanings of the Latin gerundive: if we assume for *bhāradhyāi* an original sense = 'for putting into bearing,' it passed at once into the notion 'for bearing.' Now if we say *natus est gratiae referundae*, we might also say *\*gratia [nobis] referundae est* = 'gratitude is [for us] for bearing,' passing at once into 'we must show gratitude.' The fact that the infinitive is of either voice at will ought now to be almost a commonplace. In RV. 10. 108 we have a pertinent example: the *Paṇis* have asked Saramā how she got over the river; she answers: *atiṣkādo bhiyāsā tān na āvat* = 'therefore (the river) helped me in fear of (my) leaping over,' or if we do not supply the notion 'my,' 'in fear of being leapt over.' The secret of the passive lies in an indefinite subject: *vivit* is a definite 'he lives,' *vivitur* an indefinite 'one lives.'

Sanskrit went through all the changes of Latin, but not with root-nouns. *rainadhā* || ā-, e. g., may be explained as *\*ratnm + dhā* 'present-giving,' and in respect of inflection it acts precisely as a gerundive would do; another common word is *vayo-dhā* 'strength-giving.' These are on just the same plane as *sec-undus* 'success-giving, favoring' (cf. L. and Sh., s. v. *sequor*, II, B. 5) and *fac-undus* 'fluent' (cf. L. and Sh., s. v. *facilis*, I, B. a), which a popular etymology has connected with *fā-ri*.

It is finally claimed for this explanation that it makes clear the form, the syntax, and the shift of meaning from active to passive, and accounts besides for the doublet *ferendus* and *ferundus*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A possible case of survival of *-ndae* in infinitive function lies before us in Epid. 74 Puppis pereunda est (BT) probe. Here the texts read *pereundast*. We might read *pereundae st*, but the scribe of B cannot be trusted to represent the original state of things, for though at Ep. 330 he writes *copia st* and at 702 *ea st*, at 60 he writes *sapientia est* for *ia st*.

With the reading *pereundae st* we can explain the active meaning of the gerundive, i. e. infinitive, by translating 'is for perishing.'

The same interpretation is applicable to Trin. 1159 placenda <e> dos quoque st = 'the dower is for pleasing too,' i. e. 'must please.'

We can add an additional specification to Brix's note on this vs.: "es stammt dieser Gebrauch aus einem Zeitalter her, das die Grenzlinie zwischen Verba transitiva und neutra noch nicht scharf gezogen hatte"—yes, we can put this usage in the Aryan period. Cf. RV. 10. 14. 2 *ndiṣṭā gḍvyutir dṛabhartavā u* 'this pasture is not for robbing' for an example in Vedic—in German *nicht zu rauben*. It makes no difference whether *mirabile dictu* be translated 'wonderful to tell' or 'be told.'

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.** A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colors, with Notes by eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and America, edited by PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Part 17. The Book of Job, by C. SIEGFRIED. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1893.

**The Book of Job.** Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes by C. SIEGFRIED, Professor in the University of Jena. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. BRÜNNOW, Professor in the University of Heidelberg.

It is greatly to be regretted that, at the present day, not only the masses, but even persons of cultivation have, to a considerable extent, lost the habit of reading the Bible; the brilliant results of modern science appearing to possess greater attractions than the study of the Holy Scriptures. It is the more gratifying, therefore, that a generous American, whose name is withheld, desiring to aid in inducing a more general study of the Bible, has contributed a considerable sum of money towards the realization of this object. A fitting head for this great enterprise has been found in the person of Prof. Paul Haupt, who, for more than ten years, has been engaged in active work as professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore, and who, in 1890, organized the undertaking. The plan of the work includes a new translation into English and German of the whole Bible, both of the Old and New Testaments, embracing the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. The English translation is to appear first. In addition to the translations a new critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is to be brought out, accompanied by brief textual notes. The advisability of this plan is obvious. It is the part of each contributor to prepare, by the critical treatment of the text assigned to him, the basis of his translation; while readers of the translations need not be troubled with philological explanations, intelligible only to specialists.

"The Hebrew text," says the prospectus, "shall be the exact counterpart of the English translation. If a translation is based on a departure from the Masoretic text, this deviation must appear in the Hebrew text. If a transposition has been made in the translation, it must also be made in the Hebrew text. The latter shall represent the reconstructed text from which the translator has made his translation. The emendations must, therefore, appear in the text, and the Masoretic reading in the notes appended."

The editor has secured the services of a number of eminent scholars for his enterprise. Nine American, fourteen English, twelve German and one Australian scholar are contributors: the only Dutch contributor, Prof. A. Kuenen, of Leyden, has since died, and his place has been taken by Dr. M. Jastrow, Jr.,

of Philadelphia. Another contributor, Prof. Aug. Müller, of Halle, whose early death is deeply to be lamented, had sent in his contribution ready for the press.

The contributors are expected to apply to the Sacred Books the same principles of criticism that prevail in the domain of classical philology, and the plan, briefly outlined, is as follows:

1. The various books of the Bible are to be faithfully and clearly rendered on the basis of a text, completed in accordance with all the resources of modern science. "The translation should be 'literal' in the higher sense of the word, i. e. render the sense of the original as faithfully as possible. It is unnecessary to endeavor to give one English word for one Hebrew, or to conform to the Hebrew laws of syntactical construction. The object of the work is not a revision of the A. V., but a new translation in modern English."

2. The contributors are to explain, so far as possible, the origin and composition of the books assigned them.

3. The attempt will be made to render the text more intelligible to the reader, by means of brief historical and archaeological notes, paraphrases of difficult passages, citations of parallels (Biblical, classical and modern), as also by the use of maps and pictorial illustrations. Each contributor is responsible for his own share of the work. (Cf. the remarks of Prof. C. Budde, of Strassburg, in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, No. 20, 1893, pp. 494-7.)

As to the Hebrew text, "it should be left unpointed except in ambiguous cases; nor is it necessary to point all emendations adopted. Of course, where the emendation involves merely a departure from the Masoretic points, the vocalization must be supplied." Departures from the received text are indicated by diacritical marks, which enable the reader to see at once whether the deviation has the authority of an Ancient Version, whether it relates merely to the Qêrê, or whether it is conjectural. Hopelessly corrupt passages are not received into the text, but indicated by points, while asterisks mark lacunae in the original. The various diacritical marks adopted by the editor are very ingeniously devised, and another excellent feature is the employment of colors, to designate the sources, in books of composite structure, as, for example, the historical books of the Old Testament, and especially the Book of Job, to which we will now turn.

The first number of the new series, which has appeared, is the edition of the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, by Prof. CARL SIEGFRIED, of Jena, who, in connection with Prof. BERNHARD STADE, of Giessen, has recently published a Hebrew Dictionary of the Old Testament (Leipzig, 1893). A thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language, cautious and skilful use of previous writings, independence of judgment, conciseness of expression, great care in matters of detail—all these qualities, which are exhibited in all former works of Prof. Siegfried, are to be found in no less degree in the present one. The accuracy and conscientiousness of the author appear throughout, and even those who do not always agree with his conclusions will admit that his edition is the result of careful research, and contains many valuable suggestions. In the new critical edition of the Book of Job, the Hebrew text is arranged in the following order (cf. p. 49): chapters 1-12; 13, 1-27; 14, 4. 3. 6. 13. 15-17. 1-2; 13, 28; 14, 5. 7-12. 14. 18-22; 15-19; 20, 1-15a. 23a. 15b-29; 21, 1-8. 11.

10. 9. 12-34; 22-24, 8. 10-25; 26, 5-14. 1-4; 27-28; 29, 1-6. 19-20. 7-11. 21-23. 12-13. 15-17. 24-25. 14. 18; 30, 1-24. 26-31; 31, 1-20; 30, 25; 31, 21-23. 38-40. 24-37. 40c; 38-42; 32-37.

The following passages, being later interpolations, are relegated from the text and appear in the footnotes: chapters 4, vv. 10-11; 5, 1+6-7; 6, 10c; 8, 6b; 9, 21c; 10, 3a (partly) + 17c + 22c; 11, 6b + 7-9 + 12 + 14; 12, 3b + 4b + 6c + 11-12; 15, 19 + 25-28 + 30a; 16, 8c + 10-11 + 13a + 22; 17, 1 + 11-16; 18, 13a; 19, 25-26 + 27a. b; 21, 8a (partly); 22, 8 + 18; 23, 8-9; 24, 9; 27, 1; 28, 3c; 30, 1a (partly) + 2b; 38, 13b + 15; 39, 25c; 40, 15b; 41, 1-4; 33, 23b; 34, 18; 37, 6-8 + 12b + 23c.

The following passages, being *parallel compositions*, are printed in BLUE: 7, 1-10; 10, 18-22 + 22c; 12, 4-6 + 4c + 6c; 14, 1-2; 13, 28; 14, 5. 7. 8-12. 14. 18-22; 17, 11-16; 40, 6-42, 6.

The following passages, being *correcting interpolations conforming the speeches of Job to the orthodox doctrine of retribution*, are printed in RED: 12, 7-10. 13-25; 13, 1 + 12, 11-12; 21, 16-18; 24, 13-24; 27, 7-23.

The following passages, being *polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem*, are printed in GREEN: 28, 1-28 + 28, 3c, and the Elihu speeches (chapters 32-37), which are given in a special appendix.

A concordance is appended, facilitating reference to verses which appear in the new edition out of the traditional order.

We are not informed as to the principle followed by Prof. Siegfried in rejecting glosses, in restoring the original order, and in distinguishing the sources or amplifications of the original text, the explanation of all these points being deferred, in accordance with the general plan of the work, until the publication of the English translation. Siegfried's arrangement of the text differs considerably from that of Georg Hoffmann in his edition (*Hiob nach Joh. Georg Ernst Hoffmann*, Kiel, 1891). Siegfried has not referred to this edition, although in Siegfried and Stade's *Hebrew Dictionary*, Hoffmann is quoted several times; cf. e. g. *Lexic.*, p. 602 b, where פְּרָשׁ, Job 26, 9, is emended, with Hoffmann, into שְׁרָפ, in accordance with Job 36, 30. Siegfried has also quoted, in his notes to the edition of Job, pp. 30 and 34, G. Hoffmann's essay in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, and, pp. 34 and 44, his *Phönikische Inschriften*.

G. Hoffmann assumes, besides the original author, an author of the Elihu speeches and a reviser, who, after the insertion of the Elihu speeches—partly by transposing passages and partly by interpolating verses—endeavored to alter the sense of the book. He arranges the text of Job as follows (p. 7): Job 1-24, 12; Bildad 25. 24, 13-25; 26-27, 2-6; Zophar 27, 7-28, 28; 29, 2-31, 34. 38-40b. 35-37; 38, 1-13a. 14a. 16-22. 24-39, 30; 40, 15-41, 5-26; 40, 2-14; 42; Elihu 32, 1. 6-34, 1-22. 24-28. 23. 29-37; Reviser 27, 1; 29, 1; 31, 40c; 32, 2-5; 38, 13b. 14b. 15. 23; 40, 1; 41, 1-4.

The dialogue of Job has been recently (1892-93) critically treated by Prof. Bickell, of Vienna (cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VI 137-47, 241-57, 327-34; VII 1-20, 153-68). Siegfried was unable to make use of this work, as only two of Bickell's articles had appeared when his book went to press. The results reached in Bickell's essay, which is quite analogous to his treatise on Proverbs, are based on the assumption that the original

dialogue (except the eight-line speech of the Lord), as well as the Elihu speeches and the description of the two Nile-monsters, are composed throughout in four-line strophes, and that the Alexandrian translator of the book has not intentionally omitted anything which he found in his original. In accordance with these two principles, Bickell rejects everything not agreeing with the four-line strophe. In the following I give a survey of the text edited by him, the letter A in parenthesis referring to emendations of the text on the basis of LXX: 3, 2-26; 4, 1. 3-4. 6-21; 5, 1-2. 4-22. 24-27; 6, 1-6. 8-16. 19. 17. 22-30; 7, 1-7. 9-22; 8, 1-3. 5. 6*b-c* (A). 8. 10-22; 9, 1-8. 10-14. 15*b. a.* 17-22 (A). 23-24*a.* 25-28. 30-35; 10, 1*a. b.* 2-3. 4*b.* 5*b*-14. 15-17*a* (A). 17*b.* 18-21; 11, 1-3. 5-6. 8-9. 11-13. 15-16. 17*b. a.* 18-20; 12, 1-3*a.* 4*c* (A). 5-6*b.* 7-8. 10-17. 18 (A). 19*b*-22. 24-25; 13, 1-19*a.* 20*a.* 21-27*b. a. c. d.*; 14, 1-3; 13, 28; 14, 5*a-b.* 6-10. 12*a-b.* 13-17; 15, 1-5. 7-9. 11-13. 15-16. 18-22. 23*c*-24*a.* 25-26. 30*b*-35; 16, 1-4*b.* 5. 7 (A). 9. 10*b*-22; 17, 1 (A). 2*a.* 3. 5-11. 13-16; 18, 1-3. 4*b*-8. 9*b.* 11-14. 17*a.* 18*a.* 19*a.* 17*b*-19*b.* 15*a.* 20-21; 19, 1-3. 5-26. 27*c*-28*a.* 29*a-b* (A); 20, 1. 2*a* (A). 4*a* (A). 5-8. 10 (A). 15-19. 21-22. 23*b*-27. 29; 21, 1-7. 9-10. 8. 11-14. 16-17*b.* 18-20; 14, 21-22; 21, 22. 24-27. 34; 22, 1-11. 12 (A). 17-19. 21-23. 26-28; 23, 1-8. 10-13. 15-17; 24, 1-4. 25; 25, 1-3; 26, 12-13. 14*c-d* (A); 25, 4-6; 26, 1-2. 4; 27, 2. 4-6. 11-12; 28, 1-3*a.* 9*b*-10*a.* 11*b.* 20-21*a.* 22*b*-25. 27-28; 27, 7-10. 14-18*a.* 19*a.* 20; 29, 1-9. 11-17. 21-22; 30, 1-2. 8-11. 13. 14*b*-15. 17-18*a.* 19*b*-20*a.* 21. 22*b*-25. 26 (A). 27*b*-31; 31, 5-7*b.* 8-14. 23. 15-17. 19-22. 24-27. 29-37; 38, 1-18. 21. 19-20. 22-25. 29-31. 35. 37-41; 39, 1*b*-2*a.* 3*b*-4*a.* 5*a.* 6*a.* 7. 9-11. 19-26. 27*b.* 29*a*; 40, 2. 8-14; 42, 1; 40, 4-5; 42, 2. 3*c-d.* 5-6.

Tristichs: 24, 5-6. 7*b*-8. 10-11. 12 (A); 30, 4. 3*a.* 5-7; 24, 13. 18*b*-19. 20-22 (A). 23-24.

Elihu: 32, 6-10. 11 (A). 13. 14 (A). 18 (A). 19-22; 33, 1. 3-10. 12-15*a.* 15*c*-19*a.* 20*a.* 21-26*b.* 27*a.* 26*c.* 27*b*-28. 31*a*; 34, 1-2 (A). 5-6. 8-9. 10*b*-17. 18 (partly). 19. 20*b*-22. 24*a.* 25*a.* 26-27 (A). 34-37*a.* 37*c*; 35, 2-3. 5-7*a.* 10*b* (A). 11. 13-14; 36, 2-4. 5-6*a* (A). 12. 14-15. 6*b*-7*a.* 18-19. 21*a.* 22*b*-24. 27-28 (A). 33; 37, 1. 5*b.* 6*a.* 7-9. 11-12 (A). 14-17. 19-21*b.* 22*b*-24.

Nile-monsters: 40, 15-18. 20-21. 25-32; 41, 5-8. 10. 12-15*a.* 16 (partly). 17. 18 (A). 20*a.* 19. 20*b.* 21*b*-26.

A comparison of the above schemes will show how greatly the three editions of the text, which have appeared within the last two years, differ from one another. Bickell, who rejects more than 520 verses, and Siegfried are of opinion that the text of Job is very considerably interpolated. The latter assumes, in addition to the original author, an author of parallel compositions, and one who has endeavored to bring the speeches of Job into conformity with the orthodox doctrine of retribution. He considers the Elihu speeches to be interpolations, as against Stickel, Budde, Cornill and other scholars, and rejects from the text as still later interpolations 111 verses, and two portions of verses. Georg Hoffmann is much more conservative in assuming interpolations and in transposing individual verses. Which of these views will ultimately prevail the future must determine. When the LXX and the other versions have been systematically and accurately edited, it may, perhaps, be possible to obtain the original uncorrupted text of Job; for the present, however, attempts in this direction, though they may bring us nearer to a solution of the problem, can hardly settle the matter definitely.

In Siegfried's edition the text of the poetic portions of the book is printed in short lines and in two columns, the verses being divided. The whole is divided into sections in accordance with the sense. Siegfried has made no attempt to build up artificial and regular strophes, and has had no recourse to the metre in his reconstruction of the text. In this I believe he is entirely right. Our knowledge of Hebrew prosody stands as yet upon a very insecure basis, and it seems to me that great caution should be exercised here. In the department of classical philology the metre has, I am well aware, suggested many excellent emendations, and that this also holds true in case of the Avesta I freely admit. But when we remember the difference of opinion which prevails in regard to the metrical structure of the different portions of the Avesta—how one scholar takes to be metrical what another regards as prose, how one rejects as glosses not only words but whole sentences, while another feels himself at liberty to transpose and make additions as he pleases—we cannot be too cautious in the application of metre as a means of textual criticism. What I have said of the Avesta applies, *mutatis mutandis*, equally to the Book of Job. As Dillmann (Commentar zum Hiob, 4. Aufl., 1891, pp. xxiii–xxiv) rightly points out, there appears, in the Book of Job, a good sense of measure and symmetry in the structure of the whole, as well as in the individual parts. The short strophe, consisting in general of two members, each containing three or four words, is carried with great art through all the poetic speeches of the book. The speeches are constructed in a similar artistic manner: in each of them may be perceived a regular strophic structure, sometimes (e. g. chap. 3, 30) specially indicated. But nothing more than the greatest possible evenness of structure can be asserted. In some of them, especially in the shorter speeches, the structure is perfectly (chap. 8, 11. 26) or nearly (chap. 18, 30) even: in most of them, especially in the longer speeches, the scheme changes in accordance either with the subject (e. g. chap. 38 ff.) or the tone. Other very striking changes may depend upon a corruption of the text, but to explain them all upon this ground, and correct the text accordingly (Merx), is as indefensible as the correction of all verses which may appear too long or too short (Bickell). In this opinion of Dillmann's I entirely coincide.

In regard to verbal criticism, Siegfried has carefully consulted and judiciously used the works of his predecessors, especially the excellent edition and translation by Prof. Merx, which, published in 1871, was the first scientific recension of the Book of Job, and is still a most valuable book. In adopting the conjectures of other scholars, Siegfried displays great judgment and tact. To cite a few examples: Job 6, 8, שְׁאֵלֹתִי, in the first hemistich, corresponds to תִּרְיָנִי, in the second. The latter word does not suit the parallelism, and therefore Merx did not hesitate to admit into his text the conjecture תִּרְיָנִי, which had previously been suggested: Siegfried, with critical tact, follows his example. 5, 3, Merx, on the basis of LXX: καὶ ἐρρωθῆ, and אֲבָרָא, emends the traditional וְאֶקֶב into וְרָקַב, and Siegfried exhibits fine taste in adopting this emendation. 33, 13, Siegfried adopts the suggestion of Hitzig and Dillmann in reading רִבְרִי instead of רִבְרִי. The change is here inconsiderable, for, as Dillmann says (Comment., p. 285), the older forms of ר and ר are very similar, and it is possible in no other way to obtain a sense which suits the context. Cf. Hitzig, Das Buch Hiob, etc., p. 245. On the other

hand, I feel inclined to support, against Merx and Siegfried, the ancient reading וְיִקְלֹל. Siegfried reads here, with Geiger (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 267 ff.), וְיִקְלֹל, and states that the correction is due to religious reasons. I believe that Dillmann is right when he says (*Comment.*, p. 5) that in this passage there is no question of cursing, but of careless forgetfulness of God through intoxication of the senses. The sons of Job were entirely absorbed in worldly pleasures, and paid no heed to God; or, as the German saying runs: "sie liessen Gott einen frommen Mann sein."

The frequent alterations made by Siegfried in the very corrupt text of Job are, in general, simple and judicious. Thus, he reads the Kēthlb instead of the Qērē: 2, 7; 6, 2, 29; 7, 1; 16, 16; 21, 13; 24, 6; 26, 12, 14; 31, 11, 20; 39, 12, 27; 40, 17; 42, 2; 33, 21. In other passages he prefers the Kethlb to the Qērē, e. g. 7, 5, 35; 14, 5; 15, 22; 26, 14; 38, 11, 12; 42, 10, 16. The pointing is changed in the following passages: 5, 27, where Siegfried, in accordance with LXX: ἀαγκάμεν, points שְׁמַעְנָה; 6, 18, 25; 8, 3, 7; 9, 17; 10, 20; 16, 21; 17, 9; 18, 12, 18; 20, 20, 23b, 25; 22, 12, 21; 24, 12; 27, 19; 28, 15; 31, 32; 32, 11; 36, 17, 28; 38, 32; 41, 7, 25. Numerous emendations have been made and adopted by Siegfried, in accordance with LXX readings, e. g. 4, 16; 5, 5; 6, 4, 13, 25, 27; 8, 13, 17; 10, 8; 11, 17; 12, 2, 4; 14, 10; 15, 8; 16, 6, 11, 20, 35; 17, 6, 7; 18, 2, 3, 5; 19, 13, 29; 20, 2, 4, 18, 19, 20, 23; 21, 2, 3, 10, 13; 22, 9, 11, 12, 19, 29, 30; 23, 3, 4, 11, 12; 24, 2, 5, 16, 25; 25, 3; 27, 13; 28, 13; 29, 4, 24; 30, 18, 22; 31, 32; 33, 7; 34, 36; 38, 10, 20, 24; 41, 24.

The Syriac Version has also been frequently made use of for the emendation of the Hebrew text. Cf. 26, 12, where Siegfried, in accordance with נער and LXX: κατέπαυσε, changes נער to נער; 42, 6, אֶמְסָא is changed, according to חפר to אשתות; 39, 21, יחפרו, according to חפר, to יחפר; 18, 8, בַּעֲקָב, according to בַּעֲקָבָה, to בַּעֲקָבָה; 18, 12, לִצְלָעוֹ, according to לְתוֹלְדוֹתָהָ, to לְצִאֲתָיו; 21, 4, הָאֲנֹכִי, according to אמר, into האמר; 5, 11, יִשַׁע, according to Syro-Hex.: בִּישַׁע, to בִּישַׁע. All these emendations give evidence of the author's extensive and thorough knowledge both of Hebrew and the cognate languages, of the conscientious study which for many years he has devoted to Hebrew literature, and of his great acuteness. So also his conjectures, of which the following may be mentioned: 11, 18, אֶל־יִאֲמֹן בְּפִשֶׁת נְתַעְבָּה, in accordance with the parallelism וּבְטַחַת; 15, 31, מִנְעֻרָיו וְדִלְתִּיהוּ, 31, 19, 3, תַּחֲבֵרֹו לִי; 23, 17, נִצַּפְנִתִי; 28, 4, בַּעֲפָר; 31, 18a, אִמָּה; 34, 33, נְשִׁלֹּמִים; 40, 20, נְהָרִים; 41, 24, לְשִׁבְלִיו. See also 8, 17; 12, 21, 23; 15, 30, 31; 16, 15; 17, 10; 18, 8; 19, 17, 20, 23, 28; 20, 11, 26; 22, 20, 23; 23, 3, 13, 17; 24, 4, 18, 24; 27, 8, 23; 29, 10, 13; 34, 14; 38, 9; 39, 30; 40, 19, 24.

The clear print and magnificent get-up of the book deserve special commendation, and reflect great credit upon the publisher.

In conclusion some *errata* may be noticed, which Prof. Siegfried will not, I hope, take in the light of captious criticism, but rather as evidence of close reading. 6, 4 read יִשְׁקֹנוּ instead of יִשְׁקֹנוּ; 6, 8, תֹּאוֹתִי instead of תֹּאוֹתִי; 10, 20, מַעֲט instead of מַעֲט; 30, 10, רַחֲקִי instead of רַחֲקִי; 33, 7, תַּכְבֵּד instead of יַכְבֵּד. In the notes read p. 38, 12, l. 4 הָרָבָה; p. 41, 15 r. 16 נִצַּפְנִתִי.



Prof. Siegfried's valuable work merits the highest praise; and hoping that the English translation may soon follow, I wish the whole enterprise God-speed.

JENA, January, 1894.

EUGEN WILHELM.

The Epistle of St. James: the Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes and Comments, by JOSEPH B. MAYOR. Macmillan & Co., 1892.

This book will be compelled to *make* its friends. The prepossessions started by the known scholarship of the author, and the renowned lucidity and precision of previous commentaries of similar exterior from the same publishers, meet with disappointment. Indeed, the mere fact that 468 octavo pages are devoted to an Epistle the text of which occupies less than seven in the edition of Westcott and Hort is ominously suggestive of the *μέγα βιβλίον κτέ.*; and the incipient apprehension is not allayed on finding that thirty pages are given to the question, Who were the Lord's 'brethren'? although discussions of it equally full and learned are acknowledged to be accessible. The robust good sense of the remarks about marriage (p. xxxiii sq.) will hardly compensate the average reader for the space they take; nor is he likely to be any more indulgent towards the wise lay sermons on 'respect of persons' in modern churches (p. 197 sq.), creeds (p. 202 sq.), pulpit tenure and the liberty of prophesying (p. 205 sq.), temptation (p. 175 sq.), regeneration (p. 186 sq.), and other topics treated at some length in the fifty pages given up to "Comment." Moreover, the 'Paraphrases' relegated to this section of the book he desiderates in the formal exposition.

But the reader's disappointment is not all occasioned by the circumstance that so much more has been given him than he expected. He wonders that an experienced teacher could bring himself to dislocate the text of the Epistle from the "Notes," and to print that text in separate verses although the Latin translations set over against it are printed in paragraphs. The practical embarrassment thus occasioned is augmented by the fact that the successive 'lemmata' of the Notes do not reproduce the Epistle in full. Further, the Greek text professedly followed in the main is that of Westcott and Hort; yet their careful attention to capitals, spacing and punctuation, as guides to the meaning, is disregarded. Indeed, the text as printed makes slight account of the niceties of scholarship: for example, the grave accent is used before a comma or before words quoted, in i. 27; ii. 3, 8, 10; v. 12; but the acute in i. 12; ii. 11 (*bis*), 20; iii. 2, 8, 17 (*ter*). And this trivial bit of heedlessness has caused the editor not only to misquote, but probably to misinterpret, Westcott and Hort in his Note on v. 12 (p. 156), as a comparison of their text at Matt. v. 37 will indicate. In ii. 17 the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* is omitted, in spite of the assertion on p. cliv that it is 'constant,' which assertion is itself too sweeping (covering, as it does, the *ς* in *οὕτως* also), as a reference to the N. T. Lexicon, pp. 421, 468, will show. In iv. 2 the reading *φουεύετε* is printed, but on p. 127 the reading *φθουείτε* is preferred (cf. too the Addenda, etc., p. xiii); in v. 20 *ψυχὴν* stands in the text (see also p. 244), but *ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* in the Notes (and p. clxii sq.); and in the first word of this verse the form of one reading is adopted, but the accent of the other. In fact, the

printing can hardly have received the author's supervision throughout: on p. 24, for example, there are six omitted accents and breathings, besides the dropping of a desirable comma after *προφήτας* in verse 10.

But leaving external matters, the reader as he examines the volume soon finds himself querying for what class it was specially intended. The annotations are studded with untranslated quotations in Greek and Latin, and introduce occasionally a line or two from the German, as though the book were designed for scholars; but an entire chapter of the Introduction is devoted to the "Grammar of St. James," and more than eleven pages of that to the Article, beginning with "the simplest use." The treatment, too, is far from confining itself to the Epistle in hand: of the illustrative examples adduced, one hundred or more are taken from other books of both the Old Testament and the New. The Essay contains many apt remarks, serviceable enough to a beginner, but wearisome to an advanced student; and if the latter reads on, hoping to receive an expert's judgment on some of the controverted points of New Testament usage, he gets but little satisfaction. Whether, for instance, the presence or absence of the article with *νόμος* affects the noun's signification is a question, we are told, which "has been often debated"; but in the cases where the Revised Version has inserted the definite article in rendering the anarthrous Greek, the only approach to a decision is that "perhaps" an ambiguous rendering would have been more 'exact' or 'correct' (p. clix); and when the reader thinks he has come upon an unequivocal expression of opinion (p. 83, bottom), on turning to the passage referred to (iv. 11, p. 138), he encounters the rendering 'a law' and a back-reference (to ii. 8) where he is told it may be "used for the law of Christ or of Moses." The similar question respecting *πνεῦμα* and *πν. ἅγιον* is barely glanced at on p. clxv, although the usage with *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* is incidentally treated in another connection, p. 84. Once more, we read that "The use of the article with *πᾶς* is the same in the New Testament as in ordinary Greek" (p. clxvi), in apparent oblivion of or indifference to such phenomena as exercise the expositors in Eph. ii. 21; Acts xvii. 26, not to speak of the Septuagint.

The same query, as to what readers the author had in mind, recurs on turning to the chapters which treat of the "Apparatus Criticus" and the "Bibliography." The definition of the term Lectionaries, the remark about the value of ancient versions in determining the text, the cursoriness of the description of the leading uncials, and the like, suggest primary regard to young students; but the unexplained use of such technical terms as palimpsest, recensions, Pre-Hieronymian, Pre-Syrian and Western texts, Alexandrian readings, etc., conflicts with the suggestion. Moreover, any reader might be perplexed to understand (p. ccxxiii) how Tischendorf's alleged over-estimate of cod. Sin. 'induced him to prefer an inferior reading' in iii. 5, 6; iv. 2, where the difference turns mainly on punctuation, although that manuscript, as the author tells us (not quite correctly), "is written continuously without stops."

The seven or more pages of Bibliography, too, with their occasional brief estimates and descriptions, would be a valuable aid to the inexperienced student, did not the author at one moment seem to presume in him an

expert's knowledge by contenting himself with the briefest designation, without place or date (e. g. Price, J., in *Critici Sacri*; Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae*, etc.), and the next moment give specifications of title, time and place, in the case of books familiar even to a tyro. The specifications given, too, are sometimes misleading, as though taken from the particular edition which happened to be at hand. Why, for instance, in the case of the late Dr. Lightfoot's Commentaries, should the date of the 10th edition (1890) of that on Galatians be stated, while the editions of Colossians and Philippians recognized were long ago superseded? Why attach the date 1842 to Bruder's Concordance and T. S. Green's Grammar, 1855 to Trench's Synonyms, 1866 to Westcott on the Canon, 1877 to Lightfoot's Clement?

A work which has furnished an avocation for years almost inevitably exhibits, besides the marks of deliberate and loving labor, some of those oversights and inconsistencies which beset studies prosecuted in scraps of time and varying moods. From such traces of oscitancy the book is not free. On p. clx, for example, we are told that "Buttmann is wrong," when the mistake is due to the author's inadvertently extending to *αὐτοῦ* (treated by Buttmann separately, §127, 20) a remark which the German grammarian expressly restricts to *ἡμῶν* and *ὕμῶν* (see §127, 21; p. 102 of the German, p. 116 sq. of the English translation). Again, p. 165, Lightfoot is associated with Alford in the assertion that *ἐνεργεῖσθαι* is never passive in the N. T., whereas he (like Fritzsche) expressly limits his statement to St. Paul's usage; nor does he imply that 'the active is exclusively confined . . . to the immediate action of a good or evil spirit'; so far from it, he himself (on Gal. ii. 8) cites one of the examples (Prov. xxxi. 12) adduced by our author in proof of the contrary.

Nor is Professor Mayor always careful to be consistent with himself. On p. 140, for instance, he says that *οἰτίνες κτέ.* (iv. 14) is in apposition with the preceding *οἱ λέγοντες* vs. 13; but in the text, p. 20, it is separated from what precedes by a colon and included within the parenthesis. On p. 141 he adopts the reading *ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος θέλῃ*, as he does in his text, p. 20; but on p. clxxix *ἐὰν [ὁ] Κύριος θέλῃ* (al. *θελήσῃ*). On p. cxvi he asserts "the absence of all allusion to Gentiles in the Epistle" (cf. pp. cxviii, cxx); on p. 95, "the supposition that the epistle is addressed principally to Jews." The phrase *καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης* is regarded as an echo of our Epistle both when it appears in Philippians i. 11 (p. xciv) and in Heb. xii. 11 (p. cii), but on p. clxiv its anarthrous form is ascribed to the fact that it is a 'proverbial expression' borrowed from the Old Testament (see also the Note on iii. 18). On p. li we are told that Clement of Rome calls Abraham *ὁ φίλος* "after St. James"; on p. 98 that Clement is "probably copying from St. James"; but even Professor Mayor's own quotation from Philo on the same page shows that the statement needs a still stronger qualification than "probably." On p. lxiv sq. four parallels to the language of our Epistle are adduced from Tertullian, three of which are marked as 'striking'; but on p. ccxxix the author seems to acquiesce in the opinion of Rössch and Bishop Wordsworth that the Epistle "is not cited at all by Tertullian" (yet see again p. 164).

But these and similar blemishes seem to be due to what is the gravest fault of the book: its ill-digested character. The multifarious accumulations of

many note-books appear to have been emptied into it somewhat promiscuously. Almost everything which a student of the Epistle can possibly desire is there, but it must be looked for; *ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐφραεστε* would be a not inappropriate motto for the volume. No reader—(or reviewer, either)—can safely infer from the fact that a topic is handled in one place, that he is possessed of the author's full views upon it. For instance, a separate chapter is given, as has been said, to the "Grammar of St. James"; but in the next chapter, professedly devoted to the "Style of St. James," the first nine pages are occupied with remarks on his inflexion, syntax and vocabulary—including a page or two on constructions he does *not* use—while elsewhere (p. 39) we incidentally gather the additional information that "St. James has a fondness for verbs in *-ίζω*"—of which a dozen are forthwith registered. Nor can it be inferred with assurance that a topic has not received due attention because it fails to be found where it might naturally be looked for. For example, the arrangement of words in the Epistle is discussed in the chapter on Grammar, not in that on Style. On p. clxxv, in the section on "Voices," *καθίσταται* (iii. 6; iv. 4) is despatched with the comment 'doubtful whether passive or middle'; but in the Note on iii. 6 (p. 107) the passive is argued for decidedly. On p. clxxii *εἰς τό* with an infinitive is said to be used "of reference" and "of result and purpose"; but on p. 59 a more discriminating statement is made with appended examples, and a discrepant opinion (covering forty-two Pauline passages) from Professor Abbott is subjoined in a footnote. No notice is taken of the anarthrous *χεῖρας* in the Note on iv. 8; but its use is duly commented on, and parallels given, on p. clxiii. The somewhat unguarded statements on p. 88 about *τὸ ἔλεος*, and its associates, repeat what is given more fully (though not quite exactly) on p. cliv. And the use of the book is made irksome by the absence of cross-references, or by their indefiniteness when given. See "Essay on Grammar" (the common formula in the Notes) is hardly a considerate way of referring to the contents of thirty-odd compactly-printed octavo pages.

Notwithstanding all this fault-finding, however, great injustice would be done to the book if its conspicuous merits were not emphatically acknowledged. It evinces in its author a combination of sacred and secular scholarship as unusual as it is admirable. Probably in no other part of Christendom could such a book have been produced by such a man. The reader is once and again surprised at a knowledge, both Biblical and bibliographical, which would do credit to a specialist. Occasional slips occur, to be sure—such as the identification (p. xlix) of the Peshitto with the old Syriac version, and the assignment of it to "the beginning of the second century" (yet cf. p. ccxxvii). Nor do we always find the firmness of handling expected from the professional critic (see the remarks on the readings in iii. 3; iv. 2), or the neatness and precision demanded of the practised exegete (witness the *locus vexatus* iv. 5 sq., where all the learned research of the Note will fail to give satisfaction to a reader with even Tischendorf's or Tregelles's text in hand, to say nothing of Westcott and Hort's with its margins, but will leave him wondering where the author gets his "for the entire devotion of the heart" as the convenient object after *ἐπιποθεῖ*—more careful is his rendering on p. xcvi; the apparent confusion of *εἶμι* and *γίνομαι*, i. 22; the statement, ii. 21, that "*δικαίω* is strictly to

make i. e. pronounce just"; the blending of two distinct interpretations of τῷ κόσμῳ, ii. 5; etc.).

Of the treatment given to the very delicate questions belonging to the Epistle's "Introduction" there is not space left to say more than that, in estimating its attestation, the author seems to forget at times two things: first, that the possible is not always the probable, nor the probable the certain; and secondly, that not all the connections between the early Christians were literary. Moreover, besides the impatient good sense that breaks out in such a passage as p. cxlviii sq., there is occasionally a loftier bearing (e. g. p. cxxx sq.) than is altogether becoming.

But with all its present imperfections the book is a valuable addition to exegetical literature, and may be heartily wished such prosperity as shall speedily call for its reconstruction, that it may thus be rendered more thoroughly helpful to students, and a yet more worthy memorial of an eminent scholar. As a trifling contribution to this end a few *corrigenda* are here set down: p. lxiv, the apparent clash between *Sol. in Psalm.* cxviii. 6 and the reference to the same passage on p. 87, note, should be avoided by giving the twofold notation of the psalm (as does Lommatsch); p. cxx, line 11, for misappropriate read inappropriate; p. clvii, line 13, for i. 12 read i. 11; p. clxiv, line 3, for v. 20 read v. 16; p. clxiv, line 9, for Amos vi. 2 read Amos vi. 12; p. clxviii, line 8, for 13 read iv. 13; p. ccxvii, for Sophokles read Sophocles; p. ccxviii, line 6, for Ultzen read ed. Ueltzen; p. ccxxiii, line 20 sq., for φλογίζομένη read φλογίζουσα; p. clxviii, line 3, p. 66, line 3, and p. 101, line 1, apodosis appears to be used for protasis; p. 72, line 22, for Ryle read Ryle and James; p. 72, line 6 from bottom, for Psalm. Sol. ii. 191 read Psalm. Sol. ii. 19; p. 84, line 15, for Luke i. 17 read Luke i. 72; p. 86, line 38, for p. 108 read p. 112; p. 138, the verse numeral 12 should stand before the preceding 'lemma,' viz. εἰς ἔστιν νομοθέτης; p. 153, line 7 from bottom, for Isa. xl. read Isa. xlv.; p. 155, line 37, for Plato, Rep. iii. 361 D read Plato, Rep. ii. 361 C.

J. H. THAYER.

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BRÖRING, *Quaestiones Maximianae*. Münster, 1893.

This little dissertation on Maximianus' Elegies (two articles on which were published by the present writer in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1884) sets itself to prove that the Eton MS, which is now acknowledged to be the best conservator of the text of the poems, cannot be followed implicitly, or with the unhesitating confidence which Petschenig, in his excellent edition of 1890, was inclined to extend to it. Some twenty years ago I made a complete collation of this MS; in 1883-4 I followed this up by an enlarged examination of several other English codices—two in the Bodleian, the others in the British Museum. In my articles printed in the *American Journal of Philology* I have maintained the general superiority of the Eton Codex to all the others known as yet, but that there are some places in which it is undeniably wrong. This view is now reinforced by Bröring, but by no means so strongly as it might have been; thus, as regards the instances selected, to take his first instance, I 11:

Saepe poetarum mendacia †carmina finxi,

why should the prevailing reading of other MSS, *dulcia*, be preferred? The young Maximianus, amongst his other accomplishments, was a poet, and wrote verses like the rest of the fanciful tribe.

Again, I 157, 158 is thus given in E:

Et me que dudum, que nulla aduersa nocebant  
Ipsa quibus regimur nunc alimenta grauant,

and in the excellent XI-XIIth-century Bodl. 38:

Et me quem dudum nulla aduersa nocebant,

whence the probable reading may be elicited

Et me quem dudum, quem nulla a. n.,

for Rönsch, *Itala und die Vulgata*, p. 441, proves that *nocere* was constructed with an accusative in the Latin of the Decadence. But if this is so, what becomes of the variants recorded on p. 15? They are interpolations and wrong, as is the re-constitution on p. 17.

The case is more complicated in I 239, 240:

Cumque magis semper iaceam uiuamque iacendo,  
Quis sub uitali computet esse loco?

So E, but Bodl. 38 has *iaceas uiuasque*, with an equally good sense. Yet as E has a preponderating weight, Petschenig seems to me right in retaining the 1st person. Petschenig also retains *computet* = *putet*, supporting this not over-choice Latin by two passages from a very late writer. I am obliged to demur here, for the whole of the verse is obscure, and the change *non putet* of the slightest. But all the MSS seem to support E in giving *computet*; and though the case is doubtful, Petschenig did right in following E *in toto*.

Bröring propounds the following:

Cumque magis semper iaceat uiuatque iacendo,  
Quis sub uitali non putet esse loco?

translating 'und wenn er immer mehr da liegt und so liegend sein Leben führt, wer sollte dann nicht glauben, unter einem Orte des Lebens, d. h. in der Unterwelt zu sagen?' Surely a very questionable meaning of *sub uitali loco*. A similar perverseness of interpretation occurs p. 21, in the line (I 271)

Tracta diu rabidi compescitur ira leonis.

Bröring, unable to stomach this *diu*, yet dissatisfied with Ommeren's *die* (and very reasonably), constructs *diu* with *rabidi*, against the natural suggestion of the passage. I have suggested in my *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 153, that *diu* in the v. of Maximianus and in Manil. IV 823 *Mutantur sed cuncta diu* means 'in longo ordine annorum': this is not certain, but the resemblance of the two passages is striking; whereas on Bröring's view *compescitur* either requires *per senium* to be supplied from the following v., or is too weak a word to stand by itself. The former alternative is that which he prefers; but it is against the ordinary practice of the poet.

I will now mention two passages where Bröring appears to me to have proved that E is at times wrong.

The most conspicuous case is perhaps V 59, where E has *uirilia*, other MSS *flagrantia*. A long syllable is required, and as Bodl. 38 gives *flagrantia*, the chances are that this is right. In V 79, 80, where E has *haec tamen ipsa*, B. makes it probable that *hoc tamen ipso* of BP (*hoc tamen ipse* Bodl. 38) is what the poet wrote.

But the cause of E is not promoted when our critic defends its reading in I 130:

Litibus haud rabidis comoda iura sequor

against *dura* of Bodl. 38 and most MSS; nor is it possible to believe that E has preserved Maximianus' line in II 64:

En uersus facio et †media dicta cano,

where Petschenig gives

En uersus facio et mollia dicta cano.

I venture to assert that nothing in the Elegies can be alleged at all so flagrant as a violation of prosody as this *media*, or so improbable as diction, as the meaning assigned to it by B. is 'mediocria.' The MSS, however, differ greatly in the various forms of this verse; and it will do no harm to call attention to a recognized difficulty.

Equally objectionable metrically is B.'s reading of III 53, which E gives thus:

Dicite et unde nouo correptus carperis aestu?

B. would omit *et*, asserting that the hiatus 'offensionem non habet.' An attentive reader of the Elegies will find that no equally harsh hiatus exists in them anywhere.

On the whole, the dissertation, though not without cleverness, can hardly be thought to have effected much for the criticism of Maximianus. Its chief value is the attention it calls to E, and to the fact, which emerges with tolerable clearness, that though E is much the best MS, it cannot safely be trusted alone.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Charaka-Samhita, translated into English, published by AVINASH CHANDRA KAVIRATNA. Calcutta, printed by D. C. Dass & Co., "Corinthian Press," 33 New China Bazar, and published at 200 Cornwallis street. (No date.)

The Hindu medical Çāstras are likely, in the immediate future, to advance into the foreground of Indological interests. The very important recent find of Lieutenant Bowers—the birch-bark MS discovered in the ruins of the ancient city of Mingai, near Kuchar, in Kashgaria—consists to a considerable part of medical materials, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of medical science in India. Drs. Bühler and Hoernle, the first decipherers and interpreters of the Bowers MS, agree in placing it at least 500 A. D. (see Hoernle, Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, April, 1891; Journal, vol. LX,

part I, nr. 2, pp. 139 ff.; Bühler, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, V, pp. 102 ff., 302 ff.). Even a preliminary survey of the Bowers texts revealed many striking general correspondences with the medical works of Suçruta, Caraka, and the Aṣṭāṅghrdaya, and, later on, Dr. Hoernle discovered not only parallels, but literal correspondences between the second medical text in the Bowers MS and the works of Caraka and Suçruta,<sup>1</sup> so that the comparative antiquity and correct tradition of the chief medical books can no longer be doubted.

Under these circumstances, translations of the larger medical treatises assume an unusual degree of importance, since they facilitate rapid survey and prepare the way for final critical interpretation. An English translation of Suçruta by a native Pandit, Mr. Udoy Chānd Dutt, has for some time been passing with stately slowness through the ever-welcome fascicles of the Bibliotheca Indica, and now another native scholar, Mr. Avinash Chandra Kaviratna, has undertaken, independently, a version of Caraka, of which five parts are in our hands. Mr. Kaviratna has had a prolonged experience in this type of literature, having previously edited, and translated into native vernaculars, both Caraka and Suçruta (Introduction, p. vii). The present translation bears evidence of a very extensive knowledge in this domain, of which 'all the works, if capable of being collected together, would fill a fairly large library.' The author offers an interesting theory to account for the extent of this literature. The basis of Hindu education has always been an extremely inexpensive boarding-school system. A guru, or teacher, has a few disciples whom he takes gratis: it is their duty to beg for him in the village, and somehow between them they manage to live. The teacher very frequently finds himself in the position to adapt his teaching to the personal equation of his particular group of disciples, and to compile abridgments of larger works and to embody his own experience for their benefit. He is thus led into authorship, and, if ambitious, he will before long desire to address the profession in general, through the medium of more pretentious compilations, or elaborate commentaries. But all these works receive from their authors fanciful poetical names and are foisted upon the literature as independent productions. Still, first and last, medical literature, in spite of all repetitions, evinces an astonishing range of observation, and here and there no mean therapeutic ability. The author believes that many diseases peculiar to India can be cured more effectually, cheaply and quickly by the aid of the intelligent native practitioner, relying on Caraka, than by pursuing Western systems of cure. Witness the following prescription for fever: "*Fast, sweating, time, gruel of barley, and decoctions of bitters, destroy all disorders and functional derangements in acute fever.*"

Mr. Kaviratna's work will not only be welcomed by Sanskritists, and of these especially by the students of the Atharva-Veda, and the house-customs (Grhya-sūtras); it will also be of great help to the students of the history of medicine, who will find this a source of information far superior to the antiquated, so-called Latin translation of Suçruta by Hessler (1844-50), or even to the much-consulted digest of Dr. Wise entitled 'Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine' (1860).

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

<sup>1</sup> See Jolly in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth,' p. 26.



## ETHIOPIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The accomplished librarian of the National Library at Milan has placed the learned world under a heavy obligation by the publication of his *Bibliografia Etiopica* (di G. Fumagalli; 8vo, ix + 288 pp.; Ulrico Hoepli, Milano, 1893). The work includes all publications relating to Ethiopia which have appeared since the invention of printing up to the close of the year 1891, and was compiled under the joint auspices of the Italian Geographical Society and the Society for the Commercial Exploration of Africa. The bibliography is classified, the titles being arranged under the following subject-headings: Bibliographies; Biographies of Travellers in Ethiopia and of Ethiopic Scholars; Voyages and Explorations; Geography and Statistics; Topographical Descriptions and Special Explorations; Cartography; Linguistics; Literature; History and Archaeology; History of Eritrea; Religion, Liturgy, and Native Legislation; Ethnography, Costume, and Folk-lore; Meteorology, Climatology, and Medicine; Fauna; Flora; Geology, Mineralogy, and Palaeontology; Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture; Typographical History, alphabetic varieties; an appendix containing the most important works published during 1891, and an alphabetical list of authors.

2758 works are cited, a number which is swelled to 3428 when all editions and reprints are included. The preface contains a statistical table showing that Italian publications are most numerous, German, French and English following in the order named, with 57 titles credited to the United States. The arrangement and typography are in every way to be commended, and the annotations are made with much skill and discernment.

No. 1205, 'Remarks on the Ethiopic by G. H. S.' should be credited to George H. Schodde. Jonas Vates, *Ethiopice et Latine cum glossario*, 1706, noticed in a recent sale catalogue, seems not to have been included.

Fumagalli's work is supplemented by the *Bibliotheca Aethiopica* of Lazarus Goldschmidt (Leipzig, Eduard Pfeiffer, 1893; 8vo, pp. 63). This useful little book contains a list of all Ethiopic works published, with bibliographical and literary notes. The Ethiopic literature thus far published is by no means extensive, being limited to the Old and New Testaments, apocryphal books, lives of saints, liturgies, homilies, etc.

CYRUS ADLER.

## REPORTS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn.

XVII. Band, 1892.

I.—Ten Brink, On the Chronology of Chaucer's Writings. The suggestion for this article Ten Brink finds in Koepfel's double statement that Chaucer's Life of St. Caecilia was written after the Troilus, and belonged to the same period as his translation of the De Contemptu Mundi. In opposition to Koepfel, Ten Brink argues that the Life of St. Caecilia must fall about the beginning of Chaucer's second period, and the prose translation not far from the years 1387-8. Koepfel had made Chaucer's imitation of Dante in the first three stanzas of the poem, and his use of the particles *forwhy* and *forthy*, the crucial tests for determining the date of the St. Caecilia. As regards the first, the question chiefly concerned Chaucer's omission of lines 13-15 (Paradiso, XXXIII 1-21), in which Dante implores the intercession of the Virgin. Koepfel maintains that the substitution of comparatively meaningless verses for these was due to the author's fear of repeating lines used in a different and worldly sense in Troilus. Ten Brink, on the other hand, lays the omission to the freedom and realism of Chaucer's thought, to which Dante's mysticism appealed but feebly. To this he adds that the whole passage is rather a free remodeling than an imitation of that of Dante. He takes as decided issue with Koepfel in the inference to be drawn from the use of the particles *forwhy* and *forthy*. They are, indeed, almost lacking in the Canterbury Tales. But, on the other hand, they are sparingly found in the works of the first period, and the use of both particles in fact culminates in Troilus and Boethius. By the application of this test Ten Brink concludes that Troilus, The Hous of Fame, and The Legende of Goode Women follow each other closely in the order named. These results he fortifies by a *résumé* of his earlier arguments as to the dates of the poems: Troilus, for its maturity of art and thought, must be dated toward the close of Chaucer's second period; the intimate connection between Troilus, The Hous of Fame, and The Legende of Goode Women leaves no doubt that they were written consecutively and without long interval; these poems are of such a character that a religious work like St. Caecilia could not be a link in the chain connecting them; the life of St. Caecilia shows so undeveloped an art that, on aesthetic grounds, it must be placed near the beginning of the second period; the introduction is evidently written by a young man; the St. Caecilia is the only poem of the second period that shows us Chaucer reproaching himself for a worldly life, for idleness and waste of time. It must then "belong to the beginning of the second period, and indeed to that part of it which lies before Chaucer's entrance into the custom-house. The poet who was overburdened with dry official business could not possibly have said of himself that he had

written the life of a saint to keep himself from idleness." From the prologue, indeed, which Ten Brink regards as a spontaneous expression of his mood, he would date the poem before June 8th, 1374.

The date of the *De Contemptu Mundi* is closely connected with those of the two prologues to *The Legende of Goode Women*. After a careful comparison of these, the author concludes that the first-known and more familiar version (the *Vulgata*) was written about 1385, while the one discovered by H. Bradshaw in the Cambridge library (Gg) is a later remodeling of the same. The fixing of the exact date of the newer version would demand a careful study of the inner history of the *Canterbury Tales*. "Here," says Ten Brink, "I limit myself to the statement, which will hardly meet with much opposition, that the Gg prologue must have been written soon after the so-called Headlink of the *Man of Lawes Tale*, and can hardly have come into existence before the year 1393." The dating of the prologues settles, at least approximately, that of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, which must have been written between the two. The circumstances of the years 1386-88 would, moreover, have naturally turned Chaucer's mind toward such a work. From all considerations it was most probably written in 1387 or 1388. The hold of Innocent's treatise on Chaucer's thought is proved by its giving a motive to the introduction of the *Man of Lawes Tale*.

Otto Zirwer, *Notes on the Middle English Romance Genetides*. These notes are based on Wright's edition of the poem (1873-78). Zirwer wishes not only to correct the text more consistently than Wright, but to apply to its study the results of more recent scholarship. These notes fill some twenty-five pages.

E. Kölbing, *Notes on the Textual Criticism of the Strophic Poem Genetides*. This article supplements the former by its application of metrical tests to the text criticised.

Paul Theodor Mitschke, *On Southey's Joan of Arc*. I. Few poets have left such abundant and available material for the study of their works as Southey. 'The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey,' by his son, the selections from his 'Letters of Robert Southey,' edited by J. W. Warton, and the autobiographical prefaces and notes to his various works, leave little mystery as to his methods. Mitschke's article begins with an account of the familiar circumstances under which the poem was composed. It then takes up the alterations made by Southey in the subsequent editions. Especially interesting is the omission in the second edition (1798) of the part of the second book originally written by Coleridge. The reason, given by Southey in a letter dated July 19, 1837, was, naturally enough, that Coleridge's style was not in keeping with his, and that the matter was inconsistent with the plan in which the poem was recast. The sources from which Southey drew his material were most various. Earlier poems on the subject suggested, however, little but the artistic value of the subject. Chapelain's epic (1659) and Voltaire's drama (1762) were severely criticised by the poet of the revolution. The poems and tragedies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were hardly worth consideration as works of art. The pantomime which he saw in London in the Covent Garden theatre could at most prove the popular

interest in the theme. But in any case, so painstaking a poet as Southey must have gone directly to original sources. Not only are the customs and chronicles of England and France pressed into the service, but the most various books are ransacked for illustrations of the manners and customs of the time. Selden's *Titles of Honour* (1614), Burney's *History of Music*, Grose's *Antiquities*, Montaigne's *Travels*, and Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, were studied as faithfully as the histories for the light they threw on some local peculiarity. Allied to this critical accuracy is Southey's censorship of his own thoughts and expressions. In a note to the line "Worthy a happier, not a better love" (IV 477), he quotes Ovid's verse, "Digna minus misero, non meliore viro." To justify the phrase "entering with his eye the city" (VII 20), he calls to witness Silius Italicus (XII 567): "Nunc lentus, celsis adstans in collibus, intrat urbem oculis." The second part of the article treats of the character and underlying thought of the poem. It belongs to the rebellious season of Southey's youth, when he was most deeply moved by romantic and democratic ideas; its fundamental character is determined by the enthusiasm of the day for poetical and intellectual freedom. This phase of the subject the author sums up as follows: "If we must look on this animosity to despotism and false orthodoxy as the fundamental tone of the epic, the motto which Southey borrowed from Homer and placed at the beginning of his poem, *εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς*, appears in part ironical. The poet certainly admires the enthusiasm of a nation in its struggle to free the fatherland; but he is secretly angered at the thought of the blood that must be shed by the people in order that a worthless, heartless and immoral king may mount the throne. By laying the scene of this action in France he is able to scourge the conditions of his own land more fully. While attacking English royalty indirectly by exposing the shamelessness of the French king, he does not hesitate to pass the severest judgment on his own countrymen in his description of the past to which the history of England's conquest of France belongs."

Th. A. Fischer, *A Collection of Words and Phrases in the Dialect of North Ireland*. Irish dialects, Fischer reminds us, have been studied much less thoroughly than those of England and Scotland. Their peculiar interest may best be stated in a translation of his own words: "The north of Ireland, as far as dialect is concerned, is in a singular position. While in Donegal and the Mourne Mountains the Celtic language is still commonly spoken, in the counties of Monaghan, Tyrone and Armagh, and even more signally in those of Antrim and Down, there remain clinging many old Scotch expressions of everyday life that in Scotland itself have long passed out of use." In the list of dialectic words and phrases are a number that have passed into colloquial or vulgar English.

Joh. Ellinger, *Is it Desirable to read Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare in Our Schools?* In answering this question the author considers only the fidelity of the Tales to Shakespeare. Of the six plays to which he applies this test, *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Tempest* are recommended for the use of pupils who cannot read Shakespeare easily in the original. For *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* they must go, if help is necessary, to German translations.

Among the Book Notices are reviews of Kaluza's edition of Libeaus Desconus, of Shuckburgh's edition of Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1891, from the text of 1595), Philippsen's *On the Character and Use of the Definite Article in King Alfred's Prose*, Hüllweck's *On the Use of the Article in the Works of Alfred the Great*, Fricke's *The Old English Numeral*, Bock's *Syntax of the Pronouns and Numerals in King Alfred's Orosius*, and Jellinek's *The Myth of Hero and Leander in Poetry*. Koepfel closes his review of Shuckburgh's edition (he does not seem to know mine) with these words: "*Zu Bubonax* (p. 175) wäre nach deutschen begriffen Albert S. Cook's artikel in der *Academy* n. 926 zu citiren gewesen." Robert Boyle's introduction to Gelbcke's *The English Stage in the Time of Shakespeare* is adjudged the best brief survey in German of the development of the English drama.

The Miscellanea contains an interesting fragment of Robert Manning's Chronicle. The sympathetic biography of Ten Brink by Koepfel is followed by a chronological list of his publications. Glöde points out some striking parallelisms in the poems of Thomas Gray and Heinrich Heine.

II.—E. Koepfel, *On the Chronology of Some of Chaucer's Writings*. In this article Koepfel defends the dates of *The Life of St. Caecilia* and the *De Contemptu Mundi*, attacked by Ten Brink in the preceding number of *Englische Studien*.

W. Franz, *Syntax of Early Modern English*. I, II. Franz bases his study of English syntax on the writers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The present numbers treat of the relative and personal pronouns. They are interesting to every student of language both for the lucid presentation of their subject and for their many well-chosen examples.

J. Klapperich, *Comparison of the Adjective in Modern English*.

Besides others of less importance, the Book Notices contain reviews of Riegel's *The Sources of W. Morris's 'The Earthly Paradise,'* of Buchner's edition of the *Historia Septem Sapientum*, and Dick's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*—both from the Innsbruck manuscript, and both included in the *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*—and of two parts of the *New English Dictionary*. A severe criticism of Knortz's *History of North American Literature* closes with an unflattering picture of the intellectual condition of America. Our state is one of hopeless intellectual mediocrity. "The narrow spiritual horizon, the ceaseless leveling, the blessings of an all-equalizing 'pure democracy,' excessive ecclesiasticism without any deep religious feeling, the lack of high culture, the luxuriance of a worthless newspaper literature which answers the necessities of the moment, the morbid preference for the sensational—all these have strongly influenced American literature. One may say that a nation of sixty-two million people produces only weak sugar-and-water poems and journalistic articles, that the drama is wholly dead, and that, with few exceptions, the *volkslieder* consist of street songs. The small number of scholars, who fortunately do exist, receive no small share of their inspiration from 'effete and dying Europe,' from England, Germany and France, and bear no proportion to the mass of the people. Genius *vacat*, but even talents are far too few."

This number of the *Miscellanea* is rich in contributions toward the elucidation and text-criticism of Modern and Middle English poems. K lbing contributes valuable notes on the textual criticism of the poems contained in W lker's *Old English Reader*. Preussner gives a number of notes on Robert Manning's *Chronicle*. Sprenger suggests various emendations in the readings of Peele's *King David and Fair Bethsabe*, and gives some interesting references to the sources of Byron's *Bride of Abydos* and Longfellow's *Autumn, Tales of a Wayside Inn*, and Miles Standish. W lfing has collected a number of valuable examples illustrating the use of Old English *sum* with the genitive of number. The account of the fifth session of the Association of Modern Philologists (Berlin, January 7, 8, 9, 1892) shows the influence of current German educational discussion.

III.—O. Lengert, *The Scottish Romance Roswall and Lillian*. In this number Lengert gives an account of the various manuscripts of the old romance, an analysis of its contents, and an enumeration and brief description of related European sagas. Legends showing more or less striking points of resemblance are found in Tartary, Servia, Russia, Italy, Poland, Germany, Bohemia, Norway, Bosnia, Albania and Greece, as well as in England and France. These stories are divided into two main groups. With the smaller of them, containing the Tartar, Russian, Servian, Polish and Italian tales, the author chiefly concerns himself. The article concludes by a consideration of the artistic value of the Scottish romance, and an analysis of its dialect, metre and vocabulary.

W. Sattler, *English Collectanea*: (1) *The Germanic and the French Mode of Numeration*. Sattler has collected many examples showing English usage in reference to such forms as *one and twenty*, *twenty-one*, which he discriminates as Germanic and French respectively. Those from the various versions of the Bible are especially interesting.

W. Franz, *On the Syntax of Early Modern English*. In this article Franz continues and concludes his treatment of the pronouns. The complete article will be of much value to students of the subject.

E. Nader, *An Attempt to use Phonographic Texts in English Teaching*. It is needless to say that this method has proved most effective in economizing the teacher's energy and power.

The *Book Notices* contain, among others, reviews of Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts*, of Davidson's *Phonology of the Stressed Vowels in Beowulf*, of Bluhm's *The Autobiographical in David Copperfield*, and of Sweet's *Shelley's Nature-Poetry*. Of Davidson's paper Karsten says: "The paper contains not only much honest work, but also earnest thought and good judgment. The arrangement is so transparent that every question relating to *Beowulf* vocalism finds its prompt answer by a glance at the respective paragraph, so far as stressed vowels are concerned."

This number of the *Miscellanea* is devoted to Lord Byron and Miss Elizabeth Pigot, Byron and Dupaty's *Letters on Italy*, and to an account of the lectures on English Philology and kindred subjects in the universities of Germany, Austria and Switzerland in the year 1891-92.

XVIII. Band, 1893.

I.—R. Sternberg, On a Middle English Chronicle in Verse. The author considers first the chief manuscripts and the phonological peculiarities of the two versions of the chronicle, designated respectively as A and R. Then follows a brief treatment of the metre. The verse is the four-stressed riming couplet, and is very freely handled. The rime and alliteration of the two versions are carefully compared.

P. Th. Mitschke, On Southey's Joan of Arc. II. The aesthetic criticism of Southey's Joan of Arc is prefaced by a brief account of its reception. The favorable judgment of contemporaries was, indeed, little due to the artistic excellence of the poem. The dearth of contemporary poetry, the romantic nature of the subject, and the revolutionary spirit in which it was written, more than account for its popularity. This Southey clearly stated in the preface to the edition of 1837 (p. 23). "But the chief cause of its favorable reception was that it was written in a republican spirit, such as may easily be accounted for in a youth whose notions of liberty were taken from the Greek and Roman writers, and who was ignorant enough of history and of human nature to believe that a happier order of things had commenced with the independence of the United States, and would be accelerated by the French Revolution. Such opinions were then as unpopular in England as they deserved to be; but they were cherished by most of the critical journals, and conciliated for me the good-will of some of the most influential writers who were at that time engaged in periodical literature, though I was personally unknown to them. They bestowed upon the poem abundant praise, passed over most of its manifold faults, and noticed others with indulgence." The aesthetic value of Joan of Arc is tried chiefly by Southey's requirement that the hero of an epic poem should be the character that chiefly holds the reader's interest. Judged by his own standard, Southey has failed; not Joan, but Conrad, forms the central interest of the poem. The heroine is deficient both in intense passion and in the absence of any real moral struggle. She thus becomes a mere puppet in the hands of fate or providence, and is interesting only when her simplicity of character and purpose is brought into contrast with natures more sensitive and complex than her own. Conrad, whose feelings are more various and conflicting, holds our sympathy far more continuously and completely. He is, besides, a more essential part of the play. We can think of him without Joan, but not of Joan without him. "He is the dark background against which appears the bright form of the Maid as she passes him. Without this background she would dissolve into a broad sea of light, which after a time could only pain and blind us." An interesting point treated by the author in discussing this poem is the peculiar character of Southey's romanticism. In all that he wrote appeared his predilection for the romantic; all the material that he sought for his muse bore the imprint of his romanticism. But while Scott was inspired by Germany and found material in the ballads and romances of his native land, Southey went to the most distant and foreign sources for his inspiration, to Spain and France and Mexico and Arabia and India. In Joan of Arc, however, his romanticism is comparatively simple and familiar, and pleases us far better than do the far-fetched allusions, the exaggerated pathos, and the strained fancies of some of

the later poems. In conclusion the author ranks Joan of Arc with Roderick as Southey's best work. When considered in relation to European poetry it takes an even higher place; Southey's epic and Schiller's drama are the two great representations of one of the greatest of the romantic themes.

K. Breul, *The Modification of the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos in Cambridge*. In response to the demand of schools, students, and the faculties of the University, this reform of the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos was announced by the senate of Cambridge University October 17, 1891. As there is in England no Minister of Instruction, the task of examining the old system and of making recommendations for its improvement was put into the hands of a 'Special Board for Mediaeval and Modern Languages.' The recommendations of this Board, which, with few modifications, were accepted by the senate, were the result not only of long study, but of consultation with specialists outside the Board. The new regulations concerning the conditions of the degree and the papers to be set in each of the six sections of the Tripos are given in full. The conclusions may best be given in a translation of the author's words: "If we compare the original regulations for examination with the new one, we reach, in the main, the following results. The chief points criticised in the old programme have all been considered and, as far as possible, done away with. The arrangement of the sections and their relations to one another are entirely altered. The examination itself is longer and more searching. It embraces, aside from the oral examination, which is not obligatory, six days (thirty-six hours). The demands in the different departments are made as nearly as possible equal to one another, English especially approximating to German. For the first time, means are provided for a wholly independent study of *Anglistik* and *Germanistik*. Almost every paper shows indications of the change in a better nomenclature as well as in the better ordering of the regulations. English now heads the list. 'Anglo-Saxon' is replaced by 'Old English,' and 'Moeso-Gothic' by 'Gothic.' Unfortunately, 'Teutonic' (instead of 'Germanic') is still retained. . . . The greatest gain in the demands for a more thorough preparation consists in the granting of a fourth year of study, while it is still to be proved whether the long-desired admission of students from other triposes can be called a real gain. In this historical and classical philologists have been especially considered. From what has been said it is evident that the new course is more elastic than the old, and better suited to the tastes of different natures." Among the good results certain to follow the change at Cambridge, the author dwells on its influence on the other universities. He says: "In none of the higher institutions of learning has the study of modern languages hitherto been so carefully organized as now in Cambridge, and the experience of Cambridge with the new system will in the future, if the sister institutions are at last forced to yield to the stream of time and follow her example, be of the most wide-reaching significance for Oxford, Victoria University, and perhaps for the University of London."

H. Klinghardt, *New Methods of Language-Teaching Abroad*. The European demand for better methods makes the teaching of languages a question of European interest. From this point of view the author reviews the important books on the subject published in the chief nations of Europe. Russia is



represented by one book, Denmark and Sweden by four each; other countries by various numbers. Sweet's Second Middle English Primer is the English book noticed. From Charles F. Richardson's articles (School and College, vol. I, pp. 386-97) are taken several quotations of interest to all students of philology. The first concerns the great value of the comparative method in the teaching of Old English, another the danger of losing a sense of literature in the study of linguistic philology.

Among the Book Notices are reviews of Earle's *The Deeds of Beowulf*, Fleay's *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, Sarrazin's *Thomas Kyd and his Circle*, Kaluza's *Chaucer and the Romance of the Rose*, and Andrews's *The Old English Manor*. Of Earle's *Beowulf*, Koepfel praises the comprehensive notes, which are drawn from the many-sided reading of a highly cultured man. Homer, modern slang, and the text of the *Mikado* are alike used to illustrate the poem. Koepfel finds the notes the most valuable part of the work. The translation is at least in part injured by the mixture of archaic and "very modern, sometimes trivial" expressions. Of these *youngsterhood* (*geogoð*, v. 409) and the *racket* (*beahrtm*, v. 1431) are the most striking. Boyle declares that, in spite of the vast collection of facts, a review of Fleay's book, which should be of any value, must "not only contain all the misprints and mistakes in the work, but also expose all the arbitrary conclusions which Fleay has incorporated into his material, as if they were ascertained facts." (See p. 112.) This he attempts to do for the plays he knows best—those of the Massinger-Beaumont-Fletcher group.

In the *Miscellanea* are some interesting notes by Varnhagen and Sprenger on *The Tales of a Wayside Inn* and others of Longfellow's poems, and a further discussion by Jellinek and Fränkel of the former's article on *Hero and Leander* (*Englische Studien*, XVII).

II.—M. Kaluza, *Thomas Chestre, Author of Launfal, Libeaus Desconus, and Octovian*. The first step in deciding the authorship of the three romances is to ascertain their relation to the older *Sir Landavall* or *Lanval*. The data needful for the decision were only given when G. L. Kittredge published the better text of the poem in the *American Journal of Philology* (X, 1889). The argument, based on a careful study of the parallel passages, the verbal coincidences, and the stanzaic structure of the poems, is briefly as follows: Chestre had taken the general plan and action of his *Launfal* directly from the older poem, but had added to it many beautiful episodes and descriptions. The three poems are undeniably by the same author; of these, *Launfal* is the earliest, *Libeaus Desconus* the second, and *Octovian* his last and greatest work. The argument is presented with singular lucidity and vigor.

W. Franz, *On the Syntax of Early Modern English*. This article deals with the adverb. Especially interesting are the illustrations of the adjective form of the adverb common in Shakespeare and through the whole sixteenth century. Our 'talk big' finds its counterpart in Bacon's 'to speake great.' But where so much is interesting, the article itself must be studied.

The Book Notices contain reviews, among others, of Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Haeckel's *The*

Proverb in Chaucer, and Kölbing's *Byron's Siege of Corinth*. The choice of texts, the glossary, and the metrical analysis of Bright's *Reader* are highly praised. The review of Kölbing's edition of the *Siege of Corinth* is suggestive as to the study of the modern poets. Especially important is the account of his treatment of metre: "Here for the first time is the attempt made to obtain a scheme, already often applied to the investigation of Middle English texts, for the alliteration of Byron's poems." The results are not, indeed, wholly satisfactory. "The most of the alliterative formulas are not found in Old and Middle English. Yet they are not all new creations of Byron's. Many of them are found in other poets, but our present metrical knowledge does not enable us to ascertain exactly the origin of the various forms."

The department of *Miscellanea* is more interesting than usual. Reichel contributes notes to the textual criticism of *Sir Fyrumbras*, and Kellner to the syntax of *Ipomadon*. Sprenger calls attention to some curious echoes of Milton in Goethe's *Faust*. The old ballad, *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*, is elaborately discussed by Hoenig. The short biographical notice of Taine is accompanied by an appreciative criticism of his writings. In spite of the lack of appreciation for him in Germany, the author insists that his profound philosophy, his historic insight, his psychological intuition, his great and varied learning, and his literary and artistic power are extremely rare in historians of literature. The name that he places beside him is that of Ten Brink, "the other great historian of English literature."

III.—W. Hulme, 'Blooms' of King Alfred. Under this title the author gives the text of the Old English translation of *Flores ex libro soliloquiorum* D. Augustini Hipponens. A brief account of the date of the writing and of the several manuscripts is prefaced to the text.

R. Sternberg, *A Middle English Chronicle in Verse*. This article deals with the sources of the two forms of the chronicle and with their relation to each other. As to the latter point, Sprenger concludes that A is a later work than R. How far the author changed the original chronicle from which he drew, it is impossible to prove without a more perfect knowledge of manuscripts. The Albin prologue is certainly peculiar to A. The chief source of R is unquestionably Robert Gloucester's *Metrical Chronicle of England*, and especially a manuscript copy of the same, which belongs to the class marked by Wright *aβyde*. Besides this, the author was probably acquainted with Layamon B and Wace, and perhaps with Geoffrey of Monmouth. In many of his facts, such as the lengths of the reigns and the burial places of the kings, he differs widely from the other chronicles of the times. The sources of A are various: The story of Albin is taken from a French lay *Des grauntz Jiauntz*, etc. (*Jubinal*, Rec. II 354); The Dedication of Westminster is the versified form of a Latin treatise, *De Dedicatione Eccl. Westmon.* (Hardy, Desc. Cat. I, n. 537). The story of Hengist is invented after the analogy of later events; that of Cassibalan is amplified in the same way. Hine goes back to an unknown source; the story of Lancelot differs from that of the familiar Arthurian legend, and is largely the work of imagination. Edmund's Death is a free rendering of the *Martyr Saga of Edmund*. Inge is either the transcription or a poetic remodeling of a folk-saga, with use of the Rowena

episode in RG; Richard's Expedition to Palestine is taken from a version of the romance Richard Cœur de Lyon. The story of John has not yet been traced to its source.

As to the literary qualities of the two authors, R is tolerably dry and matter of fact, and is content to give a literal representation of his authorities; he seldom expresses, as in the case of Edelwolf's Peter's Pence, his own opinion. A, on the contrary, tries to make his work interesting. He inserts romantic stories, and himself writes poetry of the romantic character. But no less than R, he loses interest as he draws near to the history of his own time. Moreover, he shows a special love of London and of the peculiar local traditions of that city.

J. W. Hales, *The Date of the First English Comedy*. A chief problem of the historian of the English drama is, according to Hales, "to arrange the surviving fragments of the early Tudor drama in a more precise order of time than is at present possible, and to make clear the condition of our theatre when it was brought into close contact with the works of Plautus and Seneca." To this end he gives many, and apparently conclusive, arguments in favor of dating Ralph Roister Doister after 1546, instead of between 1534-41. The evidence may be summed up thus: the third edition of Wilson's Rule of Reason (1553) used, in order to illustrate 'Ambiguity,' the famous letter from Ralph Roister Doister to Mistress Kit Custance. If Wilson had known of it earlier he would most likely have used it in the editions of 1550 and 1552; but that he, an old pupil of Udall's at Eton, had not known of it, if it was written between 1534-41 or 2, is incredible. This is made even more unlikely because of the friendly relations of the two men, which are proved by the commendatory verses contributed by Udall to Wilson's Rule of Reason. These arguments are still further strengthened by the fact that about 1552 Udall was in such high repute as a dramatist that he is mentioned as having set forth 'Dialogues and Interludes' before Queen Mary. The internal strengthens the external evidence. The points of likeness between the play and Heywood's Proverbs (1546) indicate a date later than 1546. The references to usury, especially the line

Fifteen for one, which is too much of conscience

would seem to show that the Act of 1546, if not that of 1552, had been passed. Another strong point in favor of the later date is the more natural interval that would thus exist between this and the later comedies.

W. Franz, *On the Syntax of Early Modern English*. In this article the conjunction is treated with the fullness and clearness that makes this whole series so valuable.

Among the Book Notices are reviews of Bright's Gospel of St. Luke, of Liebermann's *Consiliatio Cnuti*, of Brown's *Language of the Rushworth Gloss*, and of Borkowsky's *Sources of Swift's Gulliver*.

The Miscellanea is wanting.

ALBERT S. COOK.

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Janvier.

On entering upon the third decade of their joint labors as editors of the *Romania*, MM. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, in an article addressed 'A nos lecteurs,' take a comprehensive survey of the work entered upon by them twenty-one years ago and still so vigorously prosecuted. The exceptional character of this retrospective paper invites to considerable fulness in the indication of its contents. After calling attention somewhat apologetically to the fact that the editorial contributions have constituted more than one-quarter of the twenty volumes of the *Romania*, the editors proceed: "Il y a vingt ans, la France occupait dans le monde une position bien modeste, pour la science comme pour le reste, et elle en avait le sentiment peut-être exagéré. Les études romanes notamment, prises dans leur généralité, y intéressaient peu de personnes. L'étude plus spéciale de notre langue et de notre littérature était poursuivie par un petit nombre d'érudits dont les travaux avaient peu d'action sur le grand public et n'en avaient aucune sur l'enseignement officiel. Trois chaires seulement, réparties entre le Collège de France, l'École des Chartes et l'École des Hautes Études, toutes trois, par conséquent, placées à Paris et en dehors de l'Université, représentaient en France certaines branches de la philologie romane. Au même temps l'Allemagne était considérablement en avance sur nous, tant par la place qu'elle accordait à l'enseignement historique des langues et littératures néo-latines que par le nombre et l'importance des travaux qu'elle leur consacrait. Nous avons voulu que notre pays devînt à son tour un centre d'étude et de production pour la philologie romane en général, et plus particulièrement pour la philologie française. . . . Notre domaine, restreint de plus en plus à la période ancienne de la philologie romane et spécialement de la philologie française, s'est, par certains côtés, singulièrement agrandi depuis vingt ans. A mesure que les découvertes vont se multipliant, l'horizon s'élargit et l'on voit mieux combien il reste encore à trouver. Des rapports imprévus s'établissent entre les œuvres qui semblaient isolées. L'analyse linguistique est parvenue à un point de perfection que l'on entrevoyait à peine lorsque nous avons commencé la *Romania*. On arrive peu à peu à dater de temps et de lieu, au moins approximativement, les compositions anonymes qui abondent dans notre ancienne littérature. On a pu récemment tenter, avec chance de succès, de dresser le tableau chronologique de la littérature française jusqu'au XIVe siècle: on n'y eût pas songé il y a vingt ans. Bientôt, à mesure que la langue de chaque auteur ou de chaque ouvrage sera en quelque sorte condensée en des glossaires spéciaux, on parviendra à grouper ensemble les écrits anonymes d'un même auteur. Notre champ d'études reste donc, pour ainsi dire, illimité. Mais, à côté des recherches originales, nous devons réserver une place suffisante à l'examen des travaux d'autrui. Nous le disions dans notre programme de 1871: 'La critique des ouvrages qui paraîtront dans le domaine de nos études sera une partie importante du recueil.' Et cette partie devient de plus en plus considérable, à mesure que la philologie romane va se développant en tous les sens. Nous sommes inondés de livres, de périodiques, de dissertations pour le doctorat allemand (dont beaucoup pourraient sans dommage être pré-

sentées en manuscrit), de contributions à telle étude, de suppléments à telles recherches. C'est une marée montante qui menace de restreindre la part consacrée dans notre recueil aux études originales. On voudra bien nous excuser si trop souvent de bons livres n'ont pas le compte rendu qu'ils méritent, et si l'analyse de tel ou tel périodique est en retard. C'est que ce genre de travail ne peut être confié au premier venu. La critique exige une expérience et, s'il est permis de le dire, un tour de main, qui ne sont pas communs. Et puis les jeunes érudits de notre temps ne semblent pas avoir pour cet exercice salutaire le goût que nous manifestons, lorsqu'en 1865 nous fondions la *Revue critique*."

A. Thomas. La loi de Darmesteter en provençal. In his study of the "protonique non initiale, non en position," Darmesteter refrained from considering the bearings of the question on the Provençal. Prof. Thomas points out a series of cases in the latter language in which pretonic vowels other than *a*, contrary to their destiny in French, survive. We are able to set up for the Provençal a very simple rule: substantives corresponding to verbs in *-ir* have *i* as pretonic derivation-vowel (*sentir, sentimen*), those pertaining to verbs in *-ér, -er* or *-re* have uniformly *e* (*tener, tenemen*). This state of affairs is here accounted for on the theory that these words have never attained an independent status, have never, so to speak, "coupé leur cordon ombilical." "Ce qui se transmettait d'une génération à l'autre, c'était non pas les mots eux-mêmes, mais bien plutôt le procédé pour les faire."

H. Morf. Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la légende de Troie en Italie et en Espagne. I. Guido delle Colonne et Darès. II. Une nouvelle version italienne (Version *F*). III. Le roman de Landomata.

P. Meyer. Maître Pierre Cudrifin, horloger, et la ville de Romans (1422-31). Incidents in the life of a certain bourgeois of Fribourg, entitled 'magister horologiorum,' whose correspondence with the syndics of Romans apropos of a clock erected by him for their town furnishes autographic documents of interest.

P. Meyer. Ballade contre les Anglais (1429). This *ballade* (to mention here only an incidental point) begins: "Ariere, Englois *coûez*, ariere!" A note explains that "Anglici erubescunt *caudati* vocari." In the legend of St. Augustin, the people of Dorset are said to have insulted this saint by fastening fish-tails to his garments. The saint cursed them, and since then the English are *caudati*.

Mélanges. Pio Rajna. A cosa si deva la conservazione testuale dei Giuramenti di Strasburgo (How the Oaths of Strasburg came to be textually preserved). In this study, which is elaborate enough to constitute a principal article, Prof. Rajna points out that we owe the rather surprising textual preservation of what is thus far the earliest specimen of the Old French language, on the one hand, to the fact that the history of Nithardus is a contemporary document dealing in particulars rather than in general considerations, and, on the other, to the circumstance that the part of the narrative in which the oaths occur was written shortly after the accomplishment of the facts involved and at a moment when the historian happened to have an

abundance of time at his disposal.—F. Lot. Le mythe des Enfants-cygnés. Compares with the Romance forms of this myth an Irish legend which offers striking analogies with it at certain points.—F. Lot. Le Chevalier au Lion: comparaison avec une légende irlandaise.—Egidio Gorra. La Novella della Dama e dei tre papagalli. Adds to the versions published in the Romania, vols. XVI and XIX, still another form of the story, as found in MSS preserved at Turin and Paris.—F. Novati. Un' Avventura di Peire Vidal.—P. Meyer. Le conte des Petits Couteaux d'après Jacques de Vitri. An *exemplum* omitted by Professor Crane in his edition of the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitri.—P. Meyer. *Coussin*, ancien provençal et français *coissin*. Derived from *coxinus* < *coxa* 'thigh,' the cushion being destined to be placed under the thighs.—Louis Havet. *Peaigne*. A brace for the foot, from Lat. *pedanea*.—A. Delboulle. *Perpetuon*.—A. Bos. *Porpos*, *propos*. "Ne peut venir de *propositum* (Littré, Brachet, Scheler), qui aurait donné *porpost*. *Propos* est le substantif verbal de *proposer*, comme *repos* l'est de *reposer*."—A. Bos. *Aisil*. From *acetulum*, diminutive of *acetum*.

Comptes rendus. Egidio Gorra. Testi inediti di storia trojana, preceduti da uno studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia (H. Morf). 19 pages. "Ce livre est le fruit de longues recherches. Il contient beaucoup d'inédit, outre les textes, qui n'en remplissent qu'un tiers. . . . En résumé, dans les pages qui suivent, le contenu de ce gros livre, j'accompagnerai ce résumé de remarques de détail."—L. Constans. Le roman de Thèbes (P. Meyer). "Il est douteux que les résultats obtenus soient en proportion du travail si pénible que s'est imposé l'éditeur."—W. von Zingerle. Floris et Liriope: altfranzösischer Roman des Robert de Blois (P. Meyer). Robert de Blois was distinctively a man of letters, well versed in the Latin authors studied in his time, especially Ovid. He is the "poète courtois par excellence." The present edition is shown to be not wholly satisfactory.—K. Vollmöller. *Laberinto amoroso*: ein altspanisches Liederbuch (A. Morel-Fatio). "Il faut remercier M. Vollmöller de nous avoir rendu, en édition correcte, ce recueil précieux."—M. Gaster. Chrestomathie roumaine: Textes imprimés et manuscrits du XVIe au XIXe siècle (E. Picot). The publication of this collection, on which Mr. Gaster has been engaged for ten years, may be regarded as an event by all who are interested in Roumanian studies. Detailed review.

Périodiques. In his report on the Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., Gaston Paris discusses the so-called historical infinitive (*Et grenouilles de se plaindre*), Tobler's emendation of a controverted passage in Dante's *Convivio*, and Foerster's etymology of French *prône* and of *prodrom*.

Chronique. W. L. Holland, professor of Romance languages and literatures at the University of Tübingen, died August 23, 1891, at the age of 69 years. Holland is chiefly known for his studies on Chretien de Troyes and on Spanish literature.—Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who was chiefly occupied with studies on the Basque, but whose researches also extended to the Romance languages, died at Fano, November 3, 1891, aged 79 years. He was the son of Lucien Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I. He had been deputy from Corsica to the Constituant Assembly and Legislative Assembly, and in 1852 was made senator. After the fall of the Empire he lived mostly

in England. In the Romance field his name is associated with a collection of translations of the Gospel of Matthew into various Romance dialects, chiefly Italian, and with phonetic investigations in numerous Italian and Spanish patois. He was one of the first to apply method and precise phonetic notation in the study of patois.

Livres annoncés sommairement (24 titles).

Avril.

G. Raynaud. *La Chastelaine de Vergi*. 49 pages. A new, critically established text of this charming poem of 958 verses, with preliminary study.

A. Neubauer and P. Meyer. *Le roman provençal d'Esther, par Crescas du Caylar, médecin juif du XIVe siècle*. 34 pages. The circumstances and results of this study are of a peculiarly interesting nature. While at Oxford, Mr. Meyer had his attention called by Mr. Neubauer to a manuscript in Hebrew characters but composed in a language unknown to the latter, which proved on investigation to be Provençal. Mr. Meyer, in his turn, was unacquainted with Hebrew. Following is a part of Mr. Meyer's account of the joint procedure of the two scholars: "M. Neubauer me lisait un texte qu'il ne comprenait pas, tandis que je m'efforçais de saisir au vol et de transcrire les paroles que j'étais incapable de lire, et auxquelles je faisais subir les modifications que l'usage de l'alphabet hébraïque permet, déplaçant les consonnes, substituant *i* à *e*, *u* à *o*, *f* à *p*, *d* ou *s* à *r*, etc., ou réciproquement, jusqu'à ce que le sens se révélât. C'était la collaboration du paralytique et de l'aveugle." By this method of restitution, 448 lines of the Provençal poem are here presented, face to face with the Hebrew transliteration, together with notes and glossary. Although only a portion of the poem was recovered, the discovery is one of the most important of recent years in the domain of Provençal studies.

Paget Toynbee. *Christine de Pisan and Sir John Maundeville* (printed in English). The author discovers that in one portion of her 'Livres du Chemin de long estude' (vv. 1191-1568), Christine has made use of the 'Travels of Sir John Maundeville.'

G. Weigand. *Nouvelles recherches sur le roumain de l'Istrie*. All that was known heretofore of the Istro-Wallachian dialect, spoken by some three thousand villagers, is collected in the 'Rumunische Untersuchungen' of Franz Miklosich. The author extends the information there given, and appends translations of brief texts face to face with the originals.

Mélanges. L. Mirot. *Valbeton dans Girart de Roussillon*. Identified with Vaubouton, between Vézelay and Pierre-Perthuis.—G. Paris. *La Chanson à boire anglo-normande parodiée du Letabundus*.—G. Paris. *La traduction de la légende latine du Voyage de Charlemagne à Constantinople par Pierre de Beauvais*.—A. Longnon. *Nouvelles recherches sur Villon*.—A. Thomas. *Jean Castel*.

Comptes rendus. *Romanische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von Dr. Wendelin Foerster*, vols. I-VIII (G. Paris). Prof. Paris passes in review the first eight volumes of this new collection. "Malgré ces critiques, qui ne portent en

somme que sur des détails d'exécution, la Romanische Bibliothek est digne de toute estime et mérite d'être vivement recommandée à tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux langues et aux littératures romanes du moyen âge."—J. Salverda de Grave. *Eneas: Texte critique* (G. Paris). Minute criticism, covering fourteen pages. "La publication du roman d'Enéas était souhaitée depuis longtemps; le volume de M. de Grave justifie tout ce qu'on en entendait."—G. Rauschen. *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (G. Paris). "La publication de M. Rauschen . . . apporte une contribution des plus importantes à l'histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire."—E. T. Kuiper. *Karel ende Elegast* (G. Paris). Mr. Kuiper's edition of this curious little poem renders a service to Romance as well as to Germanic studies.—Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut national de France, tome XXXIV, première partie (P. Meyer).—E. Forestié. P. de Lunel, dit Cavalier Lunel de Montech, troubadour du XIVe siècle, mainteneur des jeux floraux de Toulouse (P. Meyer). Offers many emendations.—J. Pichon and G. Vicaire. *Le Viandier de Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent, enfant de cuisine de la reine Jehanne d'Evreux, queu du roi Philippe de Valois, etc.* (S. Luce). "Les étrangers prétendent, non sans malice, que nous avons joui de tout temps, en cuisine, d'une suprématie moins disputée que dans les autres domaines où notre action a pu s'exercer. Or, le *Viandier* de Guillaume Tirel ou, comme disaient nos pères, le *Taillevent*, car le sobriquet du queux, dont l'œuvre si populaire servit de modèle pendant des siècles à toutes nos *Cuisinières bourgeoises*, était devenu un nom commun, le *Taillevent* est le monument le plus antique et le plus vénérable de cette suprématie."

#### Périodiques.

Chronique. Adolphe Gaspary, professor of Romance languages at the University of Breslau and author of the excellent *Geschichte der italienischen Literatur*, which is left incomplete, died March 18, 1892, aged 43 years. Shortly before his death he had received a call to Göttingen. Carl Appel has been invited to fill the vacancy at Breslau, and A. Stimming that at Göttingen.—James Stürzinger, formerly professor of Romance languages at Bryn Mawr, has been elected 'extraordinary' professor at Tübingen.—V. Crescini has been elected professor of the comparative history of the neo-Latin languages and literatures at Padua.

Livres annoncés sommairement (38 titles).

#### Juillet.

W. Meyer-Lübke et G. Paris. La première personne du pluriel en français. 24 pages. Meyer-Lübke summarizes all the leading theories heretofore advanced as to the origin of the termination *-ous*, and pretty conclusively establishes the more or less current view that it is a generalization, for all the tenses of all verbs, of the single form *-umus* occurring in one tense of one verb (*sumus*). To the second part of the article Gaston Paris prefixes the following statement: "Je veux seulement revenir sur quelques points accessoires et esquisser rapidement, autant que nous pouvons nous la représenter, l'histoire de la propagation, en français, de la terminaison *-umus* au delà de son domaine originaire."



G. Huet. Les fragments de la traduction néerlandaise des *Lorrains*. 39 pages. Of the various mediaeval literatures, that of the Netherlands seems to have been the only one that possessed a translation of the extensive cycle of the *Lorrains*. Of this translation only fragments are preserved. After giving a bibliographical list of these fragments, the author treats his subject under the following main heads: 1. Analyse des fragments conservés; 2. Plan du poème néerlandais; 3. Comparaison avec les versions françaises; 4. Sources et caractère de l'original français perdu.

Mélanges. G. Paris. *Bascauda*. A word 'britannique' known to Martial and Juvenal, in the sense of *large basin*, from which Paris derives Old French *baschoe* (*bascduda*) and Mod. Fr. *bâche* (*bâscauda*), whence English *basket*, through a probable French diminutive *baschete*.—G. Paris. *Longaigne*. Properly a term of monastic architecture < *longanea* < *longum*, a translation of *Μάκρον*, name of a celebrated portico at Constantinople. The word *longanea* came to be used euphemistically in the sense of 'latrines.' "Les latrines, dans les couvents peuplés, occupaient de véritables galeries, placées en dehors de la maison, et souvent sur l'eau."—G. Paris. *Boute-en-courroie*. This phrase, which has been an old-time puzzle to the lexicographers, is here explained as a sort of three-card-monte trick, only that it is worked with a strap. The sharper who plays the game is also designated by the same term. "Diabolus . . . est sicut ille qui ludit de corrigia, qui vocatur *boute en corroie*, qui facit ibi ad terram duos laqueos, et dicit: 'Ponam tecum quod nunquam poteris ita figere digitum tuum quin quando traham ad me corrigiam sis extra, et nunquam intra.'"—P. Meyer. Fragment de la *Vengeance de Raguidel*.—A. Jeanroy. Sur deux chansons de Conon de Béthune.—A. Thomas. *Le Mystère de la Passion* à Saint-Flour en 1425.—A. Piaget. Remarques sur Villon, à propos de l'édition de M. A. Longnon.—A. Piaget. *La Quistione d'amore* de Carlo del Nero.

Comptes rendus. Ernest Langlois. Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose (Charles Joret). "Suivant pas à pas son auteur, M. Langlois a mis en lumière, avec une grande perspicacité, les emprunts que celui-ci a faits à près de quarante auteurs, tant de l'antiquité que du moyen âge, parmi lesquels figurent au premier rang Ovide, Boèce, et Alain de Lille. Mais que d'autres noms il cite dans sa patiente énumération! Aristote, Cicéron, Virgile, Horace, Suétone, Solin, Macrobe, Geber et Roger Bacon, Jean de Salisbury, Alhazen, Huon de Méry, etc., passent tour à tour sous nos yeux."—P. J. Rousselot. Les modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin (Charente). Thèse française.—De vocabulorum congruentia in rustico Cellae-Fruini sermone (A. Thomas). Thèse latine. The most remarkable portion of the former of these works is the chapter entitled 'Méthode graphique appliquée à la phonétique.' "Pour écrire un travail de ce genre il fallait des connaissances en physique que possèdent bien peu de linguistes de l'heure présente et qui s'imposeront sans doute de plus en plus aux linguistes de l'avenir." The following statement of the author himself concerning this chapter is especially noteworthy: "Les conclusions de cette première partie sembleraient appeler des modifications importantes dans la graphie de mon patois. Toutefois je résiste à la tentation de les faire. Comme elles échappent toutes au contrôle de mon oreille, je serais exposé à

une foule d'erreurs. Je continue donc à écrire mon patois comme je l'entends." —Goddard Henry Orpen. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl, an Old French Poem* (P. Meyer). "C'est assurément la meilleure publication d'ancien français qui ait été faite jusqu'à présent par un Anglais. Mais ce n'est même pas dire assez, car les rares éditions de textes français ou anglo-normands que nous devons aux savants anglais sont souvent bien peu recommandables." In a footnote Mr. Meyer adds: "Il faut cependant faire une exception en faveur de la 'Vie de Saint Auban' de M. R. Atkinson, un irlandais comme M. Orpen." —J. Ulrich. *Les Merveilles de l'Irlande: texte provençal* (P. Meyer). "Ce n'est malheureusement pas la première fois que M. Ulrich s'acquitte d'une manière insuffisante des tâches qu'il s'impose."

#### Périodiques.

Chronique. Giovanni Flechia, Italian senator, and professor at the University of Turin, died July 3, 1892, at the age of 80 years. "Flechia était indianiste de profession, mais c'était aussi un romaniste de premier ordre." —Professor Schuchardt, of Graz, having published a note in the *Litteraturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.* calling upon linguists to unite, in order to avoid ambiguity, in using the signs < and > to mean respectively *whence* and *from* (Ital. *cuore* > Lat. *cor*), various scholars have published protests against this interpretation and employment of the signs in question, which, as it appears, were independently introduced at about the same time (1870) by Prof. Francis A. March and Karl Verner, and have ever since been used, with almost universal agreement, in the sense opposed to that championed by Schuchardt. [Prof. S. continues, in his numerous and highly valuable contributions to philology, to disregard what has been shown to be the accepted usage.]

#### Livres annoncés sommairement (23 titles).

##### Octobre.

P. Meyer. *L'Image du Monde*, rédaction du ms. Harley 4333.

A. Thomas. *Aïse*, essai étymologique. 22 pages. Masterly study, deriving this much-discussed word from Lat. *adjacens*. Ital. *agio* and Port. *azo*, which do not accord with this etymology, are presumably loan-words.

F. Novati. *Le Livre de raisons de B. Boysset*, d'après le ms. des Trinitaires d'Arles actuellement conservé à Gênes.

P. Meyer. *Les manuscrits de Bertran Boysset* (premier article, avec facsimilé).

A. Piaget. Une édition gothique de Charles d'Orléans.

Mélanges. G. Paris. *Mastin*. Not from *mansionatinum* (*canem*) (Diez), but from *mansuetinum* (cf. *consuetudinem* > *costume*). —G. Paris. *Antenois* (<*antinesem* <*antinum* <*annotinum*) —P. de Nolhac. *Le Gallus Calumniator de Pétrarque*. —A. Thomas. *Le théâtre à Paris et aux environs à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. —A. Thomas. Jean de Sy et Jean de Cis. —A. Piaget. *Michaut* pour *Machaut*. —Paget Toynbee. *Estaler*. Derives this word and Eng. *stale*, in sense both of 'uriner' and of 's'arrêter,' from Germ. *stal*, Anglo-Saxon *steal*, Eng. *stall* (cf. A. J. P. XII 239).

## Périodiques.

Chronique. Eduard Mall, professor of Romance and English philology at the University of Würzburg, editor of the works of Marie de France and other Old French texts, died in March, 1892, aged less than 50 years.—Reinhold Köhler, librarian at Weimar and most eminent scholar of his time in the comparative history of folk-tales, died April 15, 1892, aged 62 years.—The death of Ernest Renan, October 2, 1892, at the age of 69 years, suggests the propriety of reminding the general public of his important contributions to the history of Mediaeval French and Provençal literature, contained in several volumes of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*.

Livres annoncés sommairement (27 titles).

H. A. TODD.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The elder Kipling's 'Beast and Man in India' is introduced by an apt quotation from Walt Whitman: 'I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained.' But apart from the philosophic calm engendered by contemplating the animals, 'by standing and looking at them long and long,' no nationality can be understood without knowing its attitude towards certain familiar creatures, and 'Beast and Man in Greece,' properly handled, would be an interesting theme. A right-minded person may refuse to accept the moral of a fable and cast contempt on the wisdom of a proverb. Every ἐπιμίθιον is a nuisance, and the fewest proverbs may not be read backwards as well as forwards. But the student of life must take an interest in the *dramatis personae* of fable and proverb, must ask himself questions as to the social position of the dog in Greece and the social position of the ass. If the Greek γαλή is not our harmless, necessary cat, but a half-domesticated, flippant weasel, then a great gulf is fixed between our home life and that of the Greeks. For the appreciation of a people it matters much whether their lion be a real lion or a menagerie lion or an heraldic lion. A horse is one thing to a Tartar and another to a Venetian. And so monographs that throw light on this and that poor brother of the animal kingdom are always welcome. A thoroughly competent American scholar, Professor MORGAN, of Harvard, has recently earned our gratitude by making us better acquainted with an important character in Attic life through his translation of XENOPHON *On Horsemanship* and his admirable notes and illustrations (Boston, Little, Brown & Co.). Some years ago the book of KELLER on the dove was read with great interest by all scholars. And it was from no want of good-will that I did not notice at the time of its appearance a dissertation by BAETHGEN *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* (1887), in which the author has brought together some important facts concerning that fine creature, which has been so vulgarized in modern times that it is hard to reproduce the Greek admiration of the 'Persian bird.' No poet of to-day would dare to draw his figures from the cockpit, and Mr. Freeman, who sneered at Pindar's ἐνδομάχας ἀλέκτωρ, would have sneered at Ion's description of the heroic death of a gamecock:

θάνατον δ' ὄγε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλεν.

One of the latest contributions to this department of ancient life is a treatise *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica*, by WALTER ROBERT-TORNOW (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), a storehouse of entertaining facts which ought to be made accessible to that wider public which will not look for this kind of diversion in the precincts of the Latin tongue. In these days of 'sugar trusts' we are apt to forget how important was honey in the time when there was no sugar; and as honey is

largely manufactured now, comb and all, it is hardly possible to be filled with religious awe in contemplating it, and so it is well to be reminded that, from the cradle to the grave, the life of the Greek was compassed by an Oceanus of honey. The first food given to the new-born child was honey; and to the passages collected by Robert-Tornow I would add Soranus, *Gynaec.* 86: *δεῖ δὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸ στόμα τοῦ βρέφους ἡρέμα διαχρίειν εἴτα χλιαρὸν ὑδρόμελι παρενστάζειν.* Honey was one of the constituents of the funeral libation, and the bodies of the dead were preserved in honey. As to the bee itself, whose natural and mythological history is given in charming detail, our 'Bienenvater' makes the somewhat cynical observation that if the ancients had observed the sexual life of the bee more closely, the 'flower-worker' would not have been selected as an emblem of purity and chastity; but as it appears from his own statement that even modern observers are ill-informed on the subject, it would have been as well to leave our faith undisturbed. It is the only note that jars in the attractive volume.

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Some years ago, as I was returning from the performance of the *Acharnians* at Philadelphia, one of my fellow-travellers shyly ventured the remark that if the *Acharnians* was to be considered a typical Greek comedy, then Greek comedy might be a jolly nursery play, might be a bustling farce to amuse children, but was scarcely the thing for grown-up people. Now, I am of Rabelais' mind, of Goethe's mind, as to the discernment of the smaller sex in all such matters, and it was one of the smaller sex that made the remark. In some respects, it is true, the *Acharnians* is not a typical Greek comedy. Zieliński would say it lacks the *ἀγών*, and, in fact, as compared with the *Knights* it has no organization, as compared with the *Lysistrata* it is disarticulate; and yet, as the plots of the other plays passed through my mind, I was not certain that any of them would find favor with one familiar only with the modern stage; and so, after making such an exposition of the matter as was possible under the circumstances, I laid the thing up in my heart, saying sadly to myself: "So to the clear eyes of this woman Rhadamanthys, our adored Aristophanes is little better than a monkey. *καλὸς τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ καλός.* Nay, a monkey without even an organ-grinder to give some semblance of rhythm to his antics." And then somewhat fiercely: "And is she to blame, when scholars actually edit Aristophanes without doing anything to show that he was an artist, without doing anything to show that he is aught to them except a poor punster, a broad jester, a grotesque farcer; capable, it is true, of splendid invective, capable, it is true, of lyric sweetness; but a supreme artist—hardly." We have all seen children pick up Chinese fire-crackers that had failed to go off by reason of a defective fuse, break them in two, and apply a match in the hope of bringing out a little fizz, a little spurt; and so we may fairly say that to some people Aristophanes is a string of just such dead fire-crackers, out of which scholiasts and annotators try to elicit a faint semblance of fun. Now, I do not consider myself inaccessible to a joke. If I were, I should hardly be the American I am; and, in fact, I may claim to have made special studies in Aristophanic jokes: I have codified them and paralleled them, and have, in fine, done my duty by them. Nay, I have tried


to extend the sphere of them, and am very far from carrying the owl of serious politics into every part of this citadel of Athenian wit and humor. But Aristophanes is poetry, Aristophanes is art, and should be interpreted as poetry and as art; and editions like Dr. MERRY's *Wasps* (Macmillan) and the rest of them, which refuse to consider the form, which do not give a *conspectus metrorum*, much less hint at the meaning of the shifting metres, fall very far short of what is due to the great genius of the poet, the great skill of the artist. To him that hath ears to hear, every metre, from entrance to exit, has its significance. It is not meaningless that the chorus of the *Acharnians* begins with the trochaic tetrameter and passes over into passionate cretics, that the chorus of the *Wasps* begins with the iambic tetrameter and falls soon after into caterwauling. 'The *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Ecclesiazusae* have no cretics, the *Nubes* practically none, and their range is philosophic and artistic mainly.'<sup>1</sup> That is no accident, and no loving student of art will fail to listen for just such keynotes, to note just such silences. To be sure, we shall be told, as we have been told, that 'it is idle to adduce literary and metrical considerations, as to which taste and fancy may legitimately differ,' in support of this or that interpretation; and it is true that even Shelley was capable of using the vulgar iambic tetrameter amid the glories of his '*Prometheus Unbound*'; but, if all this be imagination, imagination has its rights in the interpretation of works of imagination, and without imagination poetry is a dead thing as poetry. It may be profitable for correction, for instruction in righteousness; and this is one great function of poetry which the Greeks themselves valued; but we must also remember that ὁ τι καλὸν φίλον αἰεὶ was not spoken of the soul alone. But beside the metres there is the dramaturgy to be considered, and whether Zieliński is right or not, no editor of Aristophanes can afford to ignore him. The question of the ἀγών is one that has to be met. At the same time, it is fair to add that in his fourth edition of the *Frogs* (1894), KOCK calls Zieliński's theory 'a problematic innovation,' but even he admits the importance and suggestiveness of the investigation, and does not dare ignore it, although 'practical considerations' have prevented him from substituting the new order for the old.

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The death of the most eminent of American philologists, WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, took place on the seventh of June, after the pages of this number were closed, and there is only space left to record the departure of a scholar who, in the midst of his manifold labors, showed not only by kindly expressions but by active help his interest in the establishment and in the prosperity of this Journal, as well as his personal friendship for the Editor, a fellow-student of the Berlin days of 1850. The press of the country, daily and weekly, has been full of tributes to the greatest student of language that ever rose on American soil, and it is fitting that THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY should set apart a space for a memorial to one who vindicated the right of Americans to a share in the processes of the philological thought of

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks in J. H. U. Circulars, Aug. 1883, based on Dr. Miller's figures.

the world, and showed in all that he wrought the unmistakable stamp of the American genius. Arrangements have been made, therefore, to secure for the next number of the Journal a fit record of the work of his life as a man and as a scholar, so that the opening of a new university year may be signalized by the estimate of what we have lost in the withdrawal of so active a force from the domain of American scholarship, and of what we have gained by the abiding influence of his precepts and his example.



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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.<sup>1</sup>

Northampton, Massachusetts, half a century ago, was one of the best examples of a typical New England town—among stately hills, on the banks of the Connecticut River, with broad streets well shaded by great spreading elms, with large homesteads still occupied by the descendants of early settlers, with people of much culture and refinement who were given to “plain living and high thinking.” It was the town of Edwards, of Dwight, of Hawley, of Stoddard, of Strong, and of many another worthy. It was the seat of the once famous Round Hill Academy. There, on February 9, 1827, William Dwight Whitney was born,—the second surviving son and fourth child of Josiah Dwight Whitney and Sarah Williston Whitney. His mother was a daughter of the Rev. Payson Williston (Yale, 1783), of Easthampton, and sister of the Hon. Samuel Williston, who founded Williston Seminary. His father was born in Westfield, Mass.,—the oldest son of Abel Whitney, who was graduated at Harvard in 1783.

No company of brothers and sisters of any American family has been so remarkable for scholarly attainments and achievements as that family in Northampton: Josiah D. Whitney, Jr. (Yale, 1839), Professor of Geology at Harvard; William D. Whitney, of Yale; James L. Whitney (Yale, 1856), of the Boston

<sup>1</sup> The writer desires to acknowledge his special obligations to Professor Salisbury for allowing him access to original documents, and to Dr. Hanns Oertel for calling his attention to publications which would otherwise have escaped his notice.

Public Library; Henry M. Whitney (Yale, 1864), Professor of English Literature at Beloit College; Miss Maria Whitney, the first incumbent of the chair of Modern Languages in Smith College.

William D. Whitney was fitted for college in his native town, and entered the Sophomore class of Williams College in 1842, at the age of fifteen. Tradition says that the studies of the college course were easy to him, and that he spent most of his time in wandering over the fields, studying geology and the habits of birds and of plants, although he maintained the first rank for scholarship in his class. On his graduation he pronounced the valedictory oration, on 'Literary Biography.'

After graduation—at eighteen, the age when most now enter college—Mr. Whitney remained for three years in uncertainty with regard to his life-work, meanwhile busy as teller in his father's bank. He did not take an active part in the social life of the young people of Northampton, but employed himself in his own pursuits. His leisure time was given largely to the collection of birds and plants; a large and beautiful case of birds stuffed by him at this period is in the Peabody Museum at New Haven. His tastes for natural science were marked, and he was more than an amateur in that field. He spent the summer of 1849 in the United States Survey of the Lake Superior region, conducted by his eminent brother, Josiah D. Whitney—having "under his charge the botany, the ornithology, and the accounts." In the summer of 1873, also, he was invited to take part in the Hayden exploring expedition in Colorado. The Report of the Survey says that he "rendered most valuable assistance . . . in geographical work." His account of this expedition of 1873 was published in the *New York Tribune*, and afterwards was translated into French for a popular publication of that country, as giving a clear view of the work of such scientific parties. He had a brief article in the *American Journal of Science* for the same year on the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories. He gave several months of his time just before leaving home for his last visit to Europe, to helping Professor J. D. Whitney put through the press the latter's work on 'The Metallic Wealth of the United States.'

His scientific experience stood him in good stead in more than one instance of philological research and discussion. He was not tempted to infer from linguistic data the order of succession of

trees in forests, nor astronomical facts. He was a member for several years of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One of his most important publications was the annotated translation of a Hindu treatise on astronomy—the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 1860—and one of the longest essays in his 'Oriental and Linguistic Studies' treats of the same subject.

In 1848, largely under the influence and with the encouragement of his father's pastor, the Rev. George E. Day (for a quarter of a century after 1866 Professor of Hebrew at Yale, and at present Dean of the Yale Divinity School), Mr. Whitney directed his attention to the study of Sanskrit, for which he found books in the library of his elder brother, who had recently returned from Europe. A really good mind can find pleasure and success in any one of several different fields of research. Not often, however, do we find such marked examples of men of real talent manifesting distinct tastes and power in widely different departments of learning as in the case of these two brothers. Mr. J. D. Whitney went to Germany primarily in order to prepare himself for mineralogical and geological work, but became interested in the study of languages and attended (with but two fellow-listeners) a course of lectures on Sanskrit at Berlin. He himself says that he might have taken up philology in earnest, abandoning natural science altogether, if immediately after his return to his home he had not received an appointment to engage in a geological survey of a new and interesting region under United States authority. His philological studies have borne fruit in his 'Names and Places—Studies in Geographical and Topographical Nomenclature,' published in 1888, and in the more than four thousand definitions he furnished to the Century Dictionary. Mr. W. D. Whitney certainly had great ability in the study of natural science. Doubtless the accident of his finding various linguistic books ready to hand, at the time when his mental powers were most actively developing, had much to do with his turning in the direction of philology. During the summer which he spent with his brother on Lake Superior he had a Sanskrit grammar with him, which he studied at odd moments when not engaged in collecting plants or computing barometrical observations. Yale College has had another marked example of a scholar with equal ability and tastes for widely diverse studies, in Professor James Hadley, whose first published work was in the department of mathematics, and of whom a high authority said that the best

mathematician in the country was spoiled when Mr. Hadley devoted himself to Greek!

Mr. Whitney's practical banker father was not fully satisfied with his plan of giving himself to Oriental studies, and asked his pastor whether a man could support himself in life by studying and teaching Sanskrit. Dr. Day made the very wise answer that if a man had any exact and thorough knowledge, he was likely to be able to use it. As a Massachusetts man, the father turned naturally to Harvard as the proper place for his son's pursuit of advanced studies, but his pastor called his attention to the newly established department of Philosophy and the Arts at New Haven as the only definite arrangement yet made in this country for university work, and especially to the unique equipment of the special department of Oriental languages.

Before going to New Haven to study, Mr. Whitney prepared and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* an article (translated and abridged from von Bohlen) on the 'Grammatical Structure of the Sanskrit'; and in the same periodical, in the following year, he published a 'Comparison of the Greek and Latin Verbs.'

In the autumn of 1849, too late for his name to appear in the catalogue of that year, Mr. Whitney came to Yale and studied through the remainder of the college year under Professor Salisbury. His associate in study was Professor James Hadley (six years older than himself, but only three years older in college age), who had been appointed assistant professor of Greek in 1848. The relations of the two continued most intimate and mutually stimulating until the death of Professor Hadley in 1872. Mr. Whitney edited a volume of Professor Hadley's Essays, in 1873, and wrote a brief but highly appreciative sketch of his friend for the large work entitled 'Yale College,' published in 1879.

Professor Salisbury was graduated at Yale in 1832. During more than three years' residence abroad, 1836-39, he studied with De Sacy and Garcin de Tassy in Paris and with Bopp in Berlin. In 1841 he was invited to a professorship of the Arabic and Sanskrit languages in Yale College, without the expectation of pecuniary compensation. This was only nine years after the foundation of the Sanskrit professorship (of H. H. Wilson) at Oxford, and twelve years after Lassen was made Professor Extraordinarius at Bonn. He returned to Europe in 1842 for a year, and read *privatissime* Arabic with Freytag and Sanskrit with Lassen, at Bonn. In 1846 he was made the Corresponding

Secretary of the American Oriental Society, and (to use Mr. Whitney's words) "for some ten years Professor Salisbury was virtually the Society, doing its work and paying its bills. He gave it standing and credit in the world of scholars, as an organization that could originate and make public valuable material; after such a start, it was sure of respectful attention to whatever it might do." The Society had published nothing before he took charge of this office. Professor Salisbury also secured valuable Arabic and Sanskrit manuscripts and books from De Sacy's library and elsewhere in Europe; and Professor FitzEdward Hall, then at Benares, procured for him many expensive and important Sanskrit publications from India. His services and generosity in procuring fonts of Oriental type, and his wisdom in bringing the Oriental Society into close connection with the studies of foreign missionaries, should not be forgotten. He was the only trained Orientalist in this country, until Mr. Whitney's return in 1853, and had an admirably equipped library. In the Yale catalogue of 1841-42, Professor Salisbury's name appears for the first time in the list of the faculty as Professor of the Arabic and Sanskrit Languages and Literature. In the catalogue of 1843-44, announcement is made that "the Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit will give instruction on Tuesdays and Wednesdays in Arabic grammar with the interpretation of the Korân and the Mo'allakas, and on Fridays and Saturdays in Sanskrit grammar with the interpretation of the laws of Manu." In the following year we are told that "the Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit proposes to commence this year, in the ensuing summer, a free course of lectures on the Sacred Code of the Hindus, the Manava Dharma Sastra." In 1845 for the first time appears a modestly-placed paragraph, saying "Instruction is also given by the Professors to Resident Graduates, provided a sufficient number present themselves to form a class." This was followed by the offer of a "course of lectures on the literary history and doctrines of the Kurân," or instruction in the elements of Sanskrit. In 1847 appeared the formal announcement of the opening of the Department of Philosophy and the Arts, with definite arrangements for advanced work. The philological courses were by President Woolsey (Thucydides or Pindar), Professor Kingsley ("in such Latin author as may be agreed upon"), Professor Gibbs ("lectures on some points of general Philology"), and Professor Salisbury (Arabic Grammar, and "some of the relations of the Arabic to other of the Shemitish dialects").

Marvellous stories are told in student-tradition of the rapid progress made by Mr. Whitney and Mr. Hadley—that they learned all the paradigms of Bopp's grammar in two lessons, etc. The basis of the stories is partly the fact that both already read simple Sanskrit with ease, but it is certain that few teachers ever had such a class. They were Professor Salisbury's first and last pupils in Sanskrit, but he might well feel proud of the record. He himself says of them that "their quickness of perception and unerring exactness of acquisition soon made it evident that the teacher and the taught must change places."

In 1850 Mr. Whitney went to Germany and spent three winter semesters in studying with Weber, Bopp, and Lepsius in Berlin, and two summer semesters at work with Roth in Tübingen. At the suggestion of Roth he undertook with this master the publication of the Atharva-Veda, and copied and collated the Berlin MSS of this work. In 1852 he sent to the American Oriental Society a paper, read at their October meeting of that year, on 'The main results of the later Vedic researches in Germany.' A letter from Weber, dated at Berlin, Dec. 28, 1852, is interesting in this connection on several accounts. He writes: "I hope ere long Sanskrit studies will flourish in America more than in England, where with the only exception of the venerable and not-to-be-praised-enough Professor Wilson nobody seems to care for them so much as to devote his life to them. The East India Company certainly does all that is in its power to help the publication of the Vedic texts, but it does not find English hands to achieve it. . . . It is certainly very discouraging to see that Professor Wilson during all the time since he got his professorship in Oxford, has not succeeded in bringing up even one Sanskrit scholar who might claim to be regarded as one who has done at least some little service to our Sanskrit philology. . . . I have to congratulate you most heartily on your countryman Mr. Whitney, who is now intensely engaged in the preparations for an edition of the Atharva Samhitā in union with Professor Roth of Tübingen. The next number of the *Indische Studien*, too, which is now in press, contains from him tables showing the natural relation of the four now known Samhitās of the Veda,—an attempt in which he was greatly indebted to Professor Roth's communications, but which still remains also a very favorable specimen of his own assiduity and correctness."

The following letters need little explanation. We note with interest how soon the first followed the receipt of Weber's letter



which has just been quoted. The spirit which prompted the offer of the first letter is certainly unusual in its generosity—not only surrendering a professorial chair, but also providing for its endowment. The modesty and delicacy of the reply seem as extraordinary at the present day, and were perhaps as rare forty years ago.

Under date of February 19, 1853, Professor Salisbury wrote to Mr. Whitney: “. . . I have observed your course of study and the rapidity of your acquisitions since you have been abroad with much interest and have seen in this, together with what I have known otherwise of your tastes and talents, a way opening for relief to myself which I have long desired. The prospect has been the more pleasing to me inasmuch as I have also seen that I might be able through you to bring new honor to my ‘alma mater.’ . . . It is also much at heart with me to secure . . . assistance to myself in editing and endeavouring in every way to improve the *Journal of the Oriental Society*.” Professor Salisbury proposed that Mr. Whitney should be made “Professor of the Sanskrit and its relations to the kindred languages, and of Sanskrit literature, in the Department of Philosophy and the Arts in Yale College,” his term of service to begin Aug. 8, 1853;—it being understood that Mr. Whitney would include in his instructions the teaching of modern languages to undergraduates, and should receive the fees which were then paid for such teaching. It was understood, further, that Mr. Whitney would co-operate with Professor Salisbury in editing the *Journal of the Oriental Society*. Professor Salisbury undertook to create a fund which with the fees for modern-language instruction might furnish nearly the ordinary salary of a Yale professor at that time.

Mr. Whitney replied from Paris, on April 4, 1853. Professor Salisbury’s letter had reached him at Berlin at a time when he was engaged in closing his work there, and “had hardly an hour for quiet thought upon any subject.” He expressed his gratitude for the kind feeling toward him “which has had a share in the dictating of the proposal,” and continued: “Nor can I well say how much I am struck by the true and self-forgetting zeal for the progress of Oriental studies, of which this, like all your previous movements, affords an evidence. But . . . I am compelled to ask myself whether . . . I can hope to render any such service to Science as would be an adequate return for the kindness you exhibit toward me; whether, finally, it would not be in me an act

of unpardonable presumption to take upon my shoulders an office which you are desirous of throwing off. . . . I need not say how high and honorable a post I regard that of a teacher at Yale to be, how many and extreme attractions, both in a personal and in a scientific point of view, the prospect of such a situation would have for me. . . . So far as my own interests are concerned, I could find nothing in the terms which you propose or the duties which you suggest to which to raise a moment's objection. . . . All that I could bring up against the arrangement would be that the advantage is too entirely upon my side." He desired further time for reflection and consultation with his friends, and thought the postponement of a decision less objectionable because he did not expect to be able to finish his work in Europe and return before the last of August, and then, after a three years' absence from home, desired to spend some time with his friends. His eyes, too, had been giving him "during the winter ground for some apprehension," and "would doubtless be best consulted for by a period of rest and inaction."

In Paris he was "at work on a MS of the Atharva which belongs to the Imperial Library." "Probably it will cost me about six weeks' labor. . . . Then will follow two or three months of similar labor in London and Oxford. . . . During the whole winter I was compelled to neglect all other studies; that, however, chiefly owing to the condition of my eyes, which robbed me of about half my time. Persian and Arabic had to be laid aside altogether, and what of time and strength I had to spare from the Sanskrit, I devoted to the Egyptian and Coptic. I cannot well express to you the interest which this latter branch of study has awakened in me, and the strong desire I have felt to penetrate further into it than the mere surface exploration which could be made in the odd moments of a single winter. I would not, however, sell for a very large sum the little insight into this wonderful subject which I have already obtained, and it will be my highest pleasure to attempt to draw it somewhat more into the circle of our Oriental inquiries than has been generally the case hitherto. . . . There is nothing new of particular interest, so far as I know, to communicate to you from the Sanskrit world on this side of the water. The main interest attaches to the Lexicon which is going to be really a great work, and to push forward the whole study of that language a long way with one thrust. A slow thrust, unfortunately, it will have to be;

Prof. Roth estimates ten years as needed for its perfection. [It was completed in 1875.] I am going to contribute my small mite also toward it, by furnishing to Prof. Roth the vocabulary complete of the Atharva. The latter, as you perhaps know, has now the sole redaction of the Vedic material, Aufrecht having left Germany. The next number of Weber's *Zeitschrift* will be out now very soon, and will contain a contribution from me, a Vedic concordance."

Mr. Whitney reached home earlier than he had expected—about Aug. 8, 1853—and on Aug. 15 he wrote: "Although not less distrustful than before of my ability to discharge to your satisfaction and my own the duties of the post to which you would assign me, I should be disposed to accept gratefully your proposals, and do my best at least to accomplish that which such an acceptance demands of me." But Mr. Whitney desired a modification of the plan. "I have no such knowledge of French as would in any manner justify me in making pretensions to ability to teach it." His estimate of his knowledge of modern languages was lower than that of his friends. Not until 1856 did he accept the title of "Instructor in German." A year later, after he had taken nine months of travel and study in southern Europe, the college catalogue calls him "Professor of Sanskrit, and Instructor in modern languages."

The importance to American scholarship of the offer of this chair to Professor Whitney may be better appreciated if we remember that his predecessor still lives, and that no other chair of Sanskrit was established in this country for about a quarter of a century.

At a special meeting of the Corporation of Yale College, on May 10, 1854, the "Professorship of the Sanskrit and its relations to kindred languages, and Sanskrit Literature" was established, and Mr. Whitney was elected to hold it. The founder's desire for the range of the department was indicated distinctly, but the shorter name of the professorship, "Professor of Sanskrit," was used in the college catalogues until 1869, when the words "and Comparative Philology" were added, without indicating any change in the direction of the incumbent's studies or in the plan of the university.

In 1854 the announcement of philological courses in the Department of Philosophy and the Arts covered Professor Gibbs's lectures on general Philology, Professor Thacher's course of two

hours a week in Lucretius and in Latin Composition, Professor Hadley's course of two hours a week in Pindar or Theocritus, and contained the following statement: "Professor Whitney will give instruction in Sanskrit from Bopp's Grammar and Nalus, or such other text-books as may be agreed upon, and in the rudiments of the Ancient and Modern Persian, and of the Egyptian languages." The last clause here reminds the reader of the enthusiasm for the Egyptian and Coptic expressed in the letter of April 4, 1853; and of the fact that Mr. Whitney's first 'bibliographical notice' in the Journal of the Oriental Society discussed Lepsius's work on the 'First order of Egyptian deities,' but we read little more of these studies, except a paper on Lepsius's Nubian Grammar in the second volume of this JOURNAL. In 1858 Professor Whitney's announcement read: "Professor Whitney will instruct in the Sanskrit language, and in the History, Antiquities, and Literature of India and other Oriental countries; also in the comparative philology of the Indo-European languages, and the general principles of linguistic study. He will also give instruction to such as may desire it in the modern European languages."

The appointment of Professor Whitney in 1854 was for five years, with a pledge of reappointment "for life," five years later, if he desired it. In 1859 this reappointment was made—the founder of the chair stipulating that Professor Whitney should be free to retire from the professorship at any time. Mr. Whitney wrote, on July 15, 1859: "My present situation in New Haven is so pleasant to me on so many accounts, and holds out such prospects of honorable and useful employment in the time to come, that I should exceedingly regret being compelled to go elsewhere. Nor, although it would be in many respects more agreeable to me to be able to devote my *whole* time to my own peculiar studies, do I see reason seriously to regret the division of my labors between the ancient and the modern languages. It is both useful and pleasant to have to do more directly with the young men in college, and there is also the chance of influencing one and another of them to devote his attention to higher philological study."

During and after the Civil War, the ordinary expenses of life increased, and Mr. Whitney's family was growing. The income which had sufficed for the young and unmarried professor in 1854 had become entirely insufficient for his needs, with six

children, in 1870. For his pecuniary relief he assumed additional duties of instruction in modern languages, in connection with the Sheffield Scientific School. His teaching of modern languages in the academic department had ceased with the entrance upon his duties of Professor Coe, in 1867. The burden of instructing large classes of undergraduates in the very rudiments of French and German (each Academic student then having only thirty or forty lessons in each subject) became more and more irksome.

In September, 1869, Mr. Whitney received an urgent call to Harvard, very soon after President Eliot's election to the headship of that university, with the assurance that he should have "salary enough to constitute a tolerable support," and should not have to teach in any other than his own proper department. He wrote to a friend: "It is the most tempting offer that could, so far as I know, be made me; for on the one hand I have greatly grudged the time which I have had to steal from Oriental and linguistic studies for German and French; and, on the other hand, what I have received for my services to the College has not for a good while paid more than about half my expenses. . . . Such a state of things has been, of course, worrying enough, nor have I seen any definite prospect of a change. But I am greatly attached to the College here, and to the Scientific School, and to relatives and friends in New Haven, and have no hope that . . . I should become so wanted and so comfortable anywhere else."

Professor Whitney's colleagues saw how fatal his departure would be to the advanced philological work at Yale. No definite provision had then been made for graduate instruction in Greek, Latin, and Modern Languages, and although Professors Hadley, Thacher, Packard, and Coe were laboring to build up this department, their efforts received only the slightest pecuniary compensation; they were expected to do full work in the undergraduate department; Mr. Whitney was the only "University professor," not only at Yale, but in the whole country. One who is everywhere recognized as a leader in education then wrote: "I am confident that there is no one whose intellectual influence over the younger officers of the college is so great as Mr. Whitney's. . . . I have greatly admired his influence in promoting fidelity, truth, justice, and industry among the students, as well as his skill in promoting their intellectual character." Another of his colleagues wrote: "I have never known the college men so moved. The danger of losing so eminent a man as Mr. Whitney seemed almost

appalling, and I think if no other means of retaining him could be devised, the professors themselves would each cut off a slice <sup>their</sup> from his meagre salary to make up the amount necessary to retain him. The question seems to rise above personal considerations and to come very near to the vital interests of the university."

Professor Salisbury, whose insight and generosity had brought Mr. Whitney to Yale, was nearly concerned by the call to Cambridge, and after less than a week's delay provided the sum needed for the full foundation of Mr. Whitney's chair on the modern scale of salaries, which had changed greatly since 1854, and Mr. Whitney decided to remain in New Haven. At this time the arrangement was made that Mr. Whitney should give regular instruction in linguistics to the undergraduate classes of the college, and this course, at first given in the form of lectures, as part of the required work, was amplified and continued as an 'elective' until 1886. Mr. Whitney still continued to teach in the Scientific School for an hour a day, saying that in no other way could he add so easily a convenient thousand dollars a year to his income as by teaching from eight to nine o'clock each morning; he required no preparation for the exercise, it did not interfere with the work of his day, and he liked to be brought into contact with the young men.

The invitation to Harvard and the decision to remain at Yale had attracted considerable attention and had given rise to many plans for advanced philological instruction at New Haven. Mr. Whitney's release from drudgery with undergraduates enabled him also to enrich his Sanskrit and linguistic courses. In the catalogue of 1870-71 we read: "In Philology, a somewhat regular course of higher study, extending through two years, and leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is offered. The leading studies of the first year will be The general principles of linguistic science, under Professor Whitney; the Sanskrit language, under Professor Whitney; the older Germanic languages, especially Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, under Professor Hadley and Mr. Lounsbury; along with higher instruction in the classical and the modern languages, according to the special requirements of each student, under Professors Thacher, Packard, and Coe, and Messrs. Van Name and Lounsbury, and others. The leading studies of the second year will be The comparative philology of the Indo-European languages . . . under Professor Whitney; the history of the English language, under Professor Hadley; along

with other special branches, as during the first year." The reward for the new enterprise of a formal graduate school of philology came almost immediately in the form of an unusual class of students, nearly all of whom were destined to secure honorable distinction in their chosen work. In the list of those who received the degree of Ph. D. in 1873 appear the names of Lanman of Harvard, Learned of the Japanese Doshisha, Luquiens of Yale, Manatt of Brown, Otis of the Institute of Technology, and Perrin of Yale. Truly an unusual group! Only the year before, Professor Easton of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Beckwith of Trinity College, and the year following Professor Edgren of the University of Gothenburg, received the same degree, while soon after them President Harper of Chicago, Professor H. P. Wright of Yale, Professor Sherman of Nebraska, Professor Peters of the University of Pennsylvania, and Professor Tarbell of the University of Chicago completed the graduate course under Mr. Whitney. The service which the Semitic scholar, Professor George E. Day, had done for Indo-European philology by turning Professor Whitney's mind to its attractions, was in a way repaid by the latter when he pointed out to William Rainey Harper the great opportunity open to workers in the Semitic field; as a graduate student at Yale, Dr. Harper gave himself to work in the field of the Indo-European languages, but his recollection of his master's words has had a wide influence on Semitic studies in America. Professor Whitney was justly proud of his pupils, and was always interested in their work. His classes in Sanskrit were not large absolutely, but frequently he could say that more were studying this language with him than with any other university professor in the world.

Professor Whitney's connection with the Sheffield Scientific School was close. He organized its department of modern languages, and was a member of its 'Governing Board' from the time of the organization of that body in 1872. One who has occasion to know better than all others says that he was "a tower of strength" to the School—not only by his instructions and by inspiring the students with the spirit of true scholarship, but by his intelligent appreciation of the aims of the School and his wise judgment as to the means to be used in order to attain them. His personal liking for natural science, and training in its methods, added the warmest sympathy to his work in connection with this department of the University.

In the very first communication made to Mr. Whitney with regard to his work at Yale, attention was called to the opportunity for usefulness in connection with the American Oriental Society, of which he was elected a member in 1850. In 1854 his name appears in the list of the publication committee of that Society. In 1855 he was made librarian, and held that office until 1873. This latter post was no sinecure. In the winter of 1853-54, on going to visit the library (then kept in Boston), he "found it a pile of books on the floor in the corner of an upstairs room in the Athenaeum, apparently just as it had been brought in and dumped down from an earlier place of keeping." In the summer of 1855 the books were removed to New Haven. The task of "arranging, labelling, entering in the book of donations, and preparing cards" involved "a very considerable and tedious amount of work." In 1857, on Professor Salisbury's going abroad and resigning the office, Professor Whitney was elected Corresponding Secretary, and continued in this position until 1884, when he was elected President of the Society. His resignation of this latter office was not accepted until 1890, when for nearly four years the condition of his health had obliged him to absent himself from its meetings. He could well say that "no small part of his work had been done in the service of the Society"; from 1857 to 1885, "just a half of the contents of its *Journal* is from his pen." His care of the publications of others, also, was specially difficult, in view of the peculiar danger of typographical errors and the wide field covered by the papers; no ordinary proof-reader could render much assistance. And not infrequently articles by those who were unaccustomed to scientific composition needed thorough revision. On his positively declining to be a candidate for re-election as President, the Society adopted the following minute: "The American Oriental Society—regretfully accepting his declination—desires to record its deep sense of indebtedness to its retiring President, Professor William Dwight Whitney, of New Haven. For twenty-seven years he has served as Corresponding Secretary of the Society; for eighteen, as its Librarian; and for six, as its President. We gratefully acknowledge the obligation under which he has laid us by his diligent attendance at the meetings, by his unstinted giving of time and of labor in editing the publications and maintaining their high scientific character, by the quality and amount of his own contributions to the *Journal*—more than half of volumes VI-XII



coming from his pen—and above all by the inspiration of his example.”

The American Philological Association might have been a natural off-shoot from the Oriental Society. The latter has had a ‘classical-section’ since 1849, of which Professor Hadley was long at the head, of which Professor Goodwin has been the leader for nearly a quarter of a century; and classical papers had been presented by Professor Hadley, as that ‘On the theory of Greek accent,’ and by Professor Lane, as that ‘On the date of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus.’ Many of the early members of the Philological Association were also members of the Oriental Society. Mr. Whitney presided over the Philological Association at its first meeting in Poughkeepsie in 1869, and at the Rochester meeting in 1870, as retiring President, he delivered an address in which he sketched with great wisdom the Association’s action and work. “The association is to be just what its members shall make it, and will not bear much managing or mastering. It must discuss the subjects which are interesting American philologists, and with such wisdom and knowledge as these have at command. . . . In every such free and democratic body things are brought forward into public which might better have been kept back. . . . The classics, of course, will occupy the leading place; that department will be most strongly represented, and will least need fostering, while it will call for most careful criticism. The philology of the American aboriginal languages, on the other hand, demands, as it has already begun to receive, the most hearty encouragement. . . . Educational subjects also are closely bound up with philology, and will necessarily receive great attention; yet there should be a limit here; our special task is to advance the interests of philology only, confident that education will reap its share of the benefit.” Mr. Whitney’s services to the Association, and faithful attendance upon its meetings, may be estimated from the fact that the first sixteen volumes of the *Transactions* contain fourteen papers by him printed in full, while occasionally he presented communications which he did not care to print. At its meeting in Williamstown in July last, the Association adopted the following minute: “The American Philological Association, at its first meeting after the death of Professor William D. Whitney, bears grateful testimony to the value of the services which he rendered for the furtherance of philological learning, and especially in connection with this Association.

Fitly chosen to be its first President, and retained for a quarter of a century upon its Executive Committee, he never failed to take an active part in its work, and in many ways he advanced its interests and encouraged and assisted the studies to which its members are devoted. The record of his life-work may be left for more full recital at another time; but the Association takes this opportunity of testifying to its sense of obligation to Professor Whitney's manifold and successful labors, and of the great loss which his death has brought to its members and to philological students throughout the world."

Both the classical and the oriental philologists of the country have noted Mr. Whitney's constancy in attendance on their gatherings. In November, 1875, he apologized to the Oriental Society for his absence from the May meeting (caused by his visit to Europe in the interest of the edition of the Atharva-Veda), and added that it was his second absence in twenty-one years from a meeting of the Society! His devoted fidelity to the little Classical and Philological Society at Yale was just as marked. A quarter of a century ago, he with Professor Hadley and Professor Packard made that small gathering a deep source of inspiration. Many, if not most, of his learned papers were presented for discussion there. After the death of the lamented Professor Hadley, which gave a sudden check to the development of Yale's advanced courses in philology, Mr. Whitney was the mainstay of the Society, and his regular attendance and patient attention roused to best effort each who took part. Perhaps I ought to confess also that some of the younger instructors and graduate students shrank from presenting papers which might be compared with the finished scholar's elaborate productions. At these meetings his patience must have been sorely tried; much that was presented can have had but little interest for him; but his courtesy was unailing. He gave without stint of his precious time to any undertaking which he believed to be doing, on the whole, useful philological work.

The first great work of Mr. Whitney's scholarship was the publication of the Atharva-Veda-Samhitā, undertaken in 1852 with Professor Roth. The first volume of 458 pages, royal octavo, was published in 1855-56. In connection with this, he prepared and published in Weber's *Indische Studien* (vol. IV, pp. 9-64) in 1857 an 'Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Versanfänge der Atharva-Samhitā'; in the *Journal* of the American

Oriental Society in 1862 (vol. VII, pp. 333-616) the 'Atharva-Veda-Prātiçākhyā,' with text, translation and notes; in the same *Journal* in 1881 (vol. XII, pp. 1-383) an 'Index Verborum' to the published text of the Atharva-Veda. He made to the A. O. S. in April, 1892, an 'Announcement' as to a second volume of the Roth-Whitney edition of the Atharva-Veda. "The bulk of the work" of preparing notes, indexes, etc., "was to have fallen to Professor Roth, not only because the bulk of the work on the first volume had fallen to me [i. e. Professor Whitney], but also because his superior learning and ability pointed him out as the one to undertake it." But Roth's "absorption in the great labor of the Petersburg lexicon for a long series of years had kept his hands from the Atharva-Veda." Mr. Whitney said that he had never lost from view the completion of the plan of publication as originally formed. "In 1875 I spent the summer in Germany chiefly engaged in further collating at Munich and at Tübingen the additional manuscript material which had come to Europe since our text was printed; and I should probably have soon taken up the work seriously, save for having been engaged while in Germany to prepare a Sanskrit grammar, which fully occupied the leisure of several following years. At last in 1885-86, I had fairly started upon the execution of the plan when failure of health reduced my working capacity to a minimum, and rendered ultimate success very questionable. The task, however, has never been laid wholly aside, and it is now so far advanced that barring further loss of power, I may hope to finish it in a couple of years or so. The plan includes critical readings upon the text"; the readings of the Paippalāda version; the data of the Anukramanī respecting authorship, divinity, and meter of each verse; references to the ancillary literature; extracts from the printed commentary; and, finally, a simple literal translation. "An introduction and indexes will give such further material as appears to be called for." Of this work the last revision is only partially made; a few months' more labor would have completed it; Professor Lanman, of Harvard, has undertaken to finish the revision and to conduct the volume through the press. Thus Professor Whitney's work closes as it began—with the Atharva-Veda.

Perhaps Mr. Whitney's most important service to Sanskrit philology was the preparation of his 'Sanskrit Grammar, including both the classical language, and the older dialects, of Veda and Brahmana,' 486 pp., octavo. This was published in Leipzig

in 1879, in the same year with a German translation. He undertook this work in 1875, and in 1878 went to Germany with his family and spent fifteen months in writing out the grammar and preparing it for the press. He aimed "to make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians"; "to include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and Brāhmaṇa"; "to treat the language throughout as an accented one"; "to cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into a form consistent with the teachings of linguistic science." "While the treatment of the facts of the language has thus been made a historical one, within the limits of the language itself, I have not ventured to make it comparative, by bringing in the analogous forms and processes of other related languages. To do this, in addition to all that was attempted beside, would have extended the work both in content and in time of preparation, far beyond the limits assigned to it." A second edition, revised and extended, was published ten years later, in 1889. A 'Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar: The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' 250 pp., was published in Leipzig in 1885. That he did not discredit and slight the old Hindu grammarians because of any lack of acquaintance with them is shown by his own work and publications in that field. He published not only the Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya (text, translation and notes, in 1862), but also a similar edition of the Tāittiriya-Prātiśākhya, with its commentary, the Tribhāṣhyaratna, in 1871. The true relations of Hindu Grammar to the study of Sanskrit, he made clear in two articles published in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, in vols. V and XIV. His last word on the subject was this: "I would by no means say anything to discourage the study of Pāṇini; it is highly important and extremely interesting and might well absorb more of the labor of the present generation of scholars than is given to it. But I would have it followed in a different spirit and a different method. It should be completely abandoned as the means by which we are to learn Sanskrit. For what the literature contains, the literature itself suffices; we can understand it and present it vastly better than Pāṇini could. It is the residuum of peculiar material involved in his grammar that we shall value, and the attempt must be made to separate that from the rest of the mass." More

than twenty-five years ago he called attention to the fact that the very title of Professor Goldstücker's paper 'On the Veda of the Hindus and the Veda of the "German School"' involved an evident *petitio principii*. The fair theme would have been 'The Veda of the Hindu Schools, and the Veda of the European School: which is the true Veda?'

The following extracts from a review by Hillebrandt in the fifth volume of *Bezenberger's Beiträge* illustrate the reception generally accorded to the Sanskrit Grammar:—"Es handelte sich für ihn nicht um ein tieferes studium der einheimischen indischen grammatik, auf deren reiche beobachtungen unsere bisherigen sanskritgrammatiken fast ausschliesslich sich stützen, sondern um die erforschung des sprachzustandes, wie ihn die litteratur selbst aufweist. . . . Whitney's eigentliche aufgabe war es, in die sanskritgrammatik die grundsätze der linguistik durchgreifender, als bisher geschehen war, einzuführen und die sprache als eine historisch gewordene zu betrachten. Dies princip hatte eine beständige rücksichtnahme auf den vedadialekt zur voraussetzung und verlieh Whitney's buche vorzüge, welche allein genügen würden, ihm eine hervorragende stellung unter den vorhandenen lehrbüchern anzuweisen. Die reiche fülle neuen materials, welches er . . . aus allen teilen der vedischen litteratur herbeizog und in instructiver weise dazu verwandte, über das allmähliche aufleben und absterben dieses oder jenes sprachgebrauchs aufschluss zu geben, die durch reiche beispiele und aufstellung ganzer paradigmien illustrierte unterscheidung vedischer und klassischer flexion, die von der indischen grammatik vernachlässigte statistische beobachtung des formenschatzes in älterer und jüngerer litteratur—dies sind eigenschaften die es in dieser ausdehnung mit keinem teilt."

The Grammar provided an instrument which all Sanskrit scholars are now thankfully using.

Of the Supplement to the Grammar, von Bradke wrote in the third volume of the *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*: "So anspruchslos das Werk auftritt, in dieser Weise konnte es nur von einem unserer ersten Kenner der altindischen Literatursprache, und auch von einem solchen nicht ohne lange und mühevollen Arbeit geschaffen werden."

In this connection we should be again reminded that Professor Whitney was one of the chief four collaborators who furnished material for the great Sanskrit dictionary published at the expense of the Russian government.

In March, 1864, Mr. Whitney delivered at the Smithsonian Institution a series of six lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science—probably lectures which he had given to the Sheffield Scientific School the preceding year. This course was repeated before the Lowell Institute and published in 1867, under the title of 'Language and the Study of Language,' 489 pages. This was translated into German by Jolly and into Netherlandish by Vinckers. The clearness and conciseness of the statements and the soundness of the views, in a field where the wildest vagaries had prevailed, and where the imagination was still allowed rather free play, were recognized on every hand. From the time of the preparation of those lectures, Mr. Whitney seems to have devoted to this subject more attention than he had given before. In 1875 he published in the International Scientific Series a similar book, in somewhat more compendious form, on the 'Life and Growth of Language: an outline of linguistic science,' 326 pages. This was translated into German, French, Italian, Netherlandish, and Swedish. This last book grew out of his lectures to academic senior classes.

No one has done so much as Mr. Whitney to teach sound views of linguistic science. Although the writer of this sketch has not ventured to include a detailed discussion of his views, perhaps mention may be made fitly of two points in which he was in advance of his contemporaries: he was among the very first to call attention to *analogy* as a force in the growth of language, and the first (after Latham in 1851) to doubt the then generally accepted view that Asia was the original home of the Indo-Europeans.

Papers which had been printed in the *North American Review* and other periodicals were collected and, with more or less revision, published in two volumes entitled 'Oriental and Linguistic Studies,' 1873-74, pp. 417 and 432. The first volume contained papers on the Veda, the Avesta, the science of language; the second, on the British in India, China and the Chinese, religion and mythology, orthography and phonology, Hindu astronomy. The author's regard for his earliest teacher in Sanskrit is marked by his dedication of the first of the two volumes to "Professor Edward Elbridge Salisbury, the pioneer and patron of Sanskrit studies in America." The second volume "is affectionately dedicated" to "Professors Rudolf Roth and Albrecht Weber, my early teachers and lifelong friends."

His long experience as a teacher of modern languages and as a student of linguistics aided to fit him pre-eminently for the preparation of grammars, readers, and vocabularies of French and German for schools and colleges, and his systematic habits of work enabled him to prepare these easily. This apparatus met the needs of the newly awakened interest in modern languages in this country, and has done much to further this interest. These books are said to be used more widely than any others of their kind in America. Some of them are published in two editions, full and abridged. His desire for a reasonable and truly philological study of the English language led him to prepare for use in schools 'Essentials of English Grammar' (1877, 260 pages), which has been adopted extensively by the public schools of the country and is declared, by one who knows, to have had great influence on the study of this subject.

Professor Whitney had assisted in the preparation of the Webster's dictionary of 1864, rewriting the definitions of many of the important words. This experience, his keen sense of proportion, his practical turn of mind, his precise and concise manner of statement, his wide and varied attainments,—all made him a peculiarly suitable person to be the editor-in-chief of the great Century Dictionary with which the people of this country will long associate his name. His unfortunate illness prevented him from revising the work so carefully as he doubtless would have done, had he been in vigorous health, and some have thought that he should be called supervising-editor rather than editor-in-chief. As the dictionary stands, he cannot be held responsible for details; but his influence upon the work was strong as well as salutary. Though he might not mark the proof for a dozen pages, he would score the next page in a manner which set a standard, and showed what he desired the revision of the rest to be, while the whole body of editors followed the general lines which he had drawn.

In the list of his writings which was drawn up by Professor Whitney in 1892, one hundred and forty-four items are enumerated; but numerous minor articles and book notices are not included, nor his contributions to the great Sanskrit, Webster, and Century dictionaries, nor his oversight of the German dictionary which goes by his name. He wrote articles for the New American Cyclopaedia, Johnson's Cyclopaedia, and the Encyclopaedia Britannica. He was a frequent contributor to the *Nation*

and other periodicals. In view of the importance and extent of many of his publications, his diligence and intellectual fertility are extraordinary.

As a teacher of advanced students, Mr. Whitney was exacting. A two-hour course under him in Sanskrit called for a larger outlay of time and effort than a four-hour course under most other teachers. He required precise knowledge of others as well as of himself. He was never deceived by glittering generalities, nor satisfied with approximate accuracy when absolute accuracy was attainable. He was modest, however, and while he would not allow the violation of well-established principles, yet in the translation of difficult and uncertain passages he never insisted on the pupil's adoption of his view.

In controversy and criticism, Mr. Whitney struck hard; his sword was piercing, even to the sundering of joint and marrow. But he was fair; he never misrepresented his opponent. He never lost his temper and struck blindly. He saw so clearly the absurdities and difficulties of a false position that he felt bound to present it as it was, yet without any thought of giving personal offence. For example, no one would suppose that he expected to offend his friend and teacher, Weber, by the remark that the latter had "unwittingly put himself in the position of one attempting to prove on philological grounds that the precessional movement of the equinoxes is from west to east, instead of from east to west" (Oct. 1865); but the criticism is very similar to that (which was counted severe) on Müller (July, 1876), that "even the aid of Main and Hinds could not keep him, in his astronomical reasonings, from assuming that, to any given observer, the ecliptic is identical with his own horizon."

The only prolonged controversy in which Professor Whitney was ever engaged was that with Professor Max Müller. His early relations with Müller had been pleasant, and he had supported the latter's candidacy for his chair at Oxford in 1860. His first public mention (1867) of Müller's work on the translation of the Vedas was very complimentary; but when the first volume of the translation appeared, his review of it was exceedingly severe. In the fourteenth volume of his *Indische Studien*, under the heading 'Zur Klarstellung,' Weber gives an account of the conflict. According to him, the real source of the controversy was Mr. Whitney's spirited reply to Müller's criticisms on the Böhtlingk-Roth Dictionary. "Whitney hatte zwei Vorles-



ungen Müller's kritisch besprochen,—scharf, wie es Whitney's Art ist, aber ohne irgend welche persönliche Wendung, so wie sich Gelehrte, denen es um ihre Meinung Ernst ist, zu streiten pflegen." The occasion of the contest was the publication by Professor George Darwin, in the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1874, of a report of Mr. Whitney's views. "Müller nahm sich denn auch gar nicht die Zeit Whitney's Abhandlung selbst zu lesen, sondern trat gleich in dem folgenden Januar-Heft der *Review* mit einer nur auf die Auszüge Mr. Darwin's basirten Gegenschrift hervor." Some have wondered that Mr. Whitney should care to follow up the matter so long, and even in 1892 should publish a brochure of 79 pages on 'Max Müller and the Science of Language: a Criticism.' But the question with him rose far above personalities: the truth was at stake. His mind, accurate by both nature and training, shrank from allowing inaccurate statements and false principles to be floated by a charming style. Great Britain in this generation has had more than one scholar of note whose brilliant form of statement, ingenious theories, and varied attainments have sufficed to give them undue authority on subjects where they made some grievous errors. Mr. Whitney felt that the higher a scholar's position, the greater his authority, the more careful he should be in all matters. He was heartily vexed by attempts to overlook and avoid the real point at issue. His vigorous spirit may have felt a certain enjoyment in a conflict; as an intellectual athlete he could appreciate the beauty of a keen thrust or the weight of a heavy blow; but while he did not fear a conflict, in some cases he avoided a controversy, even when he had been misunderstood and misrepresented.

No sketch of Mr. Whitney's character would be complete which did not mention his musical tastes. Music was always a source of pleasure and recreation to him. He had a fine tenor voice, and when a young man he was an acceptable and admired leader of the choir of Jonathan Edwards's old church in Northampton. The story is told that his conversations with the Rev. Dr. George E. Day, which led to his study of Sanskrit, were more frequent and natural because of his weekly calls at the pastor's house for the list of hymns to be sung. He was an active member of the Mendelssohn Society of New Haven a score of years ago, and did much to rouse the community to take interest in oratorios and other choral music, writing for the newspapers appreciative accounts of the works to be performed. He was

prominent in securing for New Haven concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. One of the last occasions which brought him into a public gathering was a University Chamber Concert by the Kneisel Quartet. He was fond of singing hymns on Sunday evenings, and while he cherished some of the old tunes of his youth, he welcomed the introduction of the modern more ecclesiastical music. While singing the old hymns he was as fervent and orthodox as his Puritan ancestors.

Mr. Whitney was no recluse, nor a typical professor in manner. He attracted men to him and enjoyed being with them. He was not at all emotional, however, and cared little for general society. He gave a rather extreme view of himself in a letter written in 1869: "I am of a more than usually reserved and unsocial nature. I avoid society as much as I can, and am never quite comfortable in the company of any excepting those with whom I am most nearly bound. My besetting sin is burying myself in my books and papers, and too much overlooking all that is outside of them, —partly from natural tendencies, partly because I feel that in that way I shall on the whole do most good and give most pleasure to others." His bearing was perfectly simple and unpretentious —in short, that of a gentleman.

Like Aristotle's "magnanimous man," he gave little heed to praise or blame—not being elated or cast down by either. He loved learning for its own sake and not for its reward of fame. The words which he wrote with regard to his friend Professor James Hadley are strikingly true of himself: "No one was ever more free from the desire to shine among his fellows. His was a modesty entirely unfeigned, and free from every taint of a lower feeling. . . . He devoted himself so entirely to truth and virtue and duty, as he knew them, that there was left no room for any thought of self. He neither extolled himself nor gave way unduly to others." "He knew his power, but possessed it in the spirit of moderation and reserve." He was eminently guileless—though by no means a subject for imposition by others. He would have made an admirable lawyer or statesman, but he could not have been a politician. He saw truth clearly and abhorred anything like trickery or disingenuousness. He was also thoroughly sane. Sentimental enthusiasm never led him to denote as certain views which later were to be proved false. He had few scientific retractions to make in the course of forty-five years of publication. His statements on uncertain points were carefully guarded.

Where doubt existed, he was apt to feel it; in fact he was called in Germany "der Skeptiker der Sprachwissenschaft." His sanity restrained him from various excesses. His opinions on the desirability of reform in the spelling of the English language were clear and clearly expressed, and he was the first chairman of the committee appointed by the Philological Association for the furtherance of this reform in our country, but he saw so distinctly the difficulties in the way of an abrupt change, at least for the present, that he wasted no time in a Quixotic crusade. He was invited by the Japanese government to prepare an opinion in regard to the adoption of English as the official language of Japan—but he was not carried away by any sentimental notions of English as a *Wellsprache*. His mind was like a diamond, and his style was eminently clear and forcible. He never strove to be eloquent, but always expressed his thoughts in the fewest and simplest words. His was the style of a teacher rather than that of a popular platform-lecturer, but was enlivened by a strong sense of humor and by keen wit.

Professor Whitney's services to science and learning were freely recognized, both at home and abroad. He received the degree of Ph. D., *honoris causa*, from the University of Breslau in 1865; that of LL. D. from Williams College in 1868, from the College of William and Mary in 1869, from Harvard in 1876, and from the University of Edinburgh in 1889; that of J. U. D. from St. Andrews University in Scotland in 1874; that of L. H. D. from Columbia in 1887. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences; an honorary member of the Oriental or Asiatic societies of Great Britain and Ireland, of Germany, of Bengal, of Japan, and of Peking; of the Literary Societies of Leyden, of Upsala, and of Helsingfors; fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; member or correspondent of the Academies of Dublin, of Turin, of Rome (*Lincei*), of St. Petersburg, of Berlin, and of Denmark; also, correspondent of the Institute of France; and Foreign Knight of the Prussian order *pour le mérite* for Science and Arts, being elected May 31, 1881, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Thomas Carlyle.

In 1870 the Berlin Academy of Sciences voted him the first Bopp prize for his publication of the *Tāittiriya-Prāṭiśākhya*, as the chief contribution to Sanskrit philology during the preceding three years.

The following extracts from a brief article in the *Berliner*

*Nationalzeitung*, from the pen of Professor Albrecht Weber, form an interesting companion-piece to the letter from the same scholar, dated in December, 1852, which was quoted in the early part of this sketch: "Der jüngst in Yalecollege verstorbene Professor William Dwight Whitney war einer der ersten Indianisten und Sprachforscher der Gegenwart. Seine Sanskritstudien absolvirte er bei uns in Deutschland, hier in Berlin bei Weber und in Tübingen bei Roth. Beide Gelehrte betrachten es als einen ihrer schönsten Ehrentitel, ihn zum Schüler gehabt zu haben. Gleich seine erste Arbeit in den *Indischen Studien* . . . war ein Meisterwerk und zeigte alle die Eigenschaften, die seinen Arbeiten einen so hohen Werth verleihen sollten, Klarheit, Sorgsamkeit, und Akribie im kleinsten Detail. . . . Heimgekehrt nach Amerika, ward er der Begründer der dortigen, jetzt in reicher Blüthe stehenden Sanskrit-Philologie, die sich besonders durch die von ihm speziell betonte *statistische* Methode grosse Verdienste erworben hat, u. A. durch seine Schüler: Avery, Bloomfield, Hopkins, Lanman, Jackson, Oertel, Perry, Smyth, Snyder, trefflich vertreten wird. . . . Seine Uebersetzung eines der ältesten vorhandenen Lehrbücher der indischen Astronomie zeigte ihn als trefflichen Rechner und Astronom. Schärfe der Kritik, Klarheit der Darstellung, Genauigkeit der Arbeit sind allen seinen Werken als Stempel aufgedrückt. Sein reifstes Werk wohl ist seine 'Sanskrit-Grammatik,' . . . die erste *historische* Darstellung derselben, gewissermassen ein *gründliches* Résumé aus dem grossen Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von Böhtlingk und Roth. Seine Arbeiten erstreckten sich im Uebrigen auf die verschiedensten Gebiete der Sprachwissenschaft. . . . Deutschland verliert in ihm einen der wärmsten Freunde, die es in Amerika hatte, Amerika einen seiner besten Gelehrten, und die Wissenschaft im grossen und ganzen einen ihrer ersten Koryphäen."

On August 28, 1856, Professor Whitney married Elizabeth Wooster Baldwin, daughter of the Hon. Roger Sherman Baldwin, of New Haven (ex-Governor of Connecticut and U. S. Senator), great-granddaughter of Roger Sherman, and great-great-granddaughter of President Thomas Clap, of Yale. Six children, three sons and three daughters, were born to them; of whom one son (the Hon. Edward B. Whitney, Assistant Attorney-General of the U. S.) and the three daughters survive. The daughters assisted their father in some of his later publications in the field of modern languages, and have done literary work of their own.

Just after a hard summer's work, at the very beginning of the college year in the autumn of 1886, Professor Whitney was prostrated by a severe disorder of the heart. For a time he was forbidden by his physician to do more than a minimum of work. He was obliged to avoid fatigue and excitement, and was limited strictly in his physical exercise. Those who had seen him return invigorated and exhilarated from a ten-miles' walk in the country were deeply pained to watch his slow, measured gait. He surprised many by his graceful submission to restrictions which he must have felt most keenly, and his household was still the brightest and most cheerful in the city. The gentler side of his nature became more prominent than before. His face grew more and more beautiful, with his white hair and beard, and delicate fair complexion. Though not an old man, he became truly venerable in appearance, and his presence was a real benediction to all whom he met. He was obliged to abandon entirely his work with undergraduate classes, but continued his classes in Sanskrit, receiving the students in his study at his home. During most of the past year he had six of these exercises each week. He did not abandon his other scholarly work. During the early years of this period of weakness, the *Century Dictionary* was going through the press and received his care. Every year witnessed his publication of some scientific paper or papers. He aided in the plans for the World's Congress of Philology, last year. One of his intimate associates, Professor Lounsbury, has written of him: "To me, at least, words seem inadequate to describe the quiet heroism which gave serenity and calm to his latter days, and the unflinching resolution with which he met and discharged every duty of a life over which the possibility of sudden death was always casting its shadow."

After an illness of about two weeks, Mr. Whitney passed away from this life, during sleep, on the morning of Thursday, June 7, 1894.

In the death of William Dwight Whitney, this country has lost one of her most distinguished men, one who had been recognized throughout the world as one of the highest authorities in his department of learning, and who had been for forty years the leader of oriental and linguistic studies in America and the personal master of a majority of the American scholars in his department. Yale University has lost one of her most brilliant and able scholars, one of her wisest and most faithful teachers,

whose influence always made for diligent and honest research and statement. His publications have had a lasting effect on scholarship. His personal influence will long endure. In the words of Professor Lanman, "for power of intellect, conjoined with purity of soul and absolute genuineness of character, we shall not soon look upon his like again."

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.

## II.—THE LATIN PROHIBITIVE.

### PART II.

In Part I of this paper I confined myself exclusively to prohibitions introduced by *ne*, *cave* and *noli*. That the clauses there discussed were *bona fide* cases of prohibition admitted of no doubt, with the exception of a few introduced by *ne* which might possibly be explained as dependent. Unfortunately, grammars are wont to classify under the same head, and with equal confidence, certain other forms of expression, many of which can be shown to belong to very different uses of the subjunctive mood. Most prominent among these are the instances of

#### *Neque (nec) with the Perfect (Aorist) Subjunctive.*

Before proceeding to discuss these clauses, let us get them all before us. As my statistics for this particular construction have, as far as the Augustan poets are concerned, been rather hurriedly gathered, I do not feel sure that my list contains all of the instances from those writers; but the few omissions, if there are any, could not affect the results reached. My statistics show that the following are the only instances of the construction to be found, from the earliest times down to the end of the Augustan period, which any one would ever think of explaining as prohibitions: Plaut. Capt. 149 Ego alienus? alienus ille? Ah, Hegio, numquam istuc dixis *neque animum induxis* tuom; Trin. 627 Sta ilico. Noli avorsari *neque te occullassis* mihi<sup>1</sup>;

Enn. Ann. 143 (Baehrens) nec mi aurum posco *nec* mi pretium *dederitis*;

Lucil. Sat. 30 (Baehrens 775) — — — — — “*neque* barbam *inmiseris* istam!”

Ter. And. 392 Hic reddes omnia, quae nunc sunt certa ei consilia, incerta ut sient, sine omni periclo: nam hoc haud dubiumst,

<sup>1</sup> The *videris* in Plaut. Mil. 573 (Ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam com-primes posthac: etiam illud quod scies nesciveris *nec videris* quod videris) is probably in the future perfect indicative (cf. the preceding *comprimes*). This use of the future perfect is very common in Plautus and Terence.

quin Chremes tibi non det gnatam. *Nec* tu ea causa *minueris* haec quae facis, ne is mutet suam sententiam; id. Haut. 976 Nemo accusat, Syre, te: *nec* tu aram tibi *nec* precatorem *pararis*;

Cic. Acad. 2, 46, 141 Nihil igitur me putatis moveri? Tam moveor quam tu, Luculle, *nec* me minus hominem quam te *putaveris*; id. Fin. 1, 7, 25 Quid tibi, Torquate, . . . quid tanta tot versuum memoria voluptatis adfert? *Nec* mihi illud *dixeris*: "Haec enim ipsa mihi sunt voluptati et erant illa Torquatis"; id. pro Sulla 8, 25 Aut igitur doceat Picentis solos non esse peregrinos aut gaudeat suo generi me meum non antepone. Qua re *neque* tu me peregrinum posthac *dixeris*, ne gravius refutere, neque regem, ne derideare; id. Brutus 87, 298 nam de Crassi oratione sic existimo, ipsum fortasse melius potuisse scribere, alium, ut arbitror, neminem; *nec* in hoc ironiam *dixeris* esse, quod eam orationem mihi magistram fuisse dixerim; id. Rep. 6, 23, 25 Igitur alte spectare si voles atque hanc sedem et aeternam domum contueri, *neque* te sermonibus volgi *dederis nec* in praemiis humanis spem *posueris* rerum tuarum; id. ad Att. 12, 23, 3 Si nihil conficietur de Transtiberinis, habet in Ostiensi Cotta celeberrimo loco, sed pusillum loci, ad hanc rem tamen plus etiam quam satis: id velim cogites. *Nec* tamen ista pretia hortorum *pertimu*eris. *Nec* mihi iam argento nec veste opus est nec quibusdam amoenis locis; id. ib. 13, 22, 5 Alteris iam litteris nihil ad me de Attica; sed id quidem in optima spe pono: illud accuso, non te, sed illam, ne salutem quidem. At tu et illi et Piliae plurimam, *nec* me tamen irasci *indicaris*; id. ad Att. 15, 27, 3 Quod me de Bacchide, de statuarum coronis certiolem fecisti, valde gratum, *nec* quicquam posthac non modo tantum, sed ne tantulum quidem *praeterieris*; id. ad fam. 1, 9, 19 . . . recordare enim, quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. *Nec* hoc *pertimu*eris; nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur idem; id. ad Att. 10, 18, 2 Tu tamen perge quaeso scribere *nec* meas litteras *exspectaris*, nisi cum quo opto pervenerimus, aut si quid ex cursu;

Hor. Od. 1, 11, 3 Tu ne quaesieris quem mihi, quem tibi finem di dederint, Leuconoe, *nec* Babylonios *templaris* numeros; id. Sat. 1, 4, 41 Primum ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas excerpam numero: *neque* enim concludere versum *dixeris* esse satis; neque si qui scribat, uti nos, sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam (cf. *dederim*, vs. 39);

Verg. Ecl. 8, 102 Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras rivoque fluenti transque caput iace, *nec respexeris*;



Ovid, Am. 2, 2, 25 . . . ne te mora longa fatiget, inposita gremio stertere fronte potes. *Nec* tu . . . *quaesieris*; id. H. 8, 23 . . . nupta foret Paridi mater, ut ante fuit. *Nec* tu *pararis* etc.; id. Epist. 19, 151 Si nescis, dominum res habet ista suum. *Nec* mihi *credideris*; id. Ar. Am. 1, 733 Arguat et macies animum. *Nec* . . . *putaris* etc.; id. ib. 2, 391 Gloria peccati nulla petenda sui est. *Nec dederis* etc.; id. ib. 3, 685 Sed te . . . moderate iniuria turbet, nec sis audita pellice mentis inops. *Nec* cito *credideris* etc.; id. Met. 12, 455 Memini et venabula condi inguine Nesseis manibus coniecta Cymeli. *Nec* tu *credideris* etc.; id. Trist. 5, 14, 43 Non ex difficili fama petenda tibi est. *Nec* te *credideris* etc.; id. ex Pont. 1, 8, 29 Ut careo vobis, Scythicas detrusus in oras, quattuor autumnos Pleiās orta facit. *Nec* tu *credideris* etc.; id. ib. 4, 10, 21 Hos ego, qui patriae faciant oblivia, sucos parte meae vitae, si modo dentur, emam! *Nec* tu *contuleris* urbem Laestrygonis etc.; id. Fasti 6, 807 Par animo quoque forma suo respondet in illa, et genus et facies ingeniumque simul. *Nec* quod laudamus formam tu turpe *putaris*;

Tibull. 2, 2, 13 Iam reor hoc ipsos edidicisse deos. *Nec* tibi *malueris* etc.; id. 4, 1, 7 Est nobis voluisse satis, *nec* munera parva *respueris*;

Propert. 3, 13 (20), 33 (Müller) . . . tumque ego Sisyphio saxa labore geram. *Nec* tu supplicibus me *sis venerata* tabellis; id. 3, 28, 33 . . . cur reus unus agor? *Nec* tu virginibus reverentia *moveris* ora;

Livy 5, 53, 3 ego contra—*nec* id *mirati sitis*, priusquam quale sit audieritis—etiam si tum migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem; id. 21, 43, 11 . . . “hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.” *Nec* quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem *existimaritis* victoriam fore; id. 23, 3, 3 Clausos omnis in curiam accipite, solos, inermis. *Nec* quicquam raptim aut forte temere *egeritis*; 29, 18, 9 Quibus, per vos fidem vestram, patres conscripti, priusquam eorum scelus expietis, *neque* in Italia *neque* in Africa quicquam rei *gesseritis*, ne . . . luant.

I have included the instances of this use from Early Latin in the above list, for the sake of completeness and for the purpose of facilitating comparison with what I have to say regarding the construction in classical times; for the following remarks will be chiefly concerned with classical prose. It will be observed that there are twelve instances of this use in Cicero—five of them

outside of his Letters. It seems to have been taken for granted that these are examples of the same construction as that in the prohibitive *ne feceris*. Grammars cite them side by side with the last-mentioned construction, often without so much as a comment. See, e. g., Madvig, 459, obs.; Roby, 1602; Gildersleeve, 266, rem. 1; Draeger, Hist. Synt., §149 B b (p. 313); Allen and Greenough, 266 b; Riemann, Syntaxe latine (Paris, 1890), p. 483; Schmalz-Landgraf in Reisig's Lat. Vorlesungen, p. 482; Schmalz, Lat. Synt., §31; Kühner, Ausführl. Gram. d. lat. Sprache, II, §§47, 9; 48, 3; 48, 4; etc., etc. And still they bear upon their face a suspicious look. What is *nec* doing in such a very pronounced and direct expression of the will in Cicero? Apart from these particular expressions, all grammarians agree that *neque* (*nec*), in the sense of *neve* (*neu*), is extremely rare in classical prose. I shall presently try to show that it does not occur at all in any volitive expression outside of poetry until the beginning of the period of decline, with the possible exception of one instance in Nepos. And still the grammars, even the most recent of them, would give us to understand that Cicero (of all writers!), in adding a prohibition in the perfect subjunctive, invariably, except in one passage, uses *neque* (*nec*). *Neve* (*neu*) with the perfect subjunctive occurs only once in Cicero in a prohibition. And we are asked to believe that *neque* (*nec*) occurs twelve times! Let us see whether such a state of things really exists.

Evidently our best starting-point in attempting to discover to what extent *neque* (*nec*) was used in prohibitions will be found in expressions whose prohibitive character is beyond all question, viz. expressions in which the verb is in the imperative, or, if in the subjunctive, is preceded by another verb which itself is introduced by *ne* or *neve*. The use of *ne* or *neve* will show beyond all possibility of doubt that the mood of the verb is volitive in character. Without the presence of such a *ne* or *neve*, one may often claim the right at least to doubt any one's interpretation of the mood of a given verb as volitive in meaning. For instance, when Cicero says (Ac. 2, 46, 141) . . . tam moveor quam tu, Luculle, *nec* me minus hominem quam te *putaveris*, there is nothing to show that *nec* . . . *putaveris* does not mean 'nor would you for a moment suppose that I am less human than you.' But, if we had such a sentence as *ne* . . . *dixeris*, *nec putaveris*, we could hardly escape the conclusion that *nec putaveris* must be in the same construction as *ne dixeris*.

What is to be said, then, of the use of *neque* (*nec*) with the imperative prior to the period of Cicero, in whom the passages under discussion are found? Merely this, that it does not once occur in any production, whether prose or poetry, of the whole ante-Ciceronian period. In the same period *neve* (*neu*) with the imperative occurs 121 times. These instances are nearly all in the laws, i. e. in prose: Corpus Inscriptionum Lat. I 28 (three times); 197 (eight times); 198 (twelve times); 199 (three times); 200 (thirty-four times); 204 (five times); 205 (three times); 206 (forty-five times); 207 (once); 576 (twice); 1409 (twice). Other instances are XII Tabulae, X 1 *ne . . . neve urito*; Plaut. Stich. 20 *ne lacruma neu face*; Cato, de agri cult. 144, 1 *neve facito*. Sometimes the *ne* is repeated: Ter. Heaut. 84 and 85 *ne retice, ne verere*. An examination of the Ciceronian period discloses the same condition of things, except that there does seem to be one clear instance of this use of *nec* in Catullus 8, 10.<sup>1</sup> It still remains very rare during the first half of the Augustan period. Horace has it once, Od. 2, 7, 19. Possibly there are two other instances in Horace, viz. Od. 1, 9, 15 *Quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro adpone nec dulces amores sperne, puer, neque tu choreas*, though here it might be said that the negatives connect merely the substantives, and the negative idea for the verb is allowed to take care of itself; and Od. 3, 7, 29 *Prima nocte domum claude neque in vias sub cantu querulae despice*. In this last passage it may be that it is not so much the idea of *despice* that is negated as that of *in vias*. There is no objection to the act of looking down, but it must not be *in vias*. This use is also very rare in Vergil, though *neve* with the imperative is very common in his writings. By the time, however, of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, the old distinction between *neque* (*nec*) and

<sup>1</sup> The following instances must not be confused with this use: Cic. ad Att. 12, 22, 3 *Habe tuum negotium, nec quid res mea familiaris postulet sed quid velim existima*; id. Leg. 3, 4, 11 *Qui agent auspicia servanto, auguri publico parento, promulgata, proposita, in aerario cognita agunto, nec plus quam de singulis rebus semul consulunto, rem populum docento etc. . . . Censores fidem legum custodiunto; privati ad eos acta referunto nec eo magis lege liberi sumto*. In the first of these passages the idea of the verb is not negated at all. The meaning is 'Think, not this, but that.' In the second passage, similarly, the negative spends its force upon *plus quam* etc., and the meaning is 'they are to consult not more than once.' In the third case, likewise, the meaning is 'and not on this account (whatever other grounds there may be) are they to be free,' etc. Only the first of these passages gives us the words of Cicero, the others being quotations made by him from laws.

*neve* (*neu*) had broken down, and the one was used about as freely as the other with the imperative. But from first to last the use remained a poetical license.<sup>1</sup>

The above facts in themselves are enough to prejudice us very decidedly against explaining any *neque* (*nec*) in Cicero as introducing a prohibition. But let us now turn to *neque* (*nec*) used in prohibitions expressed by the subjunctive. As before pointed out, we can be sure that the subjunctive in such cases is hortatory in character only when *ne* or *neve* (*neu*) has preceded. How often, then, does *neque* (*nec*) occur in such clearly prohibitive uses of the subjunctive mood? Not once in prose from the earliest times till after the Augustan period, and only once in direct address in poetry,<sup>2</sup> Horace being again the poet who first ventures to make the innovation (Od. I, II, 2).<sup>3</sup> When a writer wishes to add a second prohibition to one already introduced by *ne*, or *neve*, he does so sometimes by *neu*: Plaut. Merc. 396 *ne duas neu dixeris*; id. Poen. 18 ff. *ne sedeat, neu multiant, neu obambulet, neu ducat*; id. ib. 30 *Ne sitiant neve obvagiant*; id. 38 *ne detur neve extrudantur*; Cato, de agri cult. 5, 4; ib. 38; ib. 83; ib. 143; Cic. Ac. 2, 40, 125 *ne asciveris neve fueris* adensus; etc.; sometimes by *aut*: Plaut. Curc. 539 *Ne facias aut censeas*; Ter. Eun. 14 *Ne frustretur aut cogilet*; sometimes by the repetition of *ne*: Ter. Haut. 85 *ne retice, ne verere*; Cato, de agri cult. 5, 2.

• Now, with all this evidence before him, one should hesitate long before explaining any *neque* (*nec*) in Cicero as used with a volitive subjunctive. All other possible interpretations should be tested first. Now let us turn to the passages from Cicero which have prompted these remarks. There are twelve instances in Cicero of *neque* (*nec*) with the perfect subjunctive, which have been

<sup>1</sup> In Livy 22, 10, 5 *Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto*, the meaning may be 'and it shall be no *scelus*.'

<sup>2</sup> Capt. 437 *Ne tu me ignores tuque te pro libero esse ducas, pignus deseras, neque des operam* pro me ut huius reducem facias filium must not be mistaken as illustrating this use. If *neque* here introduced a prohibition, the meaning would be 'and do not give,' which would be the direct opposite of the meaning intended. The *ne* at the beginning forms the prohibition with *des*, as with *ignores*, *ducas* and *deseras*, and the negative of *neque* merely reverses the meaning of the word *des*. The meaning is 'and do not *not* give,' i. e. 'and do not fail to give,' = *et ne non des*.

<sup>3</sup> With the third person it seems to occur at rare intervals as a poetic license, e. g. Catullus 61, 126.

looked upon as prohibitions. In not one of them has anything preceded that even suggested a prohibition. Most of them are preceded by simple assertions, or questions, in the indicative mood. In those cases where a subjunctive has preceded, the *nec* begins an entirely new sentence, so loosely connected with the preceding that editors separate the two sentences with a period. A striking proof that this use of the perfect subjunctive with *nec* is a construction entirely distinct from that of *ne* with the same mood and tense is found in the fact that certain writers who never use the latter at all are wont to make frequent use of the former. *Ne* with the perfect subjunctive is, for instance, entirely foreign to Ovid, but that poet, as will be seen by consulting the citations given above, uses *nec* with the same mood and tense, in sentences exactly similar in every way to those in Cicero, at least eleven times. The same condition of things exists in Vergil, Tibullus and Propertius, none of these authors making any use whatever of *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, whereas they present repeated instances of *nec* with that mood and tense. Again, this construction is found in the Orations of Cicero, where *ne* with the perfect is never used except once in a quotation, pro Sulla 8, 25; cf. also Verr. 2, 1, 54, 141. But there is other evidence perhaps even more striking than this. It will be remembered that we found, prior to the beginning of the period of decline, only two or three instances of verbs denoting merely mental activity used in prohibitions expressed by *ne* and the perfect subjunctive; while in all other sorts of prohibition such verbs were found in large numbers. We found conclusive proof that this form of prohibition was felt to be unsuited to expressing such mild prohibitions as 'do not think,' 'do not believe,' etc. Refer now to the list above given of *nec* with the perfect subjunctive. Out of the 38 instances there given of this use—a decidedly smaller number than exist of *ne* with the perfect in the same period—15 are of just the sort of verbs that are so uniformly absent from prohibitions expressed by *ne* with that tense. Surely all this looks as though we are on altogether different ground. We shall find later on that the fact that so many verbs denoting mental activity are found with this use of *nec* forms as strong an argument in favor of assigning the use to a certain other class of constructions as it forms against classifying it in the usual way.

There now remains, so far as I can see, only one possible argument which those can use who still prefer the common

interpretation of these clauses. It is claimed by our Latin grammars that *neque* (*nec*) is occasionally used in Cicero in other sorts of volitive clauses where it is equivalent to *neve* (*neu*). No less an authority than Schmalz (Revision of Krebs' *Antibarbarus*, II, p. 121; Revision of Reisig's *Vorlesungen*, p. 482) expresses this view in very distinct terms. Now, some one may say, if Cicero uses *neque* (*nec*) at all in expressions of the will, as in purpose clauses, there is no reason why he should not use it in any volitive expression. Even if the premises were true, this would hardly seem a fair conclusion to draw from them, but I venture to dispute the premises and to claim that *neque* (*nec*) is never used by Cicero to negative the subjunctive in purpose clauses, or in any other volitive clauses. The proof of this is given by Schmalz's own statistics, and it is surprising that he did not see it.

Before taking up the passages that have been supposed to contain examples of *neque* (*nec*) in volitive clauses, it will be well to remind ourselves of certain facts which must be kept constantly in mind. The most important of these facts is this: that every purpose clause is, at the same time, a result clause as well. When a man says: 'I wish to train my children properly, that they may, in after years, be honored citizens,' their being honored citizens is, to be sure, the purpose of his training, but it may also be conceived of merely as the future result of that training. The use of the word 'that' instead of 'so that,' and 'may' instead of 'will,' shows that in this particular instance the purpose idea is probably uppermost in the mind of the speaker. Suppose now he says: 'I wish to train my children properly, *so that* (i. e. to train them in such a way that) they *will*, in after years, be honored citizens.' The two sentences practically mean the same thing, and one might at any time be substituted for the other; but in the second the substitution of 'so that' and 'will' shows that the feeling uppermost in the mind is that of result. In cases of this sort the mind may be fixed upon what will be the result of the action, and the idea of purpose that is implied may be left to take care of itself. Now, the Latin language is not fortunate enough, except in negative clauses, to have separate mechanisms in such cases to make clear the predominant feeling. The Latin would express the two ideas 'in order that they may' and 'so that (with the result that) they will' in exactly the same way. It accordingly very frequently happens

that it is impossible to determine whether a clause introduced by *ut* is to be classed as a purpose clause or a result clause. Such, for instance, are the following sentences: . . . *omni contentione pugnatum est, uti lis haec capitis aestimaretur* (Cic. Cluent. 41, 116); *Conscios interfecit ut suum scelus celaretur* ('that his crime might be concealed' or 'so that his crime was concealed'); . . . *exarsit dolor. Urgere illi, ut loco nos moverent; factus est a nostris impetus; etc.* It is true that what precedes an *ut*-clause commonly shows whether the coming *ut*-clause is to be felt as a purpose clause or a result clause; but it is also true that it very frequently does not. More than that: it often happens (and this is of especial importance in this connection) that what precedes would lead one to expect that a result clause is to follow, when a final clause, or some other kind of volitive clause, actually does follow. Such a sentence is found, for instance, in Ter. Phorm. 975 *Hisce ego illam dictis ita tibi incensam dabo, ut ne restinguas, lacrimis si extillaveris.* The expression *ita tibi incensam dabo* ('I will render her so enraged at you') might lead one to expect the thought to be completed by a clause of result, viz. *ut non restinguas* etc. = 'that you will not appease her anger, if you cry your eyes out.' Instead of that, the thought is shifted, and the sentence is completed, as the *ne* clearly shows, by an expression of the will. The meaning of the passage then is: 'I will make her so enraged at you, that you *shall* not ('shall,' instead of 'will,' denoting determination rather than mere futurity) appease her anger,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

Such expressions of determination, purpose and the like, where a result clause might commonly be expected, are not at all infrequent. Such a shifting of feeling cannot, of course, be detected when the subordinate clause is affirmative; but where that clause is negatived, the choice between the negatives *ne* and *non* will show, beyond all question, the predominant feeling of the clause. I have made no attempt to collect passages illustrating this particular point, but Brix has made a collection of such passages

<sup>1</sup> I should not deem it necessary to stop to interpret the *ne* in this and similar passages, had not so distinguished a scholar as Brix, in my opinion, wholly misunderstood it. Misled by preconceived notions as to what ought to follow such expressions as *ita tibi incensam dabo*, he makes the statement (ad Plaut. Mil. 149) that *ne* and *ut ne* are sometimes used "nicht nur in Final-, sondern auch in Consecutivsätzen."

from Plautus and Terence in his note on Plaut. Mil. Gl. 149.<sup>1</sup> In any one of these passages, all of which are cited and discussed in my note appended below, *ut non*, instead of *ne* or *ut ne*, would be perfectly possible and would, in fact, have been expected, but the use of *ne*, or *ut ne*, shows that the contents of the *ut*-clause were looked upon not primarily as a result of anything, but rather as

<sup>1</sup> Brix cites the passages as illustrations of the consecutive use of *ne* and *ut ne*, but it will be noticed that in each case the *ne*, or the *ut ne*, may, without violence, and in fact without the least difficulty, be interpreted as involving in some form a distinct expression of the will; and, if this is the case, surely there can be no possible excuse for explaining it differently. Here are the passages, in the order in which Brix gives them: Mil. Gl. 149 . . . eum ita faciemus *ut*, quod viderit, *ne viderit*, 'will manage him so that he *shall not* have seen, i. e. shall not think that he has seen,' etc. ('shall not,' instead of 'will not,' implying that the act is willed by the subject of *faciemus*); id. Capt. 738 Atque hunc me velle dicite ita curarier, *ne* qui deterius huic *sit* quam quoi pessumest; id. Most. 377 Satis habes, si ego advenientem ita patrem faciam tuum, non modo *ne* intro *eat*, verum etiam *ut* fugiat longe ab aedibus? id. Bacch. 224 Adveniat quando volt atque ita *ne sit* morae; id. Capt. 267 *ne* id quidem involucris inicere voluit, vestem *ut ne* inquinat; id. Men. 1100 Promerui *ut ne* quid ores, quod velis quin impetres; id. Trin. 105 Est atque non est mihi in manu, Megaronides: quin dicant, non est: merito *ut ne* dicant, id est; id. Mil. Gl. 726 Ita me di deaque ament, aequum fuit deos paravisse, uno exemplo *ne* omnes vitam *viverent*; Ter. Hec. 839 Ad pol me fecisse arbitror, *ne* id merito mihi *eveniret*. It is true that in the instances, cited by Brix, of *potin ut ne*, the introduction of a volitive feeling is somewhat surprising, but such a turn of the thought is perfectly intelligible and offers not the slightest excuse for supposing that *ne* is here used in the sense of *non*. (That such a use did once exist admits of no doubt [cf. *ne . . . quidem, ne-scio* etc.], but reminiscences of this use are not found in cases like those under discussion.) In Men. 606 Potin *ut* mihi molestus *ne sis*, there is a fusing together of two expressions; Potesne? mihi molestus *ne sis*! The feeling that prompts the speaker's words here may be expressed by 'Cease your annoyance, can't you?' We might put these same words into the form of a question pure and simple: 'Can't you cease your annoyance?' and if they were uttered with the proper emphasis and tone, the hearer would understand them at once as a command, and not at all as a question asking for information. In cases like the above, then, the choice of *ne* instead of *non* is determined by the feeling of the speaker, without regard to the grammatical form in which the sentence is cast. A similar phenomenon is found in the use of *quin*. This word really means 'why not?' and should, strictly speaking, take the indicative, as in Ter. Heaut. 832 Quin accipis? But 'why don't you take it?' under certain circumstances is felt as really meaning 'take it!', and in such cases *quin* is frequently found with the imperative, as in Ter. And. 45 Quin tu dic, regardless of the fact that *quin* is, or was, an interrogative. Similar phenomena are found also in Greek, where we find *μή* or *μὴδέ* used even with the future indicative in



an expression of somebody's will. The idea of result is in most cases present, but the mind is fixed primarily upon the idea of will that accompanies it. Clauses similar to those cited from Plautus and Terence are not uncommon in the best classical prose and poetry, as will be seen by consulting Draeger's *Hist. Synt.* II, §410.

Now, if volitive clauses are so common where result clauses might be expected, we should not be greatly surprised if result clauses are occasionally found where purpose clauses might be expected, especially since the ideas of purpose and result are, confessedly, so closely associated. And it is the failure to recognize this fact that has led grammarians to assert that *neque* (*nec*) is occasionally used in final clauses. As intimated above, the latest champions of the view that this use is found in Cicero are Schmalz and Landgraf, who express it in their revision of Reisig's *Vorlesungen*, p. 482. But they greatly damage their own side of the question by certain concessions which they make. They even lay stress upon the fact that *neque* (*nec*) is never used in a clause introduced by *ne*, *neve* (*neu*) being the invariable word in such cases. Again, in Schmalz's revision of Krebs' *Antibarbarus* he says: "An dieser Regel, dass *nec* nie bei Cicero zur Fortsetzung von *ne* dient, muss unbedingt festgehalten." This is true, despite the bare assertion of Draeger in his *Hist. Synt.*, §543, 7. Schmalz might have made his statement even more sweeping and said that such a use of *neque* (*nec*) does not occur anywhere in the best classical prose. With the exception of one passage in Nepos (Pausanias 4, 6), it remains a strictly poetical license, and extremely rare besides, until the time of Livy. Now, side by side with this fact, let us put certain other facts to which reference has

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questions which imply a prohibition, e. g. Soph. Tr. 1183 Οὐ θάσσον οἰσεὺς μὴδ' ἀπιστήσεις ἐμοὶ 'will you not extend your hand and not distrust me?' This question implies a prohibition, 'extend your hand and *do not distrust me*,' and the fact that the speaker felt it as such accounts for his using *μηδέ* instead of *οὐδέ*, which the future indicative would otherwise call for (cf. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §299). Such a shifting of the thought inside of a sentence would of course be more common in colloquial language than in dignified styles. It is seen again in Persa 286 *Potin ut molestus ne sis?* In Pseud. 636 *Potest ut alii ita arbitrentur et ego ut ne credam tibi*, the feeling must be 'It is possible that others think so (that you are honest) and that I nevertheless *am not to trust* you,' implying that, from some source or other, he has received the warning *ne credas* 'Do not trust him.' This warning would, from his own point of view, become *ne credam* 'I am not to trust you,' in which, of course, the volitive feeling would still remain.

been made. We found that the clauses now under discussion are really known to be primarily volitive in character only when they are introduced, or accompanied, by *ne* or *neve*. But clauses thus introduced, or accompanied, by *ne* or *neve*, in spite of the fact that they occur everywhere very frequently, present not a single instance, in the best prose, of a second verb added by *neque* (*nec*), such verbs being invariably added by *neve* (*neu*). Is not the inference clear? The few *ut*-clauses continued by *neque* (*nec*) that have been supposed to be purpose clauses are to be interpreted as laying stress rather upon the result idea. Let us apply the interpretation I have suggested to the clauses in question, bearing constantly in mind the serious objection I have pointed out to the common interpretation:

Cic. ad fam. 9, 2, 3 Ac mihi quidem iam pridem venit in mentem bellum esse aliquo exire, ut ea quae agebantur hic quaeque dicebantur, *nec viderem nec audirem*, i. e. 'to escape to some place where I should no longer see, or hear,' etc. ('the result of which flight would be that I,' etc.);

in Caecil. 16, 52 qui si te recte monere volet, suadebit tibi ut hinc discedas *neque* mihi verbum ullum respondeas, i. e. 'will advise you in such a way as to result in your departing without saying a word in reply';

Verr. II 2, 17, 41 Illi eum commonefaciunt ut utatur instituto suo *nec cogat* ante horam decimam de absente secundum praesentem iudicare; impetrant, i. e. 'they earnestly plead with him, with the result that he follows his usual custom and does not compel, etc.; they thus win their point';

de off. 2, 21, 73 In primis autem videndum erit ei, qui rem publicam administrabit, ut suom quisque teneat *neque* de bonis privatorum publice *deminutio fiat*, i. e. 'he will have to see to it and bring about the result that,' etc.;

de off. 1, 29, 102 Efficiendum autem est ut adpetitus rationi oboediant eamque *neque praecurrant nec* propter pigrítiam aut ignaviam *deserant*, where *efficiendum* calls particular attention to the result;

Lael. 12, 40 Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. . . . aequae autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare. . . . Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciat, ut *neque rogemus* res turpis *nec faciamus* rogati. This *ut*-clause has been wrongly explained

as volitive in character, because *haec lex* has been supposed to look forward to the *ut*-clause, and *rogemus* and *faciamus* have been looked upon as representing the hortatory subjunctive of the *lex*. But the whole burden of thought in the preceding chapter has been that one should never do wrong even for a friend. *Haec lex* looks backward to the principle there laid down, and the meaning is 'Let this, of which we have spoken, be an established principle in friendship, so that we shall not (i. e. with the result that we shall not) ask a friend to do wrong, nor do it ourselves when asked.'

The three following passages may be considered together: in Verr. II 3, 48, 115 Nunc, ut hoc tempore ea . . . praetermittam *neque* eos *appellem*, a quibus omne frumentum eripuit, . . . quid lucri fiat cognoscite; id. ib. II 4, 20, 45 Ut *non* conferam vitam *neque* existimationem tuam cum illius, hoc ipsum conferam, quo tu te superiorem fingis; id. de imp. Cn. Pomp. 15, 44 Itaque ut plura *non* dicam *neque* aliorum exemplis *confirmem* quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur. These passages involve the same idiom that we have in our 'so to speak.' It is customary to explain the idiom as one developed from the idea of purpose. It may well have started with some such idea, but it drifted so far away from its starting-point that oftentimes there is certainly no idea of purpose left. 'So to speak' becomes merely an apologetic phrase, meaning 'if I may say so,' 'so speaking.' In the first of the passages just cited the meaning is merely 'Now, passing by those, etc., for the present and without calling up those from whom, etc., learn,' etc. As far as the real logical relation of such clauses to the sentences in which they stand is concerned, it is often impossible to conceive of them as purpose clauses at all. When they are meant as such they take *ne* as their negative. But in the clauses above there is no such meaning. In the first clause *neque* was used for the same reason that would have made it appropriate if the expression were *praetermittens neque appellans* (if I may be allowed to use the participle in this way, to illustrate my point); and the choice of negative in the other clauses may be similarly explained. The difference between such clauses as these, and those introduced by *ne* with which they have been classed, will become evident to any one who will examine such a collection of instances as is found in Roby, Lat. Gram. 1660: Cic. ad fam. 15, 19 *ne* longior sim, vale,

'in order that I may not become tedious, I will say good-bye'; id. Deiot. 1 Crudelem Castorem, *ne dicam* sceleratum et impium, i. e. 'I call him *crudelem*, in order to avoid a harsher term'; etc., etc. It will be found that the clauses in question cannot be treated in this manner.

The use of *neque* (*nec*) to connect two verbs in the volitive subjunctive must be very carefully distinguished from that in which the negative merely negatives the idea of a single word, or phrase, in which case the negative is used without reference to the mood of the verb. Such clauses are the following:

Cic. de orat. 1, 5, 19 . . . hortemurque potius liberos nostros ceterosque, quorum gloria nobis et dignitas cara est, ut animo rei magnitudinem complectantur *neque eis* se aut praeceptis aut magistris aut exercitationibus, quibus utuntur omnes, *sed aliis quibusdam*, quod expetunt, consequi posse confidant. Here the negative in *neque* does not negative the verb at all, but merely contrasts the *eis* with the following *sed aliis*, the verb itself being, like *complectantur*, used in a positive sense;

Cic. Fin. 4, 4, 9 Quid, quod pluribus locis quasi denuntiant, ut *neque sensuum fidem sine ratione nec rationis sine sensibus* exquiramus, where the negatives spend their force entirely upon the phrases *sensuum fidem sine ratione* and *rationis sine sensibus*, without any regard to the mood of the verb;

Caes. B. G. 7, 75 *ne* tanta multitudo confusa *nec* moderari *nec* discernere suos *nec* frumentandi rationem habere possent, where the negatives connect the infinitives, without any regard to the subjunctive.<sup>1</sup>

No objection to this interpretation can be found in the fact that *neve* (*neu*) is frequently used in volitive clauses even to negative single words and phrases, e. g. Cic. de legibus 2, 27, 67 . . . *eam* ne quis nobis minuat *neve vivos neve mortuos*; id. ad fam. 1, 9, 19 . . . peto a te, ut id a me *neve in hoc neve in aliis requiras*. There is, in the first place, a wide difference between such clauses as these last and the others. In these last the acts (*eam* . . .

<sup>1</sup> The negatives in the following clauses from Early Latin may be similarly explained, though they seem to be extreme cases: C. I. L. I 196, 10 *Magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam* eset; Plaut. Asin. 854 *Neque divini neque mi humani* posthac quicquam adcreduas, Artemona, si huius rei me mendacem esse inveneris; and perhaps Capt. 605 (though this may be explained differently, as will appear later) *Neque* pol me insanum, Hegio, *esse* creduis *neque fuisse* umquam *neque esse morbum*, quem istic autumat, i. e. 'depend upon it, I am not crazy, nor have I ever had the disease,' etc.

*minuat* and *id . . . requiras*) are absolutely negated—they are not to occur under any conceivable circumstances. In the other passages the act in each case is to take place, but with certain exceptions and restrictions, and it is these exceptions and restrictions that are introduced by the negative in *neque* (*nec*). In each case the negative has to do only with its own particular word, or phrase, and is not affected by the character of the clause as a whole. When, however, the feeling of negative volition extends over the whole clause and everything in it, and all the negatives partake of the volitive coloring, we have *neve* (*neu*).

There now remain, as supposed instances of *neque* (*nec*) in volitive clauses, only the following passages, all of which have, in my opinion, been misinterpreted: Cic. de re pub. 1, 2, 3 Et quoniam maxime rapimur ad opes augendas generis humani studemusque nostris consiliis et laboribus tutiorem et opulentiores vitam hominum reddere . . . teneamus eum cursum, qui semper fuit optimi cuiusque, *neque* ea signa *audiamus*, quae receptui canunt, ut eos etiam revocent, qui iam processerint; Sall. Jug. 85, 47 Quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam: *neque* quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus *ceperit*; Cic. de off. 1, 26, 92 Quae primum bene parta sit nullo *neque* turpi quaestu *neque* odioso, deinde augeatur ratione, diligentia, parsimonia, tum quam plurimis, modo dignis, se utilem praebeat, *nec* lubrici potius luxuriaeque quam liberalitati et beneficentiae pareat, though perhaps here the negative in *nec* should be looked upon as negating merely the idea of *lubidini* and *luxuriae*, as opposed to *liberalitati* and *beneficentiae*. The misinterpretation, as I conceive it, of these passages has been due primarily to the failure to recognize the extent to which a certain class of subjunctives is used in Latin, and this failure, in turn, may be due, in part at least, to a wrong theory regarding the origin of this particular usage. I refer to that use of the subjunctive which deals with expressions of obligation and propriety. Such a use of the subjunctive is hardly recognized at all by grammarians, except in certain questions like, e. g., *cur ego non laeter?* and in certain subordinate clauses like, e. g., *Nihil est cur tibi vera non dicat*. In such clauses the meaning of obligation, or propriety, must of course be recognized by all; and such clauses have been regarded as traceable to a volitive origin. Such questions as *cur ego non laeter?* are looked upon as intimately

connected with the deliberative subjunctive, and are put into the same category as *quid agam?* ('what shall I do?'). Any one may see the results of such a treatment by examining Kühner's *Ausführl. Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Bd. II, §47, 2 b (p. 137). Here are gathered together numerous questions in the present subjunctive, all professing to illustrate the deliberative question as a subdivision of the volitive subjunctive; but the surprising thing to my mind is that questions with *ne* and questions with *non* are given side by side as illustrations of the same construction, apparently without the least consciousness that there is any difference in meaning between the two. I wish to protest against the practice of associating together such questions as *quid agam, iudices?* (Cic. Verr. 5, 1, 2), *Ne doleam?* (Cic. ad Att. 12, 40, 2), on the one hand, and *cur ego non laeter?* (Cic. Catil. 4, 1, 2) and *hunc ego non diligam?* *Non admirer?* (Cic. Arch. 8, 18), on the other. It seems to me that all the evidence points to their belonging to entirely distinct uses of the subjunctive mood. The questions of the first class deal with the will. When a man says *quid agam?* ('what shall I do?') he is asking himself or some one else for directions. The answer will be an expression of the will: 'Do so and so.' Similarly, the question *ne doleam?* anticipates from some source or other a prohibition 'I am not to grieve? (are those your commands?).' But the questions of the other set are very far removed from any such meaning. *Cur ego non laeter?* means 'why should I not be glad?' and the answer, so far as any is expected, will be 'you should not (ought not to) be glad for the following reasons,' etc., or 'you should (ought to) be glad,' or the like. Similarly, *hunc ego non diligam?* means 'should I not (ought I not to) love this man?'<sup>1</sup> The will in this last case is not involved in the slightest degree. There is, accordingly, no idea of deliberation in the question. Cicero's mind had been made up long before, and *hunc ego non diligam?* is merely a rhetorical way of saying "surely I ought to love such a man as this." I can find no instance in Latin literature of *non* introducing a question which is truly deliberative in character. Where that negative is used in questions which grammarians have been pleased to call delib-

<sup>1</sup> The only explanation of *non* that will prove satisfactory for all the instances concerned is one that regards it as parallel in every way with the *non* in *cur non laeter?* This interpretation may seem more acceptable later on in this paper.

erative, the context shows that the question either is settled already, and so is purely rhetorical in character and equivalent to a negative assertion of obligation, or propriety, or possibility; or else asks for information, anticipating in reply an assertion of obligation, or propriety, or possibility. It never asks for advice, or direction—it never anticipates in reply an expression of the will in any form. In other words, it is never deliberative. We should therefore never expect to find *ne* as a negative in such questions, nor in the answers to such questions, and we never do find it. And here I wish to call attention to a strange error of which Kühner has been guilty. In §47, 2 (pp. 136–7) of his Latin grammar, in speaking of questions of deliberation, he says: “Die Negation ist *ne*.” He then proceeds to give a list containing ten negative questions, all of which he calls deliberative and eight of which are *negated by non*. The two which are negated by *ne* (both found in the same passage, Att. 12, 40, 2) are not independent questions at all; they depend upon the verb of demanding that has preceded. The truth is that the negative type of the deliberative question, corresponding to the Greek deliberative subjunctive with μή, is not found in the Latin language. The Latin confines its deliberative questions to positives; the Greek frequently gives them a negative form; we in English sometimes combine the two forms, e. g. ‘Shall I go, or shall I not?’

While it is true that *non* never occurs in deliberative questions, as a negative of the subjunctive, it is equally true that *ne* never occurs in expressions of obligation, or propriety. The following passages may be referred to as illustrations of negative questions of obligation, or propriety: Plaut. Most. 2, 2, 24; id. Trin. 133; Ter. Hec. 342; And. 103; id. 384; Cic. Vat. 2, 4; Arch. 8, 19; Catil. 4, 1, 2; ad fam. 10, 23, 15; Planc. 7, 18. Many others will be found by consulting Merguet’s Lexikon zu Cicero. But, some one will say, these questions are at least developments from the deliberative question, and so go back ultimately to a volitive origin. Of this there is not the slightest evidence. The only thing that can be said, so far as I can see, in favor of such a theory is that one can conceive how such a transition might have taken place.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is barely possible that some one might cite the following passages in support of such a view, inasmuch as they are commonly translated by the use of ‘should,’ while having *ne* as a negative: Cic. ad Att. 2, 1, 3 . . . isdem ex libris perspicies et quae gesserim et quae dixerim: aut *ne* poposcisses; ego

It seems to me that we must regard this use of the subjunctive as connected with the subjunctive used to express the 'would' idea (commonly designated in the grammars as the 'potential'). The two expressions 'no one would think' and 'no one should think' do not lie so far apart that one conception could not readily pass into the other. In fact, it frequently happens that one hesitates whether to use 'would' or 'should' in translating a subjunctive. Such a case is found in Tac. Ann. 3, 50 *Studia illi, ut plena vaecordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepat*. In translating this passage there is really no choice between 'nor would you apprehend anything' and 'nor should you,' etc. That the two ideas are practically equivalent for certain purposes is shown by the fact they are sometimes expressed by the same word in our own language; and it is shown by similar phenomena in at least one other language besides Latin. Our word 'should' may, under certain circumstances, express obligation or propriety, or may represent the conclusion of a condition corresponding to a less vivid future condition in Latin. The sentence 'I should attack the enemy, if my commander should give the order,' may mean 'I ought to attack them' under those circumstances, or it may mean merely that the act *would* occur under those circumstances. Such a transition of thought may also be paralleled from the

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*enim tibi me non offerebam; id. Verr. 2, 3, 84, 195 . . . sin, ut plerique faciunt, in quo erat aliqui quaestus, sed is honestus atque concessus, frumentum, quoniam vilius erat, ne emisses, sumpsisses id nummorum, quod tibi senatus cellae nomine concesserat.* But these passages do not support any such theory. In the first place, one must look upon *ne poposcisses* and *ne emisses* with suspicion. No other instance of such a use can, I believe, be found—at least before the period of Silver Latinity; and the manuscript evidence in at least one of these passages is somewhat shaky. At any rate, no argument as to the origin of a construction can be based upon one or two curiosities of comparatively late times. If these two instances are to stand, they must be looked upon as purely volitive in character. *Ne poposcisses* and *ne emisses* are simply *ne poposceris* and *ne emeris* from a past point of view—they are prohibitions conceived of in the past. Any one who would insist upon 'you should not have bought' as an accurate translation of *ne emisses* would, to be consistent, have to admit 'you should not (ought not to) buy' as an accurate translation of *ne emeris*. When *ne emisses* is translated by 'you should not have bought,' 'should not' must be understood as merely the past of 'you shall not,' which, despite the original meaning of 'shall,' contains no idea of obligation, but is merely the expression of the speaker's will.



Greek in the use of the so-called potential optative. While such expressions as οὐκ ἄν . . . ἀγορεύουσ start with the idea 'you would not talk,' this has in Hom. Il. 2, 250, and elsewhere, come to mean 'you should not talk.' See Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, §237. Another proof that the two ideas are readily exchangeable is found in the fact that the place of a Greek potential optative with ἄν, in the conclusion of a condition, is sometimes taken by χρά with the inf. and equivalent expressions (Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, §§502, 555). This is a clear recognition of the practical equivalence in such cases of the potential idea ('would think') and the idea of obligation and propriety. It seems at least as natural, then, to associate together these two uses of the subjunctive as it does to associate the use under discussion with a volitive idea. But I do not care to press further this theory. Let the reader still cling, if he will, to the theory of a volitive origin. In one point we must still agree, and that is that the negative in clauses of obligation and propriety is, from the earliest times to the latest, invariably *non*, and not once *ne*.

This subjunctive of obligation or propriety is the use I referred to above as not having received the recognition it deserves. What good reason is there for limiting such a use of the subjunctive to certain forms of questions and subordinate clauses, when it would suit many other clauses far better than the common interpretation? Is it not, when one stops to think of it, a little strange that grammarians and editors, without a moment's hesitation, translate such questions as *cur non audiamus?* as meaning 'why should we not hear?' and then apparently regard it as impossible that *non audiamus*, without the *cur*, can mean 'we should not hear'? In the question with *cur* the negative is, without exception, from the earliest times *non*—never *ne*—and still, when exactly the same thing is found in a declarative form, grammarians (e. g. Kühner, II, p. 145) and commentators proceed to work out some ingenious theory to show how *non* came to be used where *ne* would have been expected.

If those who are interested in this question will only get rid of the idea that the subjunctive in clauses of obligation or propriety must in some way be associated with the volitive subjunctive, and will then recognize this use as having somewhat freer scope than they have been accustomed to suppose, they will find that many difficulties will be at once disposed of. They will, in the first

place, be relieved of the necessity of explaining why those few clauses which they are willing to call clauses of obligation have *non* instead of *ne*. But this will be only a beginning of the satisfaction that their new belief will bring them. The passages from Cicero and Sallust which prompted these remarks will then be perfectly clear and their negatives perfectly regular. The one from the *de re pub.*: *teneamus eum cursum, qui semper fuit optimi cuiusque; neque ea signa audiamus quae* etc., will then mean 'we should keep to that course which has always been that of all good men, and should not heed the signals which,' etc.<sup>1</sup> The *neque quemquam metus ceperit* in Sallust will mean 'nor should any one fear.' Many other difficulties will cease to be difficulties. In Cic. *pro Cluent.* 57, 155 *Quoniam omnia com-moda nostra, iura, libertatem, salutem denique legibus obtinemus, a legibus non recedamus*, the *non recedamus* will mean 'we should not recede.' The negatives in the following passages may be similarly explained: Cic. *de re pub.* 4, 6, 6 *Nec vero mulieribus praefectus praeponatur . . .*, sed sit censor, qui viros doceat moderari uxoribus; id. ad Att. 14, 13 A Patere, obsecro, te pro re publica videri gessisse simultatem cum patre eius: *non contem-peris* hanc familiam; honestius enim et libentius deponimus inimicitias rei publicae nomine susceptas quam contumaciae.

The choice of *non* instead of *ne* will now be clearly understood in such passages as the following: Ter. And. 787 Hic est ille: *non te credas* Davom ludere; Plaut. Trin. 133 *Non ego illi argentum redderem?* Cic. Arch. 8, 18 Hunc ego *non diligam?* *Non admirer?* *Non* omni ratione defendendum *putem?* id. 19 Nos . . . *non* poetarum voce *moveamur?* ad fam. 14, 4, 5 Quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo con-fectam? *Non rogem?* Sine te igitur sim? We noticed earlier in this paper that *neque* (*nec*) is not found in Early Latin in clauses that are stamped as volitive in character by the use of an

<sup>1</sup> The whole context is distinctly in favor of taking *audiamus* in this sense. There is no instance of any such hortatory expression previous to this in the production, nor on the pages following. On the other hand, there are, in the ten lines next preceding, repeated expressions of obligation denoting what 'we ought to do,' e. g. Ergo ille civis . . . *ipsis est praeferendus* doctoribus; quae est enim istorum oratio tam equisita quae *sit anteponenda* bene constitutae civitati publico iure et moribus? Equidem quem ad modum urbis magnas viculis et castellis *praeferendas* puto, sic eos, qui his urbibus consilio atque auctoritate praesunt, iis, qui omnis negoti publici expertes sunt, longe duco sapientia ipsa *esse anteponendos*.

imperative or by the use of an accompanying *ne* or *neve*. In the face of such a condition of things, one must feel great hesitation in supposing *neque* (*nec*) to be used in any volitive clause during that period. And still, what is to be done with the following? Plaut. Bacch. 476 *Ipsus neque amat, nec tu credas*; id. Capt. 149 Ah, Hegio, numquam istuc dixis *neque* animum *induxis* tuom; id. Trin. 627 *Noli avorsari neque te occultassis* mihi (This is the only passage in which a clear prohibition of any sort precedes. It does not count for much against the mass of evidence bearing in the other direction, and it is not necessary here to regard *neque occultassis* as a prohibition); Enn. Ann. 143 (Baehrens) *Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis*; id. 509 *Nemo me dacrums decoret nec funera fleta faxit*; Lucil. Sat. 30 (Baehrens 775) *neque* barbam *inmiseris*; Ter. And. 392 *Nec tu ea causa minueris* haec quae facis. The explanation I have suggested clears up all of these passages. The failure to recognize the use of the subjunctive for which I am pleading has repeatedly resulted in the corruption of manuscripts by scholars who could not understand the negative they found there. No less distinguished scholars than Riese and Schmalz are among those to whom I allude. In his admirable edition of Catullus, Riese (followed by Schmalz, Lat. Synt., §31) changes *non siris* to *ne siris* in Catul. 66, 91 *Tu vero, regina, tuens cum sidera divam Placabis festis luminibus Venerem, Unguinis expertem non siris esse tuam me, sed potius largis adfice muneribus*. I am convinced that there is not the slightest evidence of any kind for this reading. The manuscripts, without exception, read *non*. *Ne* with the perfect subjunctive is a construction unknown to Catullus. More than that, it is a construction not found in any poet, except 4 times in Horace, from the time of Terence till after the Augustan Age (and it is rare even then), while the construction involved in my interpretation of the passage is found in every prominent poet of the Golden Age. I showed, too, in Part I of this paper, that *ne* with the perfect is not used in dignified address until Silver Latin. This is true even in Horace, the only poet who uses the construction at all. But the passage in Catullus is addressed to a queen (*regina Berenice*, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus), and such a harsh and abrupt address would not be in harmony with the mock-heroic style of the poem.<sup>1</sup> Similar

<sup>1</sup> My interpretation is in perfect harmony with the remark of Quintilian in 1, 5, 50, of which so much has been made by those who read *ne siris*. See my Appendix.

corruptions have taken place for similar reasons in Rutil. Lup. II 9 *non credideris*; Sen. Nat. Qu. 1, 3 *non dubitaveris*; Nepos, Ages. 4, 1 *quare veniret non dubitaret*. On the reading in these passages cf. Reisig-Haase, Lat. Synt., neu bearbeitet von Schmalz und Landgraf, p. 481. Manuscripts only too often need to be delivered from their friends.

We are now ready to return to the passages in Cicero that have prompted all of these remarks. My explanation of *nec* with the perfect subjunctive in those passages has, I presume, already been surmised. They seem to me instances of that particular phase of the so-called (unfortunately<sup>1</sup>) potential subjunctive which is commonly translated by the use of the auxiliary 'would,' or, in the first person, 'should.' In applying this test to the various instances, one must keep in mind that this idea sometimes approaches that of obligation or propriety, and that in such cases one need not hesitate, in translating, to use the auxiliary 'should' instead of 'would.' The subjunctive in Acad. 2, 46, 141 *Tam moveor quam tu, Luculle, nec me minus hominem quam te putaveris*, is then to be translated 'nor would you (should you) for a moment think that I,' etc. Such a translation makes equally good sense in all the other passages in question. It is open, so far as I can see, to no objection of any kind. On the other hand, it receives a striking confirmation at the hands of Cicero himself. I refer to Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 41, 98 *Ne vos quidem, iudices, mortem timueritis*. Grammars (e. g. Roby, 1602; Draeger, Hist. Synt., §149 B; Kühner, Ausf. Lat. Gram. II, §47, 9, p. 143) are wont to classify this as a prohibition, instead of taking *ne* and *quidem* together in the sense of 'not even.' This would be in conflict with two principles I laid down in Part I of my paper: (1) that the perfect subjunctive is not used in prohibitions addressed to *iudices*, or in other dignified prohibitions, and (2) that it is not, except in two or three passages, used with verbs denoting mere mental activity, before the period of decline. On these grounds alone I should reject the interpretation referred to above. But, fortunately, I am not in the present instance obliged to trust to such deductions. The whole passage in Cicero is a close translation of chapters 32

<sup>1</sup> The term 'potential' ought, it seems to me, to be limited to expressions of ability and possibility—to the 'can' and the 'may' ideas. I see nothing in the term 'potential' that makes it appropriate for designating any other construction.

and 33 of Plato's *Apologia Socratis*. The part of which the particular sentence concerned is a translation runs as follows: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς *χρή*, ὧ *ἄνδρες δικασταί*, *εὐελπίδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον*. The perfect subjunctive is, then, here equivalent to *χρή* with the infinitive. This, taken in connection with the use, above referred to, of *χρή* and the infinitive for the potential optative in conclusions of conditions, seems to me to prove beyond all possible doubt that *non timueritis* may, without the least hesitation, be translated by 'you should not fear,' *nec pulaveris* by 'nor should you think,' etc., etc., wherever 'should' seems to make a better translation than 'would.'

I have called attention above to the fact that the predominance, in the construction of *nec* with the perfect subjunctive, of verbs denoting mere mental activity proves that the construction cannot be the same as that formed by *ne* with the perfect. But the classes of verbs found in this construction form as strong an argument in favor of my interpretation as they form against the common interpretation. It will be noticed that of the 10 verbs in this construction in Cicero, 8 are verbs of mental action or of saying. By referring to the sections on the potential subjunctive and the subjunctive of modest assertion in any of our Latin grammars, it will be found that in a similarly large majority of the examples there given the verbs belong to one or the other of these two classes. Roby calls attention to the striking predominance of such verbs in the potential mood (the term 'potential' being employed to include such uses as *nemo pulet* 'no one would think'), and especially when the perfect tense is used, in his *Latin Grammar*, §1536 (cf. also Kühner, II, §46, p. 133). In §§1536-46 he gives a large number of instances of the perfect subjunctive in the 1st person and an equally large number in the 3d person, accompanied in both persons by negatives, and all explained as instances of the so-called potential (to be translated by 'would' or, in the 1st person, by 'should'). But instances of the 2d person, accompanied by a negative, exactly similar in everything other than in the person and showing the same striking predominance of verbs of the same sort, Roby, like all the rest, classifies with the perfect subjunctive, under the sections on prohibitions (v. §1602). The only exception I find is *nec laudaveris* (Cic. Leg. 3, 1), out of which, fortunately, no one could possibly make a prohibition. Why such a dearth of these perfects in the 2d person, when they are so very common in the

1st and 3d persons? The truth seems to be that they are plentiful enough, if we will only recognize them when we see them.

I hope it will be admitted that I have made good my claim that *neque* (*nec*) is never found in Ciceronian prose with a volitive subjunctive. If any one still clings to the belief that some of the clauses I have just been considering are volitive, then I would remind him again of the fact, an all-important one in this connection, that, among all the clauses introduced by *ne* or *neve* and continued by the addition of a second verb (and there are, literally, hundreds of such clauses), *neque* (*nec*) is, with but a single exception in a second-rate writer, unknown to prose as a connective, and extremely rare in poetry, before the time of Livy. There are so many such clauses that this omission cannot be accounted for as a matter of chance. Until some one can explain the absence of *neque* (*nec*) from all the various clauses, dependent and independent, which alone are known to be volitive in feeling, we certainly have a right to insist that he shall exhaust all other possible explanations before ever recognizing *neque* as used with a volitive subjunctive in Ciceronian prose.

A word should now be said regarding the use of *nihil* (*nil*), *numquam*, *ne—quidem*, and *nullus* with the perfect subjunctive. They occur as follows:

NIHIL (NIL): Plaut. Mil. 1007 Hercle hanc quidem *nil* tu *amassis*; mihi desponsast; Rud. 1135 tu mihi *nihilum ostenderis*; Curc. 384 *Nil* tu me saturum *monueris*. Memini et scio; Ps. 232 *Nil curassis*: liquido's animo: ego pro me et pro te curabo; Most. 511 *Nil* me *curassis*: ego mihi providero; Cic. in Verr. 2, 1, 54, 141 *nihil* ab isto vafrum, *nihil* veteratorium *expectaveritis*; pro Mur. 31, 65 "*Nihil ignoveris*." Immo aliquid, non omnia. "*Nihil omnino gratiae concesseris*." Immo insistito, cum officium et fides postulabit; ad Att. 2, 9 *nihil* me *existimaris* neque usu neque a Theophrasto didicisse; ib. 4, 17 (18), 4 De me *nihil timueris*, sed tamen promitto nihil; ib. 5, 11 Tu velim Piliam meis verbis consolere; indicabo enim tibi; tu illi *nihil dixeris*; accepi fasciculum, in quo erat epistola Piliae; ib. 5, 21 A Quinto fratre his mensibus *nihil expectaris*; nam Taurus propter nivis ante mensem Iunium transiri non potest; ib. 7, 8, 2 animadverteram posse pro re nata te non incommode ad me in Albanum venire III. Nonas Ianuar.; sed, amabo te, *nihil* incommodo valedudinis *feceris*: quid enim est tantum in uno aut altero die? ib. 8,

2 Nihil arbitror fore, quod reprehendas. Si qua erunt, doce me, quo modo effugere possim. "*Nihil*" inquires "omnino *scripseris*"; ad Quintum 1, 1, 4, 14 sed si quis est, in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic *nihil credideris, nullam partem* existimationis tuae *commiseris*;

NUMQUAM: Plaut. Capt. 149 Ego alienus? Alienus ille? Ah, Hegio, *numquam* istuc *dixis* neque animum induxis tuom; Sall. Jug. 110, 4 arma viros pecuniam, postremo quicquid animo lubet, sume utere, et quoad vives, *numquam* tibi redditam gratiam *putaveris*;

NE . . . QUIDEM, NULLUS: Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 41, 98 *Ne* vos *quidem*, iudices ii, qui me absolvistis, mortem *timueritis* (cf. Tusc. Disp. 2, 13, 32 Te vero ita adfectum *ne* virum *quidem* quisquam *dixerit*); Plaut. Bacch. 90 Ille quidem hanc abducat: *nullus* tu *adfuertis*, si non lubet; Ter. Hec. 79 Si quaeret me, uti tum dicas: si non quaeret, *nullus dixeris*. It is customary to treat these as prohibitions, but it is practically certain that some of them are not volitive in character. It will be noticed that in most of these instances the verbs are such as indicate mere mental activity, which in itself practically decides the case against interpreting them as volitive subjunctives. Not only that, but whereas we found that *ne* with the perfect was in classical times used only in familiar, every-day address, and was carefully avoided on dignified occasions, in the passages under discussion there are repeated instances of the perfect subjunctive on such occasions. Take, for example, *nihil expectaveritis* in Verr. II 1, 54, 144. If this were taken as a prohibition belonging to the same class as *ne* with the perfect, it would, as shown in Part I of this paper, be abrupt and harsh in tone, and not at all calculated to make a favorable impression upon the *iudices* to whom it is addressed. But under the other interpretation it would be very deferential and complimentary in tone. The expression 'you would (of course) expect nothing' implies full confidence in the good sense and judgment of the *iudices*, and would in every way be appropriate to the occasion. The passage from Cic. Tusc. Disp. is shown, by the Greek passage of which it is a literal translation, to be equivalent to *χρή* with the infinitive. In the only instance, then, where positive proof of this nature is at hand, my objection to regarding similar constructions as belonging to the volitive subjunctive is shown to be well founded. There is, to be sure, no serious objection to interpreting some of these as *bona fide*

prohibitions. It is possible even that some of them are in the future perfect indicative. There does not seem to be evidence enough at hand to settle absolutely each individual case.

#### APPENDIX.

I ought perhaps to say a word regarding the use of prohibitive expressions in Silver Latin. It will be noticed that I have several times referred to Livy as marking the time when new constructions began to appear. Any one who has taken pains to examine any work on Latin Style, treated historically (e. g. that of Schmalz in Müller's Handbuch), must have noticed that Livy is very distinctly an innovator. New constructions, new words, new phrases, new ways of putting things fairly swarm into literary prose through the pages of Livy. He may be said in some respects to mark the beginning of the period of decline. This must be my excuse for classing him here with the writers of Silver Latin. So far, however, as the usages I have been considering are concerned, he seems to depart from what we have found to be the standards of classical prose only in one important particular, viz. he occasionally uses *neque* (*nec*) instead of the classical *neve* (*neu*) in clauses introduced by *ne*. This use of *neque* (*nec*) occurs as follows: 2, 32, 10 . . . conspirasse inde *ne* manus ad os cibum *ferrent*, *nec* os acciperet datum, *nec* dentes, quae conficerent; 3, 21, 6 dum ego *ne* imiter tribunos *nec* me contra senatus consultum consulem renuntiari *patiar*; 4, 4, 11 Cur non sancitis, *ne* vicinus patricio sit plebeius *nec* eodem itinere *eat*, *ne* idem convivium ineat, *ne* in foro eodem consistat? 26, 42, 2 . . . periculum esse ratus, *ne* eo facto in unum omnes *contraheret*, *nec* par esset unus tot exercitibus.

This use of *neque* (*nec*) in Livy in volitive clauses will perhaps cause greater uncertainty than would be felt in Ciceronian times regarding the correct explanation of certain other uses of *neque* (*nec*) with the subjunctive. It is, however, difficult, when one compares the instances of *neque* (*nec*) with the perfect subjunctive presented by Livy with the similar cases in Cicero, to resist the conclusion that they are to be interpreted in the same way. For the convenience of those who wish to make a comparison with earlier usage, I append a list of the prohibitive expressions found in Livy, including these questionable instances of *neque* (*nec*).



*Ne with Perfect Subjunctive.*

7, 34, 5 *ne dederis* (addressed by a tribune to a consul at a time of great emergency); 7, 40, 12 *ne destileris* (addressed in bitter irony by the consul to the leader of mutinous soldiers); 9, 34, 15 *ne degeneraveris* (uttered by a tribune in a tirade against Appius Claudius for refusing to give up office at the expiration of his term); 10, 8, 6 *ne fastidieris* (earnest plea for his rights which had been denied); 21, 44, 6 *ne transieris* (Hannibal working on the passions of his soldiers, by quoting the arrogant demands of the enemy); 22, 49, 8 *ne funestiam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris* (appeal for the life of the consul); 30, 30, 19 *ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae dederis discrimen* (Hannibal to opposing general, Scipio); 31, 7 *ne aequaveritis* (not a prohibition, but a concession) Hannibali Philippum, *ne Carthaginensibus Macedonas. Pyrrho certe aequabitis. Aequabitis dico?* Quantum vel vir viro vel gens genti praestat! 40, 14 *ne miscueris* (Demetrius, who had been accused of trying to murder his brother, in tears, addressing his father, who is acting as judge).

*Neque (nec) with Perfect Subjunctive.*

5, 53, 3 *nec id mirati sitis* (addressed to the Quirites); 21, 43, 11 *nec existimaveris* (Hannibal to his soldiers); 23, 3, 3 *nec quicquam raptim aut forte temere egeritis*; 29, 18, 9 *neque in Italia neque in Africa quicquam gesseritis* (addressed to the *patres conscripti*).

*Numquam, nusquam with Perfect Subjunctive.*

Livy 1, 32, 7 *numquam siris* (addressed to Jupiter); 21, 44, 6 *nusquam te moveris*.

*Ne with Present Subjunctive.*

44, 22 *rumores credulitate vestra ne alatis* (Weissenborn).

*Neque (nec) with the Present Subjunctive.*

22, 39, 21 *armatus intentusque sis neque occasioni tuae desis neque occasionem hosti des*.

*Neque with Imperative.*

22, 10, 5 *neque scelus esto* (probably = 'and it shall be no crime,' the negative spending its force upon *scelus*).

*Ne with Imperative.*

3, 2, 9 *ne timele.*

*Noli with Infinitive.*

7, 24, 6 *nolite expectare*; 7, 40, 16 *nolite* adversus vos *velle* experiri; 10, 8, 5 *noli erubescere*; 32, 21 *nolite fastidire* (twice); 34, 4 *nolite existimare*; 34, 31 *nolite exigere*; 38, 17 *nolite existimare*; 38, 46 *nolite existimare*.

*Cave with Present Subjunctive.*

5, 16, 9 *cave sinas*; 8, 32, 8 *cave mittas*; 22, 49, 9 *cave absumas*; 30, 14, 11 *cave deformes et corrumpas*.

My statistics for Silver Latin proper cover only Phaedrus, the tragedies of Seneca, Tacitus and the Declamationes that commonly go under the name of Quintilian. They have, however, been so hurriedly gathered that I will not vouch for their completeness, though the omissions cannot be many. My examination of these authors leads me to think it probable that the principles I have laid down for classical times will, in the main, hold also for Silver Latin, though, as we should expect, in view of the general breaking up of classical standards, exceptions are more common. Prohibitions (including, as usual, the instances of *neque* [*nec*]) occur, in the works mentioned, as follows:

*Ne with the Perfect Subjunctive.*

Phaedrus: App. 11 *ne* istud dixeris (gymnast to a man who had questioned his strength); 26, 5 *ne timueris* (countryman to a hare).

Seneca: none.

Tacitus: Ann. 6, 8 *ne* patres conscripti *cogitaveris*; Hist. 1, 16 *ne* territus *fuieris* (Galba to his successor in office, familiarly grasping his hand); 2, 77 *ne* Mucianum *spreveris* (Mucianus to Vespasian).

Quintiliani (?) Declam.: none.

*Neque (nec) with Perfect Subjunctive.*

Phaedrus: none.

Seneca: none.

Tac. Hist. 2, 47 *nec* tempus *computaveritis*; 2, 76 *nec expaveris*.

Quintiliani (?) Declamationes 249 *neque negaveris* (three times); 257 *neque spectaveris*.

*Nihil with Perfect Subjunctive.*

Tacitus: Ann. 16, 22 *nihil ipse scripseris*.

*Ne with Present Subjunctive.*

Phaedrus and Seneca: none.

Tacitus: Dial. 17 *ne dividatis*.

Quintiliani (?) Declamationes 306 *ne quid improbe petas*.

*Neque (nec) with Present Subjunctive.*

Phaedrus, Seneca, Quint. (?) Declam.: none.

Tac. Ann. 3, 50, 5 *nec metuas*; id. ib. 6, 8 *nec adsequare*.

*Ne with Imperative.*

Seneca: Thyest. 917 *ne parce*; 984 *ne metue*; Phoen. Frgm. 495 *ne verere*; 556 *ne erue neve evert*; 645 *ne metue*; Phaed. 136 *extingue neve praebe*; 227 *ne crede*; 1002 *ne metue*; 1249 *ne metue*; Medea 1024 *ne prospera*.

*Noli with Infinitive.*

Phaedrus: 1, 25 *noli vereri*; 2, 3 *noli facere*; 3, 18 *noli adfectare*; 4, 7 *noli esse*.

Quintiliani (?) Declamationes 247 *noli mirari*; 315 *nolite dare*; 375 *noli dicere*.

As regards the use of *non* in Silver Latin, I believe that it still continued to be carefully distinguished from *ne*. It will be found that some of the supposed instances of *non* in the sense of *ne* may be explained by understanding the *non* to spend its force upon some particular word<sup>1</sup>; and that the others, without exception, become perfectly clear if the subjunctive concerned is understood as one denoting obligation, or propriety, of which *non* and *neque* are the regular negatives. To this latter class belong, for instance, Sen. Q. N. 1, 3, 3 *non dubitaveris*; Rutil. Lup. II 9 *non credideris*; Sen. Ep. 99, 14 *non imperemus*; Quint. 1, 1, 5 *Non assuescat ergo sermoni, qui dediscendus sit*; id. 7, 1, 56 *non desperemus*; etc. Even the much-cited passage in Ovid: *aut non tentaris aut perforce*,

<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis will also explain the supposed occurrence of *non* with the imperative in Ovid. No other author, I believe, has been suspected of such barbarism; cf. Schmalz, Lat. Synt. 37; Kühner, Ausführl. Gram. d. Lat. Spr. II, §48, 1.

may be explained in the same way: 'you should either not try at all, or else, if you do, effect your object.' An unjustified use has been made in this connection of Quint. 1, 5, 50 qui tamen dicat pro illo *ne feceris non feceris*, in idem incidat vitium, quia alterum negandi est alterum vetandi. This passage has been cited to show that *non feceris* is not good Latin, whereas it distinctly says that it is good Latin. Quintilian is merely trying to explain the difference in use between *ne* and *non*, as any one might do in a similar treatise. He does not even imply that *non* ever was used in literature in the sense of *ne*. All he says is that *if a man should so use it (dicat), he would make the same mistake*, etc. It is then probable that *aut non tentaris aut perfice* does not represent an error of a class to which Quintilian has been supposed to refer, but that it is a perfectly legitimate usage. Still, inasmuch as *neque (nec)* is found with the imperative mood in poetry, and inasmuch as there are undoubted instances in the prose of Silver Latin of *neque (nec)* in clauses of negative purpose, it must be admitted that there may be some doubt about my interpretation of *non* in some of the clauses cited from this period. But it seems to me that, to say the least, the probabilities are on my side.

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### III.—THE JUDAEO-GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

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From the early Bible translations in Judaeo-German in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the consequent dissemination of Judaeo-German literature, it is quite obvious that the Jews had just begun to introduce Hebrew words into their speech, and that this habit developed into a set *modus loquendi* in the next century. Thieves and vagabonds, among whom there were many from the Jewish community, gladly seized upon the opportunity of incorporating words from this source into their unintelligible gibberish. Before the middle of the sixteenth century the introduction of these words was more or less arbitrary; this is evident from the fact that they have not maintained themselves in J.G. itself. Thus, in the manuscript vocabulary of Gerold Edlibach, alderman at Zurich, from the year 1488,<sup>1</sup> we find, among others, the words *alcha* 'gan,' *lechem* 'brott,' *jochhem* 'win,' *boshart* 'fleisch,' freely formed from *לֶחֶם*, *יַיִן*, *בָּשָׂר*, respectively, none of which are to be found in J.G. So, too, in the Liber Vagatorum the number of Hebrew words that have disappeared from J.G. is considerable. In the following centuries there is a large accretion of real J.G. words to the Vagabonds' vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> When Avé-Lallemant undertook the investigation of German vaga-

<sup>1</sup> Avé-Lallemant, IV 59.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in Christensen's collection of 1811 (Avé-Lallemant, IV 199 ff.). That the thieves drew directly on the Jargon of Jews, especially Polish Jews, is seen here in the use of several Polish words, which Avé-Lal. wrongly supposes to be Bohemian.

bonds,<sup>1</sup> he found it necessary to devote the greater part of one volume to the study of Judaeo-German. He lacked, however, a proper philological training, and his statements must be taken with a great deal of caution, and were it not for a valuable collection of facts, this part of his work would be entirely worthless. Nor was he more fortunate in his philological deductions in Thieves' slang, and his rich accumulation of data still awaits the careful investigator.

A number of Hebrew words have found their way into many German dialects either directly from J.G. or through the medium of Thieves' slang, but in the present paper only such as have been incorporated in the dictionaries of High German are considered. If a word is to be found in J.G. or Slavo-Judaeo-German (in which forms are frequently better preserved) it is to be at once classed as of J.G. origin; if it deviates in form or meaning, and is represented in Slang, its J.G. origin is secondary. The dictionaries, as will be seen from the examples given, take no strict account of this, and in some cases class a word indiscriminately as J.G., Slang, or even Hebrew; this is notably the case with Kluge.

The original Hebrew sources from which the Jews derived their vocabulary are the Bible and neo-Hebraic literature, especially the Talmud. Weigand and Sanders therefore overstep the bounds when in explaining the word *Kaffiller* they ascribe it to Syrian origin: der *Kaffiller*, -s, Pl. wie Sing.: Schinder. Erst im 17. Jahrh. Mit *i* aus *e*, *ä* zumal Anlehnung an niederd. der *viller* = Schinder und vielleicht auch an bayer. das *Gefill* = Recht des Abdeckers auf das gefallene Vieh nahe liegt. Das Wort ist nämlich aus der gaunerischen (rothwelschen) Sprache, in welcher *caveller*, *Kavaller*, *cafäller*, *Kofaller* = Schinder, abgeleitet von talmudisch *Kefál* (כֶּפֶל), welches im Syrischen abdecken, abziehen bedeutet und diese Bed. in seiner Pael-Form *Kapél* (כָּפֵל) wahr. Nicht aber kommt es von einem ahd. *Kafillan* = die Haut abziehen, geizeln, zumal da dieses erst im 10.-12. Jahrh. in der Form *ke-*, *gi-*, *gevillen* sich zeigende Wort nur im Prät. und Part. des Prät. vorkommt und überhaupt das alte *ka-* schon im Ahd. eben zu *ke-*, *gi-*, *ge-* sich abschwächt. Weigand, I 749. Cf. Sanders, I 443; Schmeller, I 709; Grimm, V 26; Avé-Lallemant, IV 528. In addition to its probable derivation from *gefill*, I propose another one: in the language of the flayers *caval* (from

<sup>1</sup> Das deutsche Gaunerthum (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1858-62).

Lat. *caballus*) means a 'horse,' probably 'dead horse, one that is to be skinned'; this may have led to the formation of *cavaller*, one of the forms given by Weigand and Avé-Lallemant.

Another mistake is made by all dictionaries in trying to explain the origin of the words from the so-called Portuguese pronunciation of Hebrew; this is fundamentally wrong, as at no time, probably, was that pronunciation current in Germany, and certainly not in the sixteenth century. The German or Polish pronunciation alone can be considered.<sup>1</sup> This mistake is apparent, for example, in Grimm, when the author differentiates *schacher* as deduced from Hebrew שָׁחַר, and *schachern* from שָׁחַר; since the second was pronounced *sochar*, it could not have served as the base for the verb. The Portuguese pronunciation does not help to explain the natural changes of a word in its passage from Hebrew to German.

The above-mentioned mistake in Grimm arises from a third misconception—namely, that any form of speech may have served as the root for a Judaeo-German word, whereas in reality only nouns, adjectives, adverbs and participles have been purloined; in the Slang the creative fancy is somewhat freer, and a Slang word can frequently be detected by this freer formation, and it is not necessary to make some verbal form responsible for a vowel-change. As a rule, the words have undergone no greater change than such as is conditioned by the spirit of the German language. To ascribe, therefore, Germ. *paschen* 'to smuggle' to פִּשְׁקָה 'transgression,'<sup>2</sup> a word which is not to be found in J.G. or Slang, and which demands a change of *e* to *a*, is to do violence to the word.

But the authors of dictionaries are guilty of a still graver negligence: they have not always inquired into the exact meaning of J.G. words, and have occasionally given preposterous explanations. It is the purpose of the present paper to gather together all words of J.G. origin found in any of the greater dictionaries, and to make all corrections which it is at present possible to make, so that future lexicographers may know by what statement and what author they can be guided.

J.G. *Benschen* 'to bless, pronounce a benediction' and *oren* 'to pray' have found their way into German dictionaries: they are of French origin and will be treated elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> A special article devoted to the German pronunciation of Hebrew will be found in one of the forthcoming numbers of the 'Hebraica.'

<sup>2</sup> Weigand, II 308.

*Bocher.*

*Bocher*, Jew., 'youth, student,' from Hebr. *bachûr* 'youth.' Kluge, 36.

Der *Bâcher*, *Bâger* (wetterau. Juden), angehender jüdischer Gelehrter, Student, clericus (v. hebr. *bachar*, auswählen: Erwählter) . . . Lehrer, besonders herumziehender jüdischer Kinderlehrer. Schmeller, I 195.

Der *Boocher*, in der Judensprache, der Junge, Knabe, auch *Bocker*, bei Manchen *Bucker*, vielleicht absichtlich auf das franz. bougre anspielend. Aus dem He. *bechor* der Erstgeborene, Chald. *bechir* und *buchar* . . . Bernd, 28.

Tendlau, 113 gives: *Bacher* (*bachur*) ein Jüngling, ausnahmsweise, der sich dem Studium des Talmuds widmet; zuweilen auch ein Lehrer, besonders auf dem Lande. This passed into Thieves' slang in the form of: *Bochur*, *Bacher*, *Bocher* (*bocher*, Pl. *bochurim*), der Student, der Ausstudirte, Ausgelernte, Verschlagene, der Beamte welcher die Kunst und Sprache des Gaunerthums wohl versteht. Avé-Lallemant, IV 526. It is derived from neo-Hebr. *bocher* (בֹּחֵר), pl. *bachurim* (בְּחֻרִים), young man; the pl. *bachurim* is doubtless responsible for the sing. form *bacher*.

*Dalles.*

Der *Dalles* (Wetterau, Juden), Armuth, grösste Dürftigkeit, von hebr. *dallôth*, plur. von *dallah*, Armuth, aus *dalal*, schwach, gering seyn. Anders v. *Dalles*, das Todtenkleid. Schmeller, I 499.

*Dalles*, m., 'destruction, ruin,' Jew.; properly the Jewish winding-sheet worn on the great 'day of atonement' (hence orig. 'to wear the Dalles'); from Hebr. *talth*. According to others, the word is based on Hebr. *dallût* 'poverty.' Kluge, 51.

Kluge's derivation from *talles*, as *talth* is pronounced in J.G., is absurd, since the "Jewish winding-sheet" is worn on any other day as well. The real origin is neo-Hebr. דָּלִיּוּת 'poverty,' the J.G. and S.J.G. *dalles*. The Amsterdam translation (1755) of the Proverbs in J.G. changes the usual 'un' er soll vergessen sein armut' to 'un' soll vergessen sein dalles' (Grünbaum, 129). It is in common use in J.G. and S.J.G. in the sense of 'poverty, ruin,' and in S.J.G. *bedalles weren* means 'to get ruined.'

*Dallinger.*

*Dallinger*, henker; Grimm, II 700.

der *Dallinger*, -s, Pl. wie Sing.: Henker. Ein bereits im



Anfange des 16. Jahrh. in dem liber vagatorum vorkommendes Gaunerwort, aus dem von hebr. *tâlâh* (תָּלָה) = aufhängen abgeleiteten rabbinischen *taljân* (תַּלְיָן) = Henker, Scharfrichter, woher jüdisch *taljen* = aufhenken. Weigand, I 303.

*Taljenen, Taljen, talchen, talgen, dolmen, tulmen* (tolo), henken; *Taljon, Talgener* und *Tallien* (Schinderspr.), der Henker, etc. . . . Avé-Lallemant, IV 613.

In J.G. *tole* is 'the Crucified, Christ'; in S.J.G. *taljen* is 'the executioner,' *tlie* 'the gallows.' Weigand's statement is correct, except that I cannot find any verb *taljen* either in J.G. or S.J.G.

#### *Dibbern.*

*döbern* = angelegentlich besprechen. Jüdisch-deutsch, eig. *dibbern*, aus *dibêr* (דִּבֶּר) = reden. das *Gedöber*, -s, Pl. wie Sing.: angelegentliche Besprechung . . . In der Wetterau, etc., das *Gediwwer*, d. i. *Gedibber*. Weigand, I 539.

*dibbern, diwwern* (wetterau. Juden; von hebr. *dibêr*, reden), etwas angelegentlich besprechen. Schmeller, I 480.

*dibbern*, vb., Jew., 'to talk' (especially in a low voice), from Hebr. *dibbêr* 'to talk.' Kluge, 55.

I can find no trace of the word in J.G. or S.J.G.; it is to be regarded as a new formation from Hebr. דָּבַר in Thieves' slang: *dabern, dabbern, debern, dibbern, medabber sein*, reden, sprechen. *Dibbur*, Wort, Rede, Spruch. Avé-Lallemant, IV 532.

#### *Dokes.*

Der *Dogges* (Franken), podex; Wetterau: *Douckes* (Judenwort); *Dôkes*. Schmeller, I 493.

*Dokes, Douches*, m., 'fundament,' a Jewish word, but of doubtful etymology; hardly from Hebr. *tâchath* 'underneath.' Kluge, 58.

The J.G. and S.J.G. word for podex is *toches*, from Hebr. תָּחַת or תַּחַת 'the lower part'; hence the above meanings.

#### *Doufes.*

*Doufes*, m., 'prison,' Jew., from Hebr. *tafàs* 'to seize, take prisoner.' Kluge, 59.

The only word from the stem תָּפַס, *tofas* 'to seize, to imprison,' that is actually used in J.G. or S.J.G. is תַּפְסֵיָה, *tfise* 'prison.' Avé-Lallemant gives for Thieves' slang: *Tofes, Tofus*, der Arrestirte, Gefangene, Eingekerkerte; *T'fise*, das Gefängnisz, der Arrest; etc. The word is therefore to be regarded as taken from this source, but with a change of meaning.

*Flöten.*

*plete gehn*, auch wohl *flöten gehn* (Wetterau), sich aus dem Staube machen, vom hebr. *plētah* Flucht. Schmeller, I 463.

*flöten* in der Redensart *flöten gehn* = verloren gehn. Niederd. *fleuten gan*. Aus dem jüdisch-deutschen "pleite gehn" = flüchtig sich fortmachen, dessen *plēite* (ēi spr. wie äi) das jüdische *plētō* (פֿלֶטֶה) = "Flucht" ist von hebr. *palat* (פָּלַט) = er ist entwischt. Weigand, I 477.

Grimm (III 1824) thinks the word is German: Weigand hält hinzu das jüdisch-deutsche *pleite gehn* sich fortmachen, in der gaunersprache bedeutet *blete* (*plethe*) *holchen* durchgehn, *blete scheften* verschwunden sein, andere dachten an nl. *pleiten gaan* vor gericht gehn, processieren und verderben. diesen fremden redensarten opfert man doch ungern die natürlich scheinende und schönere deutung aus dem sich verlierenden flötenlaut. der ausdruck hat uns freilich einen gemeinen beischmack und es ist auffallend, dasz er nicht früher verwandt wird (i. e. before the second half of the 18th century). nie aber wird *bleten*, *pleten* gesagt, sondern *flöten* immer nach dem Instrument.

*Flöte*. In the idiom *flöten gehn* 'to come to nothing,' a LG. *fleuten* 'to flow' (OLG. *flotan*) appears; it meant orig. (in the 18th cent.) 'to go through, run away.' Kluge, 93.

*flöten gehn*, verloren gehn, verschwinden. Wohl von dem Laut, den etwas die Luft sausend Durchschneidendes giebt. Sanders, I 469.

I must decide with Weigand as against the last three. Their arguments are untenable on account of the stereotyped phrase *flöten gehn*; it exists in the form *plete gehn* both in J.G. and S.J.G. Kannst plete gehn! = in die Flucht (*plētah*) gehn. *Plete machen* heiszt bankerott machen. Tendlau, 119. It is from the Hebrew פֿלֶטֶה, *plete* 'escape.'

*Ganfen.*

*ganfen*, stehlen, mausen, mundartlich, z. b. mrh., . . . Nassau, . . . hess., . . . götting., *gamfen*, osnabr. *ganfern*, nebst *ganfe* oder *gamfe* f. diebin, *ganfer*, *gamfer* m. dieb; in Posen *ganneff*, dem Juden nachgesprochen, der dieb, auch nl. *gannef*, vom hebr. *ganabh* גָּנַב, stehlen, dann in die gaunersprache, von da in den volksmund gekommen; schon im anfang des 16. jh. im liber vagatorum im rothwelschen vocab. *ganfen* stehlen. Grimm, IV, I, 1, 1219.

The other authorities do not differ substantially from Grimm; he states the case correctly, except that the word is not derived directly from גנב (which could give only *gonwen*), but from גנף, *ganef* 'thief.' Tendlau gives for J.G. the forms *gannew* 'thief,' *ganneven* 'steal.' The verb has in S.J.G. further developed into *ganwenen*.

#### *Gauner.*

*Gauner*, earlier *Jauner*, m., 'sharper, knave,' does not occur till the beginning of the last century; in the 15th and 16th cents. the professional swindlers at cards were called *Joner*, from the slang *jonen* 'to play,' the ultimate source of which is said to be Hebr. *jānā* 'to cheat.' Kluge, 108.

This is evidently a résumé of the long article on *Gauner* in Grimm, IV, I, 1, 1583 ff., which I omit on account of its length; there are certainly no related words in J.G. or S.J.G., and its J.G. origin is doubtful. For completeness' sake I repeat here a short story from Tendlau (357) which may have something to do with the word: *Joneh Mechaschschef!* Um eine groszthuende und doch geringfügige Geschicklichkeit, Fertigkeit u. s. w. lächerlich zu machen. *Jonah, der Zauberer!* (*mechaschscheph*, hebr.). Ein gewisser *Jonah*, wie man sagt, aus einem kleinen Orte in der Nähe Frankfurts, gab sich für einen sehr geschickten Uhrmacher aus. Es gelang ihm auch immer, eine Uhr, die stehen geblieben, augenblicklich wieder in Gang zu bringen. Aber kaum hatte er sich entfernt, kaum war er, auf dem Wege nach Hause, bis vor das Thor gekommen, so blieb sie auch wieder stehen. Daher sagte man ihm spottweise nach, er setze jedesmal eine Fliege in die Uhr, durch deren Tritt das Räderwerk auf einige Minuten in Bewegung gesetzt werde.

#### *Goi.*

*Goi* (hebr.), *Mz. Gojim* (jüdelnd): ein Nichtjude. Sanders, I 607.

Der *Gai*, *Mz.*, -s, den Juden nachgebraucht, jeder Nichtjude, zunächst der Christ. Bernd, 77.

From Hebr. גוי 'a non-Jew, gentile.'

#### *Kaffer.*

*Kaffer*, m. als schimpfwort, z. b. studentisch, duckmäuser, fader mensch, knauser, auch schmutziger mensch im wörtlichen sinn, und bauer. eine schulmässige übertragung der kaffern im kaffer-

lande? schwab., rhein. für bauer, vielleicht aus der studentensprache. Grimm, V 25.

der *Kaffer*, -n, Pl. -n: Bauer. In der Gaunersprache und dann studentisch. Aus talmudisch oder rabbinisch der *kaphri* (כַּפְרִי) = Dorfbewohner, Bauer, abgeleitet von hebr. *káphâr* (כָּפַר) = Dorf. Weigand, I 748.

*Kaffer*, mundartl. in Südd. Schimpfname für "Bauer" ... vergl. hebr. כַּפֶּר (*kasar*) Dorf, viell. mit Anlehnung an Kaffer (Caffre). Sanders, I 850.

*Kaffer* 'uneducated person,' prop. a student's term from Arab. *kâfir* 'unbeliever.' Kluge, 161.

Weigand is nearest to the truth. The word occurs in J.G., but not in S.J.G. "Das is e Kafre!" *kaphri*, ein Dorfbewohner, Bauer, vom bibl. *kaphar*, Dorf. Im Munde der Bauern selbst, auf welche das Wort übergegangen ist, lautet es *Kaffer*. Tendlau, 126. In Thieves' slang the word has many derivatives: *Kesar* (von *kophar*), *Kfar*, *Gesar*, *Gfar* (Hannov. hat allein *Kaf*, als Abbrueviatur כ' von כָּפַר *kephar* (ought to be *kophor*) Dorf), das Dorf. *Kaffer*, der Bauersmann, der Mann, Ehemann, gewöhnlich mit der Bedeutung der Geringschätzung, etc. ... Avé-Lallemant, IV 555. The similarity to *Kaffer*, *Caffre*, doubtless aided the adoption of the word by the students.

### *Kapores.*

*capores* = zum Tode; todt, entzwei. zu Grunde gerichtet. Jüdische Aussprache des rabbinisch-hebr. die *kappôreth* (כַּפֹּרֶת) = Versöhnung, Sühnopfer, eig. Deckel der Bundeslade. Unsere heutige Bed. daher, weil am groszen Versöhnungstage mancher Jude einem Nichtjuden seine Sünden auferlegen wollte mit den Worten: "Sei du meine *kappôreth*!" d. i. mein Sühnopfer, was dann den Sinn hatte: Stirb du für mich zur Versöhnung mit Gott! Weigand, I 268. *kápôr*, gleichbedeutend mit *kapores*. Aus gemein-jüdisch *gebôre* (? !), welches das gemein-jüdische *kappôro* gelesene rabbinische *kappârâh* (כַּפְּרָה) = Versöhnung, Versöhnungsoffer, ein ebenso wie *kappôreth* gebrauchtes Wort und mit diesem von der nämlichen Wurzel [כָּפַר (*káphar*) = bedecken, im Piel *kipper* (כִּפֵּר) = die Schuld bedecken, vergeben, sühnen, entsündigen]. Ib. I 760.

*kapor*, *kapores*, in *kapôres* gehn, *kapôres* sein, zu grunde gehn, verloren sein. der ausdruck, entschieden für niedrig geltend,

ist dem jüdischen deutsch entlehnt, *kappōreth* f., sühnopfer, man hört auch noch *kapōr*. Grimm, V 187.

*kappores*, *kappores gehn*, zu Grunde gehn, verderben; aus d. JD., wo die Worte: du sollst mein *kapporo* werden, bedeuten, du sollst mir zur Versöhnung, als Sühnopfer dienen, du sollst sterben. Bernd, 114.

*kapore*, *kapores*, todt, zu nichte (jüd.-rabbinisch: *kapparah*, *kapporeth*, Versöhnung, Versöhnungsopfer, Sühnopfer; v. hebr. *kipper*, versöhnen, entsündigen). Schmeller, I 1268.

*kapōres* (hebr.), adv.: zu Grunde (gerichtet). Von dem jüd. Gebrauch, zur Vorbereitung auf das Versöhnungsfest, als eine "kaporoh" (gleichsam ein Sühnopfer) einen Hahn mit dem Wunsche, dasz alle Strafe, die man selbst verdient habe, diesen treffen möge, dreimal um den Kopf zu schlingen und dann zu schlachten. Sanders, I 866.

*kapores*, adj., 'broken, destroyed.' ModHG. only; according to the general acceptation it is not allied to ModHG. *kaput*, but is rather derived from Hebr. *kappārāh* 'reconciliation, atonement.' Kluge, 165.

Weigand's derivation of *kapores* from כַּפֹּרֶת is wrong, as it never means 'atonement,' but only 'covering of the ark, mercy seat.' His explanation of the origin of its meaning is truly barbarous, and must have been fished out of Eisenmenger. Sanders' explanation is the correct one; the Hebr. word כַּפֹּרֶת, pl. כַּפֹּרוֹת, gives both J.G. words *kapore* and *kapores*. "Wer' mein Kappóre!" sei mein Sühnopfer, werde für mich dahingenommen! "Kappóre für kol Jisroel!" bei Erwähnung eines schlechten Menschen, der gestorben: "er sei ein Sühnopfer für ganz Israel!" Dann, um Etwas als werthlos, schlecht zu bezeichnen: "Vice Kappóre!" (gewöhnlich Futze Kappóre!) "an der Stelle eines Sühnopfers," was freilich zu erkennen gibt, dasz man nicht immer das Beste zum Sühnopfer genommen . . . Endlich ward es vom Volk überhaupt für verdorben gebraucht, z. B.: "Mach's nit kappóre!" ähnlich: *kaput* . . . Tendlaw, 68.

In S.J.G. the word occurs in a number of locutions well illustrating its use: es töjg (Germ. taugt) ouf kapores 'it is good for nothing,' šlogen mit epes kapores 'to throw away as worthless.' *Kapor*, a shortened form of this, has become *kapöjr* in S.J.G. and means 'topsy-turvy.' The word is also used in Thieves' slang in many similar phrases (s. Avé-Lallemant, IV 553).

*Knassen.*

*knassen, knasten*, hart strafen, büßen lassen, auch zu grunde richten, . . . auch in der gaunersprache *knassen* strafen, *knasz* strafe, urtheil. das sind wertvolle reste eines alten wortes mit der bed. zermahlen, wie noch norw. *knasa* . . . Grimm, V 1357.

*knassen* = (mit Geld) strafen. Aus der Gaunerstrafe, wo aus talmudisch, rabbinisch *Knás* (כָּנָס) = er hat gestraft, mit Strafe belegt, zum Tode verurtheilt. Weigand, I 818.

Cf. Sanders, I 949 f. "*Knas*," *Kenás* (neuhebr., nach dem latein. *censio* gebildet) heisst eigentlich: Strafe, Busze; daher: "*Knas* geben," Strafe zahlen. Tendlau, 58. Cf. Avé-Lallemant, IV 559.

It is evident that Weigand, and not Grimm, is nearer to the truth.

*Kohl.*

der *Kohl* = langweiliges, auch dummes Geschwätz. Studentisch. Aus der Gaunersprache, in welcher *köl* = Erzählung, Lüge, aus hebr. der *Köl* (קוֹל) = Stimme, Gerücht, Schall. Weigand, I 835.

The J.G. origin is ignored elsewhere: s. Bernd, 137; Grimm, V 1581; Sanders, I 968; Kluge, 185 f. In J.G. and S.J.G. *kol* means only 'voice,' but in Thieves' slang (Avé-Lallemant, IV 561) it means also 'lie, simulation, deception.' The J.G. origin of the word is not beyond suspicion.

*Koscher.*

*kauscher*, rein, ächt, wie es sein soll, untadelig, ein jüdisches, chaldäisches wort. כֹּשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל (*kôschêr, kôschar*) recht, gesetzmässig; dazu *kauschern, koschern*, von christenhänden verunreinigte speisen, gefässe wieder rein machen. *kauscher* ist die aussprache der niederen Juden für *koscher* (kauscheres fleisch); es ist aber in die allgemeine sprache übergegangen, durch ganz Deutschland verbreitet, besonders *nicht kauscher*, nicht richtig, nicht geheur. Grimm, V 362.

*kausch, kauscher*, rein, echt, wie es seyn soll. Dieses Wort gehört wohl eher zum jüdischen *koscher*, als zum folgenden *keusch*, obschon die gl. a. 311.907: *nist chûski*, non est fas, gut fügen würde. *Koscher* ist das Fleisch des geschlachteten Thieres, wenn demselben die Schlundröhre nur zur Hälfte durchschnitten ist; wenn aber dieselbe ganz durchschnitten, ist es *trefa*. Schmeller, I 1303.

What is given in Grimm as an explanation of *kauschern* is as incorrect as Weigand's explanation of *kapores*. *Koschern* means to clean a vessel that has become ritually impure from any cause whatsoever. Otherwise the statements are correct. Cf. Weigand, I 846; Bernd, 140; Sanders, I 883; Kluge, 188. The word is of common occurrence in J.G., S.J.G. and Thieves' slang in the original and derived meanings. Cf. Tendlaur, 96.

### *Matze.*

der *Matzen*, -s, Pl. wie Sing.; eigentlich der *Matze*, -ns, Pl. -n: dünner aus Wasser und Mehl bereiteter Osterkuchen der Juden. Bei Adelung fehlt das Wort, und Campe hat gegen den geläufigen Gebrauch die *Matze*, Pl. -n. 1482 der *matz* statt *matze*, und der *matzenkuch* statt *matzenkueche* der Matzenkuchen. Aus der Sprache unserer Juden aufgenommen, wo *mazzo* (should be *mazze*), welches hebr. die *mazzâh* (מַצָּה) = ungesäuertes Brot, wie es die Juden zu Ostern essen. Weigand, II 48.

Grimm, VI 1770, gives der and die *Matze*, der Matzkuchen. Bernd, 171, has die *Matze* with an instructively absurd etymology and explanation. In Schmeller, I 1701, in addition to der *Matzen* is given *matzen*, *matzelen*, teigig, ungesalzen, fade schmecken.

*matzlich*, adj. Grimm, VI 1770, thinks that *matzlicht*, *matzig*, schwach, unwert, thöricht is not derived from *Matze*.

*Matzen*, m., 'passover bread,' early ModHG., from Jewish *mazzo* (? should be *mazze*), Hebr. *mazzôth* (?), unleavened bread, whence also late MidHG., or rather early ModHG. *Masanze*, passover bread. Kluge, 230.

The J.G. and S.J.G. form is die *Matze*.

### *Mausche, Mauschel.*

"*mauschen*, *mauscheln*, still und unbemerkt dahin gehen"; von Dellling. *täuscheln* und *mäuscheln*, sich mit heimlichen und unerlaubten Geschäftchen abgeben. Zaupser's Idiot., p. 51: "*mäuscheln*, allerley kleinen Handel treiben; a *Mauscherl*, ein Jude." "*mauschaln*, die Hände übervortheilend in einer Sache haben (vom hebr. *Möschel*, Herr, *maschal*, Herr seyn, herrschen); *Mouschel* seyn, jüdisch, Herr seyn, Gewalt haben." . . . Schmeller, I 1680.

*Mauschel*, m., spotname für einen Juden weitergebildet aus dem jüdischen namen Moses, in jüdisch-deutscher aussprache

*Mausche* oder *Mösche*, wie denn diese und verwandte formen als allgemeiner rufname für juden begegnen . . . die form *mauschel* bezeichnet in verächtlicher weise den juden, namentlich den schacherjuden . . . *mauscheln*, verb., wie ein schacherjude verfahren; im handeln: bair. *läuscheln* und *mäuscheln*, sich mit heimlichen und unerlaubten geschäftchen abgeben. Grimm, VI 1819 f.

*mauscheln*, vb., 'to act like a cheat,' lit. 'mosaizare'; allied to *Mausche*, equiv. to Hebr. *Mōschâh* 'Moses.' Kluge, 231.

Cf. Bernd, 172; Sanders, II 265.

I propose another explanation: *Moschel*, from Hebr. מִשְׁלָּה, means in J.G. and S.J.G. 'example, parable,' *lemoschel* 'for example.' This would become in German *mauschel*, as *Koscher* has become *Kauscher*. The frequent application of allegories and parables in the Talmud leads the Jews to recur to these every time they wish to impress a moral. At least, in S.J.G. the phrase *ich wil dir a moschel sagen* 'I shall tell you a story to suit your case' is of common occurrence. One need only run through Tendlau's collection of proverbs to see that most of them are such *mescholim*, parables. The use of the word in earlier times is well illustrated in the following extract in Grünbaum (p. 106); it is from a prayer-book printed in 1725, at Frankfort: nit alein die תורה von die תלמידי חכמים hat ein אפילו, קיום ir schlecht gemeine red, die משלים das sie reden, die sein ach nit vergebens. From this there is only a step to *mauscheln* as a characteristic of Jewish speech, and originally *mauscheln* means 'to speak like a Jew,' as, for example, in Heine's statement: "was wir nämlich in Norddeutschland mauscheln nennen, ist nicht anders als die eigentliche Frankfurter Landessprache, und sie wird von der unbeschnittenen Population eben so vortrefflich gesprochen, wie von der beschnittenen." From this were developed the meanings 'act like a Jew, haggle.' *Mausche*, Moses, may have aided the acceptance of this word.

#### *Meschugge.*

*meschugge*, adj., 'crazy,' from the equiv. Hebr. *meschuggâ*. Kluge, 235.

Cf. Schmeller, I 1680. This J.G. (also S.J.G.) word is correctly stated by Kluge as derived from Hebr. מְשֻׁגָּע 'maddened, mad.' Avé-Lallemant derives it incorrectly from the root *shogag* (IV 573).



*Moos.*

*Moos* für geld, im volksmunde, landschaftlich weit verbreitet . . . entstammt der gaunersprache und geht wol auf hebräischen ursprung zurück . . . jetzt auch umgedeutet *Moses* und die propheten haben, anlehnend an Luc. 16, 29. Grimm, VI 2521.

*Moos*. Volkssprache und nam. bursch.: Geld . . . nach Adellung; aus dem jüd.-deutsch. *Mesum* (Geld) verderbt?, vielmehr aus מָשָׁה = *maah*, oder nach gw. jüd. Aussprache *mooh* = Steinen und talmud.-chald.: Münze, Obolus. Sanders, II 1, 330. Cf. Bernd, 181.

In J.G. and S.J.G. *moes* (cf. Tendlau, 256), from Hebr. מָשָׁה, means 'money'; so too in Thieves' slang (Avé-Lallemant, IV 575).

*Schabbes.*

*Schabbes*, m., in gemein-jüdischer aussprache für sabbat. Grimm, VIII 1946.

*Schabbes* nach der jüdischen Aussprache des hebr. *schabbath*. Weigand, II 534.

Cf. Bernd, 246; Schmeller, II 353; Sanders, II 2, 874. From Hebr. שַׁבָּת, *schabbes* 'sabbath.'

*Schacher.*

*Schacher* (aus hebr. סָחַר, quaestus, lucrum), kleinhandel, besonders gewinnsüchtiger hausirhandel, gewöhnlich von den juden, in verächtlichem sinne gebraucht. Grimm, VIII 1959. *schachern*, verb. (aus hebr. סָחַר, *sachar*, handelnd umherziehen . . . Ib. 1961.

Cf. Weigand, II 536; Sanders, II 2, 876; Schmeller, II 364; Bernd, 246. The distinction between סָחַר and סָחָר is nugatory, as it does not exist in J.G. or S.J.G. in these forms; the only words to be found there are *socher* (from סָחַר), merchant, and *s-chore* (סָחָרָה), merchandise; it is a new formation in Thieves' slang, where alone it has the opprobrious meaning. Avé-Lallemant, IV 593.

*Schächten.*

*schächten*, 1) nach jüd. Ritus = mit Durchschneidung der Luft-röhre = schlachten (hebr. שָׁחַט). In der Mauschelsprache auch mit starkformigen Partic.: *geschochten*. Verallgemeint = schlachten. 2) übertr., übervorthellen, bluten lassen. Sanders, II 2, 877.

Cf. Grimm, VIII 1966; Weigand, II 538; Schmeller, II 365;

Bernd, 247. A new formation from *schochet* (שחט) 'butcher.' It has the derived meaning in Thieves' slang: Avé-Lallemant, IV 595.

### *Schäkern.*

der *Schäker* = wer gerne schäkert. *schäkern* = muthwillig, neckisch, mit Lachen scherzen, wovon auch die *Schäkerei* . . . Erster Aufzeichner des Verbuns ist 1711 . . ., wo "scheckern, tscheckern" . . . Es kommt aus der Juden- und Gaunersprache, wo *schäker* = Lüge, *schäkern* = lügen, jenes, wovon dieses abgeleitet wurde, aus hebr. der *scheker* (שקר) = Lüge, Trugrede, Lügner . . ., von hebr. *schakar* (שקר) = lügen, täuschen, und noch jüdisch gewöhnlich *schakren* = lügen, falsch reden. Weigand, II 542. Grimm, VIII 2055 is but a repetition of Weigand.

Cf. Schmeller, II 367; Kluge, 300. Sanders, II 2, 885 does not mention the Hebr. origin. In J.G. and S.J.G. *scheker* means 'lie' and *schakren* 'a liar'; no verbs occur, hence Weigand's and Grimm's statements must be corrected accordingly. Cf. also Avé-Lallemant, IV 595.

### *Schicker.*

*schicker*, adj., in md. und nd. mundarten gebräuchlich, betrunken. jüdischdeutsch aus hebr. שׂוֹכֵר . . . Grimm, VIII 2657.

Cf. Bernd, 22, 252.

### *Schicksel.*

*Schicksel*. bezeichnung für ein judenmädchen, ursprünglich von den juden für christenmädchen (*schikzah* zu שׂוֹאָה = abscheu, gräuel) angewendet. Grimm, VIII 2664.

*Schicksel*, n., 'young girl'; ModHG. only, formed from Hebr. and Jew. *schikzah* 'Christian girl,' Hebr. *schikkûz*, lit. 'abomination.' Kluge, 306.

Cf. Sanders, II 2, 916; Schmeller, II 364; Weigand, II 570.

Grimm's statement is the correct one: *schikse* is a new formation from *schekez* (שׂוֹאָה) 'abomination.' In S.J.G. *schejgez* (as *schekez* is pronounced) and *schikse* may mean also 'urchin, buxom girl,' respectively, without a depreciatory sense. Cf. Avé-Lallemant, IV 598.

### *Schlammassel.*

der *Schlammassel*, -s, Pl. wie Sing.: zukommender verdrieslicher Zustand, oder böser Zustand, in welchen man geräth. Bayer. auch die *Schlammässen*. Gebildet, wie es scheint, aus

und nach altfranz. *esclamasse*, ital. der *schiamázso*, = Geschrei, Lärm, welches aus einem mittellat. das *exclamátium* (?) = lautes Geschrei, von lat. *exclamatus*, dem Part. des Perf. im Passiv von lat. *exclamāre* = ausrufen, laut schreien. Weigand, II 581.

Der und das *Schlámássel*, die *Schlámássen*, böser, verdrieszlicher Handel oder Zustand, in den man geräth (wol das ital. *schiamazzo* von *schiamare* aus *exclamare*). Schmeller, II 522.

*Schlimmassel* (more correctly *Schlimmasel*) in J.G. means 'ill luck,' it being composed of Germ. *schlimm* and neo-Hebr. לָצַח 'luck' (orig. star); this is in contradistinction to the common greeting 'masseltow' (מַסֵּלְתוּךְ) 'good luck to you.' The word has the same meaning in S.J.G., although *schlimm* does not exist in it as an independent word. 'Good luck' (when not a greeting) is in S.J.G. *dobre* (Pol. 'good') *masel*; by the side of this the strength of *schlimmassel* is made indisputable. *Schlimmasel* in S.J.G. corresponds to the Germ. *Pechvogel*, and has been adopted in this sense in White Russian. *Schlemihl*, variously guessed at as a biblical name, is probably only a corruption of *Schlimmassel* in the latter sense. Cf. Avé-Lallemant, IV 571.

### *Schmus.*

der *Schmu*, -es, -s, ohne Pl.: durch Schlaueheit erlangter Gewinn. Erst bei Adelung. Niederd. *smu*. Jüdisch-deutsch wol aus hebr. die *schmúáh*. Weigand, II 608. der *Schmus*, -es, Pl. -e: Gerede eines Unterhändlers zur Ueberredung; leeres Gerede; Geld als Ueberredungslohn beim Handel. Davon: *schmuse*n = (viele Worte machend) reden, dann auch s. v. a. zu Uebervortheilung reden, wovon weiter der Schmuser. Jüdisch-deutsch. Der *Schmus* ist von hebr. *schmúáth* (שְׂמוּעָה) = Erzählungen, welches unsre Juden *schmuoss* aussprechen. Es ist dies der Pl. des hebr. die *schmúáh* (שְׂמוּעָה) = Nachricht, Botschaft, welches von hebr. *scháma* (שָׁמַע) = hören. Ib. 609 f.

*Schmus*, m., 'talk, chaffering'; ModHG. only, from Hebr. *schémúáth* 'news, tales'; hence Du. *smousen* 'to chaffer'? Kluge, 317.

Cf. Schmeller, II 559; Sanders, II 2, 981. Not in Avé-Lallemant. Common in J.G. and S.J.G. in the sense of 'talk.'

### *Schofel.*

*schofel*, Adj. u. Adv.: geringhaltig, bedauerlich, schlecht, armselig. Davon der *Schofel* (Bürger) = armselige Sache oder

Sachen. Jenes Adj., in unsrer Schriftsprache erst nach 1750, ist das von unsern Juden *schofel* gelesene, aber gewöhnlich, als wenn *schöfel* (לֶשֶׁף) geschrieben wäre, *schoufel* gesprochene [weshalb auch bei hochdeutsch Redenden *schau fel*] talmudische *schäfel* (לֶשֶׁף) = niedrig, gering, nicht geachtet, das Part. von hebr. *schäfel* (לֶשֶׁף) = niedrig gemacht werden, sinken, gedemüthigt werden. Weigand, II 628.

*schofel*, adj., 'paltry'; ModHG. only, formed from Hebr. *schäfel* 'low.' Cf. Sanders, II 2, 998; Schmeller, II 386; Bernd, 274; Avé-Lallemant, 603.

Weigand's discussion is superfluous; it is simply the adj. לֶשֶׁף *schofel* which occurs in J.G., but rarely in S.J.G.

#### *Schote.*

*Schaute*, m., narr, geck, spazmacher; schlechter niedriger mensch; jüdisch-deutsch aus hebr. (rabbinisch) שׂוֹטֵף 'narr' . . . auch in der form *schaude*, *schode*, *schote* . . . Grimm, VIII 2378.

*Schote*, *Schaude*, m., 'simpleton'; ModHG. only, formed from Hebr. *schötèh* 'foolish.' Kluge, 321.

Cf. Weigand, II 634; Schmeller, II 485; Avé-Lallemant, IV 603.

The first is the correct statement.

#### *Stusz.*

der *Stusz*, Gen. des *Stusses*, Pl. *Stusse*: lächerliche Narrheit, Posse, Narrenstreich, Spasz. Jüdisch-deutsch und zwar ist es das von unsern Juden *Schtuss* ausgesprochene rabbinisch-jüdische *schtúth* (שְׂטוּת) = Narrheit, Unsinnigkeit, von rabbinisch-jüdisch *schátáh* (שָׂטָן) = ein Narr werden, unsinnig sein, im Talmud auch s. v. a. sich närrisch stellen, Späße machen. Weigand, II 850.

Cf. Sanders, II 2, 1262; Schmeller, II 791; Avé-Lallemant, IV 604. Common to J.G. and S.J.G.

#### *Trefe.*

*trefe*: nach dem jüdischen Religionsgesetz unerlaubt gegessen zu werden. Jüdisch, eig. = beim Schächten gerissenes (nicht scharf durchgeschnittenes). Es ist das hebr. die *trefhah* (טְרֵפָה) = von wilden Thieren Zerrissenes, abgeleitet von *taraf* (תָּרַף) = zerfleischen, zerreißen. Schon ins Mhd. entlehnt, wo 1376 *trefant*, 1426 *treffant*. Weigand, II 923.

Cf. Schmeller, I 650.

*Zores.*

der *Zores*, in der Biegung unverändert: ein Durcheinander, ein Wirrwarr; ein Durcheinander von Menschen; allerlei geringes Volk durcheinander, Gesindel. Jüdisch-deutsch. Aus dem von unsern Juden *zörës* [d. i. eig. *zörës*] gesprochenen hebr. *zârôt* (צרות) = Bedrängnisse, Nöthe, dem Plural des von unsern Juden *zörë* gesprochenen hebr. die *zârâh* (צרה) = Bedrängnis, Noth, von *zârar* (צרר) = drängen, anfeinden. Weigand, II 1187.

*Zores*, *Zorus*, m., 'confusion'; ModHG. only, from Jewish *zores* 'oppression.' Kluge, 410.

Cf. Schmeller, II 1149. Not in Avé-Lallemant.

In J.G. and S.J.G. *zores* means 'trouble.'

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## NOTES.

### CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO LEWIS AND SHORT.

In imitation of the example set by others who have published in this Journal (VIII 345-6; XIV 216 ff., 362 ff.) lists of corrections and additions to the Latin dictionary of Lewis and Short, and in the hope of rendering some slight aid to the reviser, when it shall be deemed possible to undertake a revision of the work, the following *addenda et emendanda*—the accumulation of several years—have been brought together. From the list a considerable number have been rejected, on finding that the necessary change had already been made in the Latin Dictionary for Schools.

It is to be hoped that the next edition of the lexicon will treat the Vulgate with more consistency. Among the following will be found examples sufficient to prove that words and meanings found in the Vulgate are often inadequately treated, occasionally omitted. A cursory reading of a respectable fraction of the whole is enough to bring to light no small number of such cases.

Another class of corrections given below will clearly show that the whole subject of Roman topography needs careful revision; many of the articles in question have survived from one edition to another, and remain as monuments of the Rome of Nardini and Nibby, of Bunsen and Becker, carefully preserved where we wish least of all to find a museum of antiquities—in a dictionary for general use.

To mark ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in all cases may be unnecessary, but a comparison with Keller and Holder's Index to Horace shows that even in the case of the most familiar authors there is room for improvement in the use of the asterisk. Thus, e. g., the following words should be marked '\* Hor.': *bilibris*, 1. *blatta*, *castellum* I. A. (dele "al."), 2. *catellus*, *cultellus*, etc.

*abra.* Omitted; = ἀβρα, *a favorite maid*, Vulg. Judith 8, 32.

*Abraham.* Add the form *Abrahamus*, Prisc. 5, 2, 11, p. 644; Neue<sup>3</sup>, 1, 583, 585, 587. Also *Abramus*, Hieron. Euseb. Chron. 1, 16, 1.

*absto.* Remove \*; for “*v. n.*” read ‘*v. n.* and *a.*’ Add ref. to Plaut. Trin. 2, 1, 30 (264).

*adhuc* II G. fin. The ref. to Tac. Agr. 29 does not belong under this head, but under C.; v. Andresen ad loc. and cf. Agr. 37 init.—Id. II A. fin. For Cic. Att. 7, 2 read 7, 12, 1, and the passage should not be cited as an example of *adhuc* referring to past time, because the tense is epistolary.—Id. II C. Classify the examples according to the time referred to: *present*, all but the following: *past*, Liv. 33, 49, 7; Tac. A. 1, 8 fin.; id. H. 2, 44, 73; Suet. Aug. 56, 69; Curt. 8, 6, 18; in orat. obl. Tac. A. 1, 17 and 59; H. 4, 17; *future*, Plin. Ep. 4, 13, 1 [add 2, 19, 9].

*Aeneas*, voc. *Aenēā*. Add Verg. Aen. 10, 229; Tib. 2, 5, 39.

*aeneator*. Add the form *āenātor*, Amm. 16, 12, 36; Com. Lud. Saec. 88.

*aeternus* II A. fin. “Esp. of Rome: aeterna urbs.” A little more definite information might be given as to the use of the phrase, thus: first in Tibullus, 2, 5, 23; then Ov. F. 3, 72; Frontin. Aq. 88 init.; not frequent until Amm.; cf. 14, 6, 1; 15, 7, 1; 16, 10, 14; Auson. Epigr. Fast. 1, 1; 2, 3; 3, 1; Symm. Ep. 3, 55; 10, 34, 38, etc.; also on coins and in inscr. and constitutions of the emperors (Cod. Theod. 11, 2, 2; 14, 1, 3, etc.); official from the time of Hadrian. [A paper on this subject by the author of these notes will appear in the next volume of the Transactions of the American Phil. Assoc.]

*alluo*. Wrongly described as neuter.

*amburo* II B. Add Val. Max. 8, 1, Ambust. 1, tit.

*annoto* II B. Some reff. to Plin. Ep. and Pan. belonging properly under I A. and B. have been set down under this head.

*Areopagus*. Classify examples according as they are used of the hill and of the court: of the *hill*, Cic. Div. 1, 25, 54; Varr. L. L. 7, §19; Vulg. Act. 17, 19 sqq. [add Val. Max. 5, 3 Ext. 3 fin.]; of the *court*, Cic. Off. 1, 22, 75 [add Rep. 1, 27, 43; N. D. 2, 29, 74]; Sen. Tranq. 3 fin. (5, 1 Haase) [add Val. Max. 2, 6, 4; id. 8, 1, Ambust. 2]; Plin. 7, 56, 200. The divided form *Areos* (or *Areios*) *pagus* is common enough in recent editions to deserve a place.

*Argiletum*. The old description (following Forcellini) should give place to the modern view: ‘*A street in Rome, joining the Subura with the Forum Romanum, which it entered between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia*’; v. Richter in Baumeister, 1469 [1w. Müll., Hdb. 3, 802]; Lanciani, Anct. Rome, 183.

*assimulatio*. No provision is made for the meaning *fiction* in Fav. Eul. ad Somn. Scip. (v. Georg., s. v.).

*belligero*. Asterisk should be placed before Liv. 21, 16, 4.

*bidens* II B. For a much better explanation of *bidens hostia* than that usually given in the dictionaries, v. A. Nehring in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1893, 1, 64.

*caedes*. Insert arch. nom. *caedis* (v. Georges, Wortformen).

*Capena* II B. *Porta Capena* should be detached from the article in which it stands, and given a place by itself. However the gate may have received the name, it was not from the Etruscan town of that name. Dele "*in the eastern district*"; also dele "*now Porta S. Sebastiano*," an ancient blunder, handed down through Forcellini, and still retained in the 8th ed. (1884) of Tischer's and the 3d ed. (1881) of Heine's Cic. Tusc. Disp. (v. 1, 7, 13, where the mention of the tomb of the Scipios makes the mistake sufficiently obvious).

1. *capitulum* II C. Add the mg. *sum and substance, chief point*, Vulg. Heb. 8, 1.

*cogo* II B. (β) with inf. Add some reff. to Cicero, e. g. Rosc. Am. 49, 143 init. (other exx. from Cic. and Caes. in the Dict. for Schools).

*compono* II A. 4 a. For Plin. Ep. 9, 9, 1 read 9, 13, 1.

*confundo* I B. 2 b. Add *to make ashamed, put to shame*, Vulg. Rom. 5, 5; pass., Is: 45, 16, 17; Jer. 2, 26; 6, 15; 8, 12; Heb. 2, 11; 11, 16.

*constabilio*. Add Lucr. 2, 42.

*contubernalis*. Add a few reff. to Plin. Ep.: 1, 2, 5; 2, 13, 5; 4, 4, 1; 6, 13, 11; 10, 4, 1.

*contubernium* I B. 1. The fact that the word is used even of women should be noticed; e. g. Plin. Ep. 3, 3, 3, of a boy in the *contubernium* of his mother; id. 4, 19, 6 (niece and aunt); id. 7, 24, 3 (grandson and grandmother).

*convicium* II D. Distinguish between *reviling* and *vigorous censure* (without abuse); cf. Forc. and Georges, s. v. II; Tac. Agr. 22.

*decet, decenter* fin. For "Cic. Caes." read 'Cic. Caec.'

*delicatus* II B. 2. *vah delicatus*, Plaut. Mil. 4, 1, 37 (984) should be altered to *vah, delicatu's* (Ritschl), and the phrase explained, with Brix<sup>4</sup>, as the equivalent of *delicias facis*; cf. Most, 947. Here belongs also *ubi tu's delicata*, Rud. 465, which is placed above, A. fin. (cf. Sonnenschein, Rud., l. c.).



*ementior*. The translation "*to feign being any one*," given for Plaut. Trin. 4, 2, 143 (985), although in agreement with Georges and Brix<sup>4</sup>, is in flat contradiction with the plot of the play.

2. *foedus* II A. Add a few reff. from Vulg., e. g. pepigit Dominus foedus cum Abram, Gen. 15, 18; ib. 17, 2, 7, etc.; Is. 28, 18.

*Gesoriācum* (or *-ācum*) should be inserted.

*glandium*. The definition "*a delicate kernel or glandule in meat*" needs to be supplemented: '*particularly the glands in the throat of swine* (cf. the throat-sweetbreads of veal and lamb)'; cf. Forc.: *tuberosus callosusque globus in cervice et faucibus apro- rum, et suum*; Georges, "Drüsenstück"; so Brix<sup>4</sup> on Capt. 4, 4, 7 (915). The translation of *glandionida* should be altered to correspond.

*glandulae* I. Add: *tonsillae in homine, in sue glandulae*, Plin. 11, 37, 66, §175.—Id. II = *glandium*. Omit "*the neck-piece, delicate bits*, esp. of pork." Mart. 3, 82, 20.

*Hiberus*. For "v. Iberus" read 'v. Hiberes I A. 1,' there being no article under the former, but only a reference back again to the latter.

*hir*. We should not be told that the word is *from* *χεῖρ*.

*honoro*, init. For "cf. honeste" read 'cf. honesto.'

*Iceni* are wrongly placed in the modern Kent, instead of Norfolk and Suffolk.

*Itia* I. For Ov. F. 2, 383; 598 read Ov. F. 2, 598; cf. 383 (*Silvia*, Merkel and Peter).

*Illiberi*. Two places of the same name, one in Gaul and one in Baetica, are confused. The passage in Liv. cited (21, 24, 1) refers to the former.

*impossibilis*. Add Vulg. Mat. 19, 26; Luc. 1, 37; Heb. 6, 4; no reff. to Vulg. being given.

*ininterpretabilis*. For Heb. 5, 71 read 5, 11.

*insinuatio* II A. It should be made clear that this is only a rhetorical term. Add Macr. Somn. Scip. 1, 2, 4; other reff. in Forcellini.

*intendo, intentus*, *P. a.* No provision is made for the const. with *in* and acc., Liv. 22, 15, 1; 2, 33, 6; 29, 33, 1; also with *ad* and acc., Caes. B. G. 3, 26, 2; Cic. Phil. 11, 9, 22; with *adversus* and acc., Liv. 24, 10, 4; with *in* and abl., Caes. B. G. 3, 22, 1.

*invasio*, "post-class. for *incursio, aggressio*." Omit *aggressio*, which is also unclassical, and in its own place is cited only from Apuleius; Georges has other reff., but to still later writers.

*inveho* I B. The medial use of the pres. ptcp. without *se* should not be overlooked; e. g. illo Pacuviano invehens alitum anguim curru, Cic. Rep. 3, 9, 14; natantibus invehens beluis, id. N. D. I, 28, 78.

*itinerarius* II, *itinerarium*. Add the meaning *an itinerary, a list of stations* on the imperial roads, with distances; e. g. Itin. Antonini, Itin. Hierosolymitanum, Itin. Alexandri.

*laridum*. Add the adj. *laridus*, and transfer to it the ref. to Plaut. Men. 1, 3, 27 (210); v. Fowler's Appendix, p. 187. To the noun add the mg. *salt pork*; v. Forc. ("carne porcina salata") and Georg. ("Pökelfleisch").

*Liberalia*. For "v. 3. Liber, II" read 'v. 2. Liberalis.'

*Litāna*. *Litāna* acc. to Weissb. on Liv. 23, 24, 7; Tischer-Sorof on Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 37, 89.

*magnalia*. Add ref. to Vulg. 2 Mach. 3, 34.

*mammeatus*. For "Plin. Poen." read 'Plaut. Poen.'

*manceps* II B. Plin. Ep. 2, 14, 4: note Keil's reading and punctuation of the passage cited.

*memoror*. Add: with *de* and abl., Heb. 11, 22; for Jer. 31, 14 read 31, 34; add (w. gen.) Heb. 8, 12; for Eccl. read Eccli.

*Messallinus*. This spelling proved by the Com. Lud. Saec. 152.

*Mogontiācum*. Add: or *-ācum* (latter Kiepert).

*molaris* I fin. Misprint: *deus* for *dens* (Vulg. Judic. 15, 19).

*motorius*. Add: subst. *motoria* (sc. *fabula*); cf. Prisc. 2, 50.

*Mugionia*. Substitute 'the chief gate of early Rome, on the northeast side of the Palatine'; cf. Richter in Baumeister, 1442 [Iw. Müller, Hdb. 3, 751]; Middleton, 1, 118, 167.

1. *ne* I, 2 a, *ne . . . quidem*. The meanings 'not . . . either,' 'also not,' 'certainly not,' should be duly recognized; cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 8, 15 fin., 16 bis, 36, 88 fin., and a host of other examples; e. g. id. Fin. 2, 26, 82 and 27, 88; Div. 1, 35, 77; Liv. 21, 18, 11; Sen. Const. Sap. 1, 2; id. Ben. 2, 18, 5.

*obtineo* II fin., with *ut* or *ne*. Add the definition *to carry one's point*, with ref. to Liv. 22, 27, 10; more references in Georg. III B. a.

*occino* I. The mg. "*sing inauspiciously*" does not suit the passage quoted from Liv. 10, 40, 14, where it is clearly a favorable omen: quo laetus augurio consul, etc. In the quotation from Val. Max. (Paris) 1, 4, 2 the words *occinentes* and *corvi* should change places (Kempf).

*offendo* II E. fin. For Suet. Aug. 8, 9 read 89.

*pacisco* B. 3, *pactum*. To reff. to Vulg. add Gen. 17, 7, 9 sqq.  
*paeniteo* I B. init. Add mg. *be dissatisfied*, the first example cited (Liv. 22, 12, 10) showing this mg.

*Palatium* A. fin. Add: plur. *herbosa Palatia*, Tib. 2, 5, 25.

*pars* I 9. For v. *virilis* II 2 read I C. 2.

*pensito* II B. fin. For Plin. Ep. 4, 15, 9 read 4, 15, 8.

*pilentum*. Ref. to *petorrita* should be *petorritum*.

*pluo*. In the arrangement of the examples no sufficient care has been taken to separate the impersonal constructions from the personal. Adopting a new set of subdivisions (after Georges), rearranging the examples where the present plan leads to confusion, and adding others, we have: I. Lit. A. Impersonal. 1. absol. . . . 2. with abl.: lapidibus, Liv. 1, 31, 1; 7, 28, 7; 21, 62, 5-6; 23, 31, 15; 25, 7, 7; 26, 23, 5; 30, 38, 9; 35, 9, 3; 39, 22, 3; lapideo imbri, id. 30, 38, 8; terra . . . creta . . . lapidibus, Aug. Civ. Dei 3, 31 med.; creta et . . . sanguine, Liv. 24, 10, 7; lacte et sanguine, etc., Plin. 2, 56, 57, §147; lacte, Liv. 27, 11, 6; carne, id. 3, 10, 6; gutta, Mart. 3, 47, 1. 3. with acc.: lapides pluere, Liv. 28, 27, 16 (lapide, Madv.; Weissb. suggests that this may be an example of the personal const.); terram, id. 35, 21, 4 (abl. Madv.); sanguinem, id. 40, 19, 2 (abl. Madv.); ignem et sulphur, Vulg. Luc. 17, 19. 4. doubtful whether abl. or acc.: Liv. 10, 31, 8 (not 33, 8); Cic. Div. 2, 27, 58.—B. Personal. 1. absol.: v. Georg. for examples from Vulg. and the fathers. 2. with acc.: laqueos, Vulg. Ps. 10, 7; pluitque dominus grandinem, Exod. 9, 23; panes, ib. 16, 4; pluam . . . grandinem, ib. 9, 18; sulphur et ignem, Gen. 19, 24. Georges also quotes Ambros. Ep. 64, 1, as showing the personal const. with abl.; but the context shows that Ambrose is using an indecl. form, and hence doubtless the Vulg. const. with acc.—II. Transf. . . . In the passage from Stat. Silv. (1, 6, 10) the v. l. *velaria linea* for *bellaria adorea* should be noticed.

*polliceor*. The fact that the fut. inf. const. is the regular one, and the pres. inf. almost confined to the colloquial phrase *dare polliceri*, should be distinctly mentioned; v. Krebs, Antib.<sup>6</sup> II, p. 290.

*Porthaon* should be inserted with cross-ref. to *Parthaon*; Plaut. Men. 5, 1, 45 (745), where the correction *Parthaone* is due to Camerarius.

*portio* I. Add: pro virili portione = pro virili parte, Tac. Agr. 45; Hist. 3, 20; v. *virilis* I C. 2.

*possibilis*. Add Vulg. Mat. 19, 26; Marc. 9, 22.

*potis* II B. The explanation of *nihil mihi fuit potius* (sic B. and K.) in Cic. Rep. 6, 9, 9 (Somn. Sc. 1) = "*I had nothing more important, nothing more urgent to do*," is certainly weak compared with *potius* = *antiquius* ("erwünschter," Meissner).

*praeuro* II B. To the one ref. to Plin. add: *praeusti artus*, Liv. 21, 40, 9.

*publicus* I B. 1. By misprint *publicus*.

*reconmentor*, 'to recall, recollect,' should not be omitted; Plaut. Trin. 4, 2, 67 (912).

*restringo* II. In cit. from Lucr. for *restricth* read *restricth*.

1. *rudis* II (δ). Examples enough of the const. with *ad* are quoted to disprove the remark "very rare"; v. Wölfflin on Liv. 21, 25, 6: "eine nicht seltene Konstruktion." Substitute for "very rare" 'not in Cic. or Caes.' Krebs, Antib.<sup>6</sup> II, p. 476. [4 times in Curt., v. Vogel on 6, 6, 9.]

*sabbatismus*. Add Vulg. Hebr. 4, 9.

*sanctificatio*. Neither L. and S. nor Forc. nor Georg. recognize the mg. *sanctuary, temple*, which the word has (as translation of *ἁγίασμα*) in Vulg. 1 Mach. 1, 23, 38 sqq.; 6, 7, 51; cf. Is. 60, 13; Thren. 2, 7.

*sibilus* I (β), Lucr. 5, 1382. For *calamorum sibila* read *zephyri, cava per calamorum, sibila*, to accord with Lach. and Munro.

*spurcificus*. The single occurrence in Plaut. Trin. 4, 1, 7 (826) surely does not justify the translation "*obscene*." The word does not differ in mg. from *spurcus*; just as *laetificus* = *laetus* in Early Latin; cf. Tischer-Sorof and Heine on Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1, 28, 69.

*struix, icis*, should be *icis*; v. Brix<sup>4</sup> on Plaut. Men. 1, 1, 26 (102).

*substantia*. Add: III. *firm trust, confidence*; in hac substantia gloriae, Vulg. 2 Cor. 11, 17; ib. 9, 4; si tamen initium substantiae eius usque ad finem firmum retineamus, Heb. 3, 14; ib. 11, 1; Ps. 38, 8.

*tergum, tergus*. Add the arch. form *tegrus, oris*, Plaut. Capt. 4, 3, 2 (902); 4, 4, 7 (915); Pseud. 1, 2, 64 (198).

*testamentum*. By a strange oversight Forc., Georg., L. and S. omit the scriptural mg. *covenant*; e. g. memor fuit in saeculum testamenti sui, Vulg. Ps. 104, 8; ib. 105, 45; 110, 5; 1 Mach. 2, 27, 50; 4, 10; Act. 3, 25; Rom. 9, 4; Eph. 2, 12; Hebr. 8, 6; 12, 24; 13, 20. Also in a non-religious sense *agreement*, 1 Mach. 1, 12.

*thermopōto* should be *ō*; on quantity and a more plausible derivation v. Brix<sup>4</sup> on Plaut., l. c. (Trin. 1014).

*timor* I A. fin. For "with *in* and abl." read 'with *a* and abl.'; add also: with *e* and abl., et propius ex legato timor agitabat, Tac. Agr. 16.

*undecimviri* has been omitted; cf. Nep. Phoc. 4, 2 traditus est undecimviris, quibus ad supplicium more Atheniensium publice damnati tradi solent.

*vastificus* may be simply = *vastus*; cf. Tischer-Sorof and Heine on Cic. Tusc. Disp. 2, 9, 22.

*Velabrum*. Not "*a street in Rome on the Aventine Hill*." Cf. Forc.: vicus Romae olim celebris, iuxta Aventinum montem. Alii erat in foro boario, etc. This unfortunate connection with the Aventine lingers on in the commentaries; e. g. Heindorf, Krüger, Schütz, Breithaupt on Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 229. That it was more than a street is shown by Tibullus 2, 5, 33, At qua Velabri regio patet; and were there no other evidence, this passage alone would show that the Velabrum was in earlier times often under water. So also Prop. 4 (5), 9, 5-6; Ov. F. 6, 405-6. How far the quarter extended towards the south is uncertain, but even if it reached to the *vicus Publicius* of the Aventine, the hill would merely mark the southern limit of the Velabrum. We would suggest the following: '*A quarter of Rome lying under the western slope of the Palatine and adjoining the Forum Boarium*'; in early times the whole of the low ground between the river and the three hills, Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine'; v. Middleton, 1, 171, 221; Richter in Baumeister, 3, 1495-6 [or Iwan Müller, Hdb. 3, 844-5].

*Velia*. The definition "*an elevated part of the Palatine Hill at Rome*" is far from lucid; substitute '*a ridge between the Palatine and Esquiline Hills at Rome*, one of the original seven hills; cut away by Hadrian to make room for his temple of Venus and Rome'; v. Middleton, 1, 220; Richter in Baumeister, 3, 1443, 1489 [Iw. Müller, Hdb. 3, 753, 835]; Mommsen, R. G. 1, 50.

#### *Addendum.*

*aeternus* II A. Correct the reference to Cod. Theod. 10, 16, 1 (Forc. and Key 11, 16, 1) to 14, 4, 6 (Haenel).

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## BRIEF NOTES ON PLAUTUS, TERENCE AND HORACE.

## I.

Edepól Libertas lépida 's, quae numquám pedem  
Voluísti in nauem cum Hércule una inpónere.

—Rudens 489-90.

Sonnenschein's comment, in his edition of the *Rudens* (Oxford, 1891, p. 119), is as follows: "An allusion to some lost myth about Herakles. Lucian (*De mercede conductis*, 23) says that *Libertas* never enters the house of a rich man." Without denying that there may be a 'lost myth' in the case, I take *Hercule* here as Hercules, the god of wealth, used as a name for a very rich man, as in the *Mostellaria* (v. 984), where Tranio is described as a slave who could "waste the revenues of even Hercules," or perhaps "of even a Hercules":

Tránio: is uel Hérculi contérere quaestum suóm potest.

## II.

The following fragment (p. 75 of Winter's edition) may be added to the scanty statements of Plautus regarding his attitude toward things political:

Néque ego ad mensam públicas res clámo neque legés crepo.

## III.

Nostrámne, ere, uis nutrícem, quae nos éducat  
Abáliénare a nóbis?

—Trinummus 512.

Stasimus is begging his master not to give away the farm, which is their only source of livelihood—the *nutricem quae nos educat*. The expression sounds like a homely stock phrase, and naturally recalls Cato's saying (in Varro):

Educit obstetrix. Educat nutrix. Instituit paedagogus. Docet magister.

## IV.

In aúrem utramuis ótiose ut dórmias.

—Heauton. 342.

Compare Ben Jonson's rendering in his 'Masque of Oberon':

"1 Satyr.—They have ne'er an eye  
To wake withal,

2 Satyr.—Nor sense I fear;  
For they sleep in either ear."

## V.

vitreamque Circen.

—Odes, I 17. 20.

Commentators deal inadequately with this phrase, as they attach to *vitrea* only the idea of brilliancy (sometimes magical brilliancy). A sentence of Publilius Syrus completes the meaning satisfactorily:

Fortuna vitrea est: tūm cum splendet frángitur.

The notion of brilliancy is thus supplemented by that of fragility and consequent deceitfulness, and *vitrea* is accordingly most appropriate in conjunction with *Circe* (see A. J. P. XV 1. 80). Coleridge saw the difficulty of interpreting *vitrea*, though without perceiving the double idea involved in its solution, and queried in his manuscript note in his copy of Horace: "Does this epithet imply the frailty of Circe? Or is it an Hyperbole like 'transparent Helena' of Shakspeare? Possibly H., by comparing the enchantress to an artificial production that seemed almost magical, hinted that her beauty was literally in enchantment."<sup>1</sup>

## VI.

Olim

Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur  
Accepisse cavo, veterum vetus hospes amicum,  
*Asper* et attentus quaesitis.

—Satires, II 6. 79.

The meaning of *asper*, illustrated by *asper victu* (Vergil, Aeneid, VIII 318) in the sense of 'faring roughly' (Wickham), may be additionally illustrated by *asper meus uictus sanest* (Plautus, Captiui, 188).

## VII.

Spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,  
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.

—Epistles, I 1. 2.

For *spectatum satis* compare

spectatum satis

Putabam et magnum exemplum continentiae.

—Terence, Andria 91.

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's Notes on Horace. See Princeton College Bulletin, Nov. 1892, p. 83.

## VIII.

Ut ventum ad cenam est, *dicenda tacenda* locutus,  
Tandem dormitum dimittitur.

—Epistles, I 7. 72.

Compare the following from the closing lines of the ninth book  
of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*:

Loquax docta indoctis adgerans  
*Fandis tacenda* farcinat.

PRINCETON, May, 1894.

ANDREW F. WEST.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

### ON RECENT EDITIONS OF PLAUTUS.

The two new Pitt Press editions of Plautus—*Stichus*, by C. A. M. FENNELL, and *Epidicus*, by J. H. GRAY—bring the following notes in point.

*Stichus* 419-20:

Ere si ego taceam seu loquar, scio scire te  
Quam multas tecum miserias MULCAVERIM.

Dr. Fennell's note on *mulcaverim* is: "plainly corrupt," which I take to be English for Ritschl's "Emendationem exspectat verbum haud dubie corruptum." Fennell therefore proposes *mussaverim*, which is shown to make very good sense—altogether too good! Plautus tried, at any rate, to be *humorous*. We can English this by translating 'how many evils I have buffeted with you,' but the Latin has an underlying bit of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. The element of 'gag' must also be reckoned with! Slaves and parasites were the kicked and cuffed clowns of the ancient comedy, and so they were always talking of kicking and cuffing somebody else. This began with Thersites (Homer, B 265, 231), and was ever after a stock comic feature (cf. Tyrrell's note in 'Cicero in his Letters,' Fam. IX 20. 1). I note the following examples in the *Stichus* where Gelasimus or Stichus talk about beating or being beaten:

- vs. 191: ei hercle verbo lumbos defractus velim;
- vs. 436: me in culpa habeto, nisi probe excruciavero <diem>;
- vs. 613: Edepol te hodie lapide percussus velim;
- vs. 751: vapulat peculium.

Accordingly, I should interpret Placidus's gloss of *mulcantem aerumnas* by *misere viventem*; *aerumna est miseria* (cited by Goetz) as harking back to this Plautus passage.

*Stichus* 425:

cadum tibi veteris vini propino.

Fennell's note is: "'I drink to your health a cask of old wine,' i. e. I wish you much happiness." Scarcely. This 'cask' makes its appearance again in vs. 647:

cadum modo hinc a me huc cum vino transferam,

and in vs. 665:

hoc <sc. vinum> mihi dono datumst.

This is followed immediately on the part of Sagarinus with the words (vs. 666)

Quis somniavit aurum?,

annotated by Fennell: "Though the point is not clear, it is idle to alter." The point is perfectly clear: Stichus had asked his master for a holiday (vs.

421). The master not only gave the holiday, but said (vs. 425): 'I'll give you a jug of old wine to drink my health in.' For this sense cf. L. and Sc., s. v. *προπίνω* II 3, and L. and Sh., s. v. *propino* I. C. In vs. 645-6 (punctuating with a comma after *venit*) Stichus says: 'I'll put this jug that is yonder (*hinc a me*) into me (*huc*),' doubtless with a simultaneous pat of his paunch. In vs. 666 Sagarinus finds it impossible to believe that the jug is a gift and says: 'You must have been dreaming' (*Quis somniavit aurum?*<sup>1</sup>). Seyffert's fairly satisfactory emendation, *Quis homo donavit vinum*, violates the principle of *lectio difficilior* and does not follow too closely the *ductus litterarum*. Note Ter. Phorm. 67 *montes auri pollicens*.

Vs. 579:

Set ita ut occepi narrare vobis.

Here Fennell as well as the Teubner critical edition<sup>2</sup> (Goetz) print as if the beginning of the scene had fallen out, and Goetz says: "Initium scaenae intercidis Acidalius vidit." The MSS read *sed ita quod*. Bothe seems to have suggested *sed (id quod)*. This is, I believe, the correct reading. Gelasimus had left the stage with vss. 503-4:

certumst amicos conuocare, ut consulam  
qua lege nunc med esurire oporteat.

He returns with 579-80:

set id quod occepi narrare vobis; quom hic non adfui  
cum amicis deliberaui iam et cum cognatis meis.

'But as I was telling you: in my absence I've been talking,' etc. There is no need to imagine any break before 579. In Poenulus 470 Antamoenides enters the stage for the first time with the words *ita ut occepi dicere* 'by the way.' At Stichus 480, *ut occepi narrare* is 'as I was saying.' If we compare Trinummus 897 *ita ut occepi . . . dicam*, with Rudens 1065 *ita ut occepi dicere*, we know that the full formula was *ita ut occepi dicere, dicam*, etc. It is obvious in the above interpretation that vs. 579 was addressed to the audience. Gelasimus does not, indeed, become aware of the presence of Pamphilippus and Epignomus till vs. 582, and the *vobis* of vs. 579 cannot refer to them, but to the audience, as in vs. 220 sq., where he auctions himself off to the audience. Entirely parallel in dramatic treatment with vss. 503-4, where Gelasimus goes to consult his relations, and vs. 579 sq., where he announces the result of his consultations, are vss. 400-1, where he goes off to rub up his best jokes from his (impromptu) commonplace-book, and vs. 449 sq., where he returns from that errand. A word needs to be said finally on my preference for the reading *sed id quod occepi* etc. The MSS read *quod*, and I note as parallels Miles 749 *nunc quod occepi*, opsonatum pergam; Persa 114 *mane quod tu occeperis negotium agere*, id totum procedit diem; and with *coepe*, Casina 701 *Nam quor non ego id perpetrem quod coepei* etc. Closer parallels in Cicero are brought by Brix to Trinummus 897, Rosc. Amer., §52 *illud quod coepimus videamus* (cf. §91 *ut coepei dicere*). Poen. 470, however, cited above, would make for *ita ut*, but *id quod* is somewhat nearer the MSS.

<sup>1</sup>I compare for this interpretation Merc. 950 *Eho quae mi somnias*, *Hic homo non sanust* cf. *infra*, p. 363, n. 2).

Stichus 687-8:

nam hinc quidem  
hodie polluctura praeter nos iam dabitur nemini.

The MSS (BCDF) read *praetor nos iactura*, and Goetz regards *iactura* = *luctura* and so writes *polluctura* after *praeter nos*. Instead, I believe we are to see in *iactura* a gloss of *polluctura*. I compare Caes. B. G. 6. 12. 2 (cf. B. C. 3. 112. 10) *magnis iacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant*, and define *iacturis* by 'bait,' deriving perhaps from the locution *semen iacere* (Varro *iactare*), or by 'boast, boastful promise'; cf. *iactare, se iactare* 'boast, make ostentatious display.' This collocation of words makes strongly for the relation I proceed to establish between *polliceor* and *polluceo*. L. and Sh. define *polluctura* for this passage by 'sumptuous feast.' The meaning clearly is 'not a *sup* <of wine> shall any one get but us.' The citations for *polluceo* show that the verb specially denoted 'vow, offer a tithe to Hercules.' This tithe would be sometimes large and sometimes small. In Stichus 233 Gelasimus begs a good price for himself at the auction: *ut, decumam partem Herculi polluceam*; and *that* tithe would surely have been a small one.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that we must not separate *pollūceo* from *polliceor* 'promise.' The variation *licet* | *lucet* was patterned on *libet* | *lubet*, and *lūceo* 'promise, boast, make boastful display' was conformed to *lūceo* 'shine.' In Rud. 1418-19:

vos quoque ad cenam vocem  
ni daturus nil sim neque sit quidquam pollucti domi,

I translate 'except I have nothing to give, and not a bite in the house.' Rud. 425:

non ego sum pollucta pago,

seems to be used in the sense of taking 'two bites of a cherry'—'I'm not a bite for the whole county,' or, more nearly in the sense of *polliceor*, 'I do not offer myself to the whole county.' At Curculio 193 *polluctus virgis servos* is 'a slave who has been promised a beating.' There remains in Plautus only *obsonate pollucibiliter* (Most. 24) where the sense of 'richly, splendidly' seems to obtain, and *pollucte prodigus*, supposed to be a fragment (ap. Fest., p. 229 Müll.). I should therefore, in the light of what has been brought forward, define *polluctura* by 'earnest' and *pollucere* by 'vow.'

Stichus 689:

nosmet inter nos ministremus MONOTROPI.

Here L. and Sh. define by 'of one kind, single,' which is objectionable as a definition of this Latin *ἀπαξ λεγ.* This compound means 'each having one turn, turn-about.' We might define by 'simple' (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. *μόνотροπος* II, and Eur. Andr. 289), taking *τρόπος* in its figurative sense.

Stichus 715:

age si quid agis, accipe inquam: NON HOC INPENDET publicum.

<sup>1</sup> Was not the worship of Hercules in a moribund condition? The Potitii turned it over to the public slaves, and were themselves brought low (Liv. 2. 7. 14). This seems, perhaps, a fair inference from the Varro citation of Macrobius, III 12. 2 *maiores solitos decimam Herculi uovere nec decem dies intermittere quin polluerent ac populum ἀσύμβολον cum corona laurea dimitterent cubitum*.

Here Ritschl has corrected the MS readings (C has *inpendit*) to *nam hoc inpendit*, which L. and Sh., s. v. *impendo* (init.), seem to interpret as 'for the public stands this expense.' The objections to this interpretation are that the MSS must be altered slightly to give it, and the wine was not at the public expense, unless very remotely as being the gift of Stichus's master. I propose, instead, to read with the MSS, interpreting as follows: 'there is no grave public question impending.' The point would then lie in the reference to Stichus's pompous military air: he had given out in vs. 702 sq. the command of the *provinces* of the feast, and Sagarinus called him (vs. 705) *stratage noster*! The point is not very acute, but the other interpretation is not better in that respect. *Inpendere* is elsewhere used twice by Plautus: Epid. 83 in te inpendent, and 135 inpendet pectori. Some importance may be given to the fact that Plautus does not use *inpendere*, unless it be kept in this passage, though he does use derivatives, e. g. *inpendio*, Aul. 18.

I turn now to the consideration of some questions, mainly of text-criticism, that attach to the Epidicus. Prof. Gray's edition is responsible for these notes, for his typography brings insistently before one's eyes the places that have been *treated* by the emenders. My own standpoint is that of a defender. I believe it cannot be too much insisted on that emendation in Plautus ought to follow the principles of emendation in prose authors, and the metre ought to be used as a corrective of emendation, not to suggest it. When the text has been thus constructed, sound metrical conclusions can be drawn. This conservative course should be specially followed in the Cantica, where the music helped to carry the metre. I take for illustration of my general drift vs. 361:

is adornat <ad>veniens domi extemplo ut maritus fias,

where the <ad> may well have fallen away by haplography, and its suiting the metre is entitled to the negative interpretation of not throwing a fair correction out of court. Very different is vs. 714, where *non illuc* of the MSS has been corrected by Müller (Pl. Pr., p. 357) to *non pol*. It were fair, perhaps, to drop *illuc* as having crept in from the verse below. So we might write the line: Abi modo intro. PER. Ei non [illuc] temerest. adserva istum, Apocides, recognizing hiatus between *intro* and *ei*. There is no justification I can imagine for inserting *pol*, except some theory of avoiding hiatus.

I pass now to a more specific consideration of individual passages, massing first those that seem to me to have been treated most amiss.

Vs. 19:

EP. mitte illa ac responde hoc (Goetz).  
ut id mi responses (Ussing<sup>1</sup>).

Here A reads UTILLÆRESCOSTENTA<sup>2</sup>, B reads UT ILLI RESPON DI, and so J, with omission of DI. UT ILLA RESPONDEAS of F and the *editio princeps* (Z) is plainly an attempt to construe. I propose *ut illae res cosentiant*<sup>2</sup> 'so that your facts agree,' the chaffing answer to the previous question: quid tibi vis dicam

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that *responses* is hardly a common word in Plautus, as Gray says, and the four cases cited by L. and Sh. seem to be all.

<sup>2</sup> For *cosentiant*. Cf. Briz, Trin. 41, on the doublet *evenant* | *eveniant*.

nisi quod est? The difficult form *cosentiant* of the MS got its *st* perhaps from a gloss *co[n]stent*, which would have the same meaning. This is a rare word in Plautus (*consentit*, Cas. 59), but occurs in the form *cosentiant* in the epitaph of one of the Scipios.<sup>1</sup> We are in this case able to trace the genesis of the totally variant reading of B. In the phrase *ut illae res cosentiant* a marginal gloss *respondeant* took the place of *cosentiant*, and by haplography came *ut illae respondeat*, whence B's UT ILLI RESPON DI.<sup>2</sup>

Vss. 144, 145:

nam ni ante solem occasum e lo—  
meam domum ne inbitas. tu te in pristinum.

The attempt has been made to fill out these broken verses. Gray adopts Ussing's *e loculis prompseris* (144) and *proieceris* (145). The only Plautine passages bearing on the first point are As. 181 de pleno promitur, and Truc. 603 ex pectore promam, and the first is more nearly comparable. Plautus does not use *loculi* in the sense of 'purse.' The objections to *proieceris* are that Plautus combines with *pistrinum* (MS *pristinum*) only *tradere*, and *trahere*. Francken (Mnemos. 7. 184–209) suggests for vs. 144 *edolaveris* and for 145 *ipsus conferas*; but *edolaveris* is not Plautine and does not make good sense; *ipsus conferas* is as good as any other suggestion that has been made. I suggest that the attempt to mend these verses be given up. In *eho* (Ζ ἔλω) I believe we are to find an interjection, i. e. *eho*.<sup>3</sup> I compare Bacch. 444 provocatur paedagogus: eho senex minumi preti ne attigas puerum istac causa etc. Examples with *eho* at end of the line are Poen. 1128 atque eho Mirari noli etc. (cf. 1120), and Pseud. 1185 eho Mitte. That *eho* is extra-metrical (like Gr. *φῆν φῆν*, Aesch. Agam. 1307) is shown in Trin. 933:

Eho  
An etiam Arabiast in Ponto.

Cf. 944. I suggest, then, the following treatment by aposiopesis, vs. 144:

unde lubet: nam ni ante solem occasum—Eho  
meam domum ne inbitas. tu te in pistrinum—

If the metre must be completed for vs. 144 one could read *ehō* <cave E'pidice> (cf. Truc. 476 *ehō* | Pithe | cium, Face ut adcumbam, and Bacch. 444, just

<sup>1</sup> See Merry's Selected Fragments, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> For *res respondeant* we have a warrant in Lucretius 4. 167 *res sibi respondent* etc.; cf. also Quint. 6. 3. 48 *quia raro verba belle respondeant*. The substitution of *respondi* for *respondeant* is, in view of the separation, perhaps to be explained thus: the gloss was *responde illis* *COSENTA*—TH; or perhaps *RESPONDEA*— was misread *ODIA*—, and after the loss of A— the separation ensued.

<sup>3</sup> It seems not unlikely that a carelessly made *k* might be read *lo*. Gray seems to imply that the MSS read *e loc*, and then we might take *lo* as a mistake for *k* followed by an imperfect *o*. The same thing seems to have taken place in Merc. 950, where the MS reading is (B) *elo que ni somnias*, which I would correct to *eho, quas mi somnias* (*eia, quas mihi* etc., Goetz). The metre will come right by reading *ehō* (..-) [or *eho tu*?] with protraction. Camerarius reads *eho quas tu*. An emendation here suggests itself for Capt. 788 *Sed Ergasilus est ne hic procul quem video?* <*ohe*> (Schoell). Easier would be *video eho* (sometimes written *eo*). Then the next verse would be punctuated (*Conlecto quidemst pallio*), *quidnam acturust*.

cited); but it is not easy to complete 145, whereas the explanation by anapoeisis suits the tone of the passage precisely.

Vs. 284 sq.:

EP. Tum tu igitur calide, si quid acturus age.

*Cum lenone* quae opus sunt *facto*. PE. Quid iam? EP. Ne te censeat.

This is Goetz's reading. Goetz has himself made the break by a transposition which involves him in fresh difficulty. In the old editions there stands after vs. 284:

285 PE. Rem, hercle, loquere, EP. et reperi, haec te qui abscedat suspitio (288)

286 PE. sine me scire. EP. Scibis, audi. AP. sapit hic pleno pectore (289)

287 EP. Opus est homine, qui illo argentum deferat pro fidicina (290)

288 Nam te illo non aequae opus facto 'st. PE. quid jam? EP. Ne te censeat (285)

289 Fili causa facere. PE. Docte. EP. Quo illum ab illa prohibeas (286)

290 Ne qua ob eam suspicionem difficultas eveniat (287).

In this version vs. 288 (285) is perfectly readable, and there is no dislocation whatever of the sense, so far as I can see. But we must now consider the MS reading of this verse. B<sup>m2</sup> reads NĀ TELONON EQUAE OPUS FACTO ST, and J NAM TE LO (*sup. vers.* †ILLO) NON EQUAE etc.; F: NAM TE ILLO. Out of this Goetz has got *cum lenone quae opus sunt facto*, and a poor joint with his previous line.<sup>1</sup> Far preferable is the reading of F (B<sup>2</sup>J): nam te illo non <a>equae opus facto st, with *te illo* (sc. *deferre*) repeating the *qui illo—deferat* of vs. 290, construed as subject of *opus est*, and repeated in a somewhat tautological *facto*.

Vs. 315:

Conducere aliquam fidicinam sibi huc domum  
Dum rem divinam faceret, cantare[t] sibi.

Goetz corrects the end of vs. 315 to *quae hodie domi*, the corruption being presumably due to a haplography in *die do*. I do not see why *sibi* should have been picked up from the next verse and have destroyed *quae*, as Goetz's reconstruction assumes. Gray follows Ussing and supplies *ut* at the end of the verse to govern *cantaret*. I propose, instead, to read *cantare* with F, a purpose infin. after *conducere* 'fetch,' an original verb of motion.<sup>2</sup> This involves reading *cantarē*. For this compare *dicerē*<sup>3</sup> (Ter. Andr. 23), *ducerē* (ib. 613?) and *duclarē* (Ep. 351), *facerē* (Capt. 894), with quantity explained below, p. 370 and note. If one wishes to justify this lengthening in a historical way, it may be done as follows: Comedy has the ablative types *retz*, *reti*, but also *retē* (cf. Gray's Introd., p. xx), whence come pairs like *ordinē* | *ordinē*, *temporē* | *temporē*,<sup>4</sup> etc., and a vigorous writer like Plautus would doubtless not have strained now and then at *ducerē* | *ducerē*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Just the bearing of Goetz's words: "versus olim in margine suppleti sunt, unde initium truncatum repetendum," I confess I cannot see.

<sup>2</sup> The terminal acc. *domum* after *conducere* implies this interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Explained differently by Klotz, Altröm. Metrik, 267.

<sup>4</sup> Not granted by Klotz, l. c., p. 44. At Cas. 318 *uxorē* is removed by reading *uxoren*.

Vss. 389-91:

vel quasi egomet quidum fili causa coeperam  
ego me excruciare animi quasi quid filius  
meus deliquisset med erga.

So the MSS; but

velut egomet dudum . . .  
animi med excruciare etc.

Goetz, after Fuhrmann. If we assume the original condition of the MSS to have been as follows, the genesis of the corruption can be easily traced:

389 velut egomet qui dum fili causa coeperam  
390 med excruciare animi quasi quidem filius

There was a confusion of *qui dum fili* (389) with *quidem filius* (390), whereby *quasi* moved up to a place between *egomet* and *qui dum*, and there was then a contamination of *velut* and *quasi*<sup>1</sup>; *egomet* (389) was attracted by *med* (390), and so the initial *ego me* resulted. For the combination of *quasi* and *quidem* cf. Cas. 319 *quasi venator tu quidem es*; Poen. 60r *et quidem quasi etc.* As I propose to read the verses the interpretation would be: 'myself, to wit: how I began,' etc. *Quidum* in the interrogative sense (= *quo modo*) is found at Most. 732.

Vss. 492-3:

Bellator, vale!  
Euge! euge! Epidice! frugi's: pugnas ti <bene>.

So Goetz. A reads *homo es* for *bene*. Goetz cleverly suggests that this is a gloss or supplement to *frugi's*, cf. vs. 693 *frugi's tu homo Apocides*. I do not, however, accept this. Plautus uses *frugi* fifteen times in the predicate with *esse* without any substantive—once even as a feminine: *quae frugi esse volt*, As. 175<sup>2</sup>—and if *homo* were a gloss, there was no need to repeat *es*. Instead, I would see in *pugnas ti homo es* a corruption of *pugnis tu <n?> homo es*. For exegesis there would then be one of two possibilities, taking *pugnis tu homo es* with *Qui me emunxisti mucidum*, *pugnis* being in either case abl. of means—1st in the physical sense: this unpleasant action is affirmed to have been performed for Periphanes with the fist<sup>3</sup>; or 2d, *pugnis* is to be taken in the sense of 'whopper.' We know that in the Comedy of Manners the battles were all sham; and the use of *pugnis* of the exertions of Epidicus would have been suggested by *bellator* in the previous verse. As to the first interpretation, Plautus plays frequently on the physical sense of *emungere*, e. g. Cas. 391 *At tu ut oculos emungere ex capite per nasum tuos*; Most. 1108 sq.:

TH. Prope med emunxti. VR. Vide sis, satine recte: num mucchi fluont.  
TH. Immo etiam cerebrum quoque omne mi e capite emunxti meo.

<sup>1</sup> I note at Asin. 838 the collocation *ut quasi—si*.

<sup>2</sup> The instances are As. 498; Aul. 719; Bacch. 370, 665; Capt. 269; Cas. 562; Mil. 1360; Most. 133; Pers. 454 (cf. 841); Poen. 721, 963, 1098; Trin. 441, 1182.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this violence may have been suggested by the idiom *pectere pugnis* (Men. 1017). It is easy to account for the separation of *pugnis* from its verb by imagining a drastic gesture. Cf. Curc. 726 *hiscie* (sc. *pugnis*) *ego si tu me inritaveris, Placidum te hodie reddam*.

In favor of the latter interpretation, which I myself prefer, I cite Truc. 486 Qui . . . condemnati falsis de pugnis sient. *Pugna* was Latin for 'fish-story.'

Vs. 567:

Fac videam, si mea, si salva mea sit.

So Goetz. B reads *simevisSEN*<sup>-</sup>. I propose to read: fac videam si me vis \*VISSE NUM (m)ea sit. PER. Eho istinc Canthara. In this reading \*visse is a short form of *vidisse*, warranted in general by such forms as °traze (Trin. 743, with Brix's note); *ausim* is a similar (aorist) form to a stem in -d. *ea sit* has been lost in B by a haplography with *eo* (eho) *istinc*, but J preserves *sit* followed by *ne*, replacing perhaps the lost *num*.<sup>1</sup>

I call attention here to the construction of *vis* with the perf. infin., though so far as the form is concerned, *vis-se* is like *da-re es-se*. With the pass. infin. the ellipsis of the verb *esse* is the rule (Gildersleeve-Lodge, 280 c). The Roman point of view can be seen from Quint. 9. 3. 9 utimur et verbo pro participio: 'magnum dat ferre talentum,' tamquam 'ferendum,' et participio pro verbo: 'volo datum.' This standing ellipsis goes back to the prehistoric origin of the construction: *datum* is in Quintilian's example an infinitive, the Lat. supine (after verbs of motion). The genesis of the inflected infinitive, for it amounts to this, is the same as of the gerundive from the dat. infin. in -dae (cf. my art. in Am. J. Phil. XV, p. 221<sup>2</sup>). I illustrate by the following examples (from L. and Sh.): Curc. 335 PH. Perdis me tuis dictis. CU. Immo servo et servatum volo 'Nay, I'm saving you, and to save (you) is what I want.' This the Romans had interpreted as a participle, so we have Cist. 4. 2. 39 sunt qui volunt te conventam; As. 120 si quid recte curatum velis; Capt. 53 vos quod monitos voluerim: full inflection for gender and number. From this inflection the form received the interpretation of a perf. infin. pass., whence the perf. tense in the act. came also to be employed with *volo* in the sense of a present (cf. L. and Sh., s. v. *volo* I A. 3).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For *num* with an indirect question in Plautus see Persa 78.

<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy how uniformly Latin has developed its infinitives into participles. Thus, from *aptus rei publicae gerendae* the steps were *aptus ad rem publicam gerendum*, whence *aptus ad regnum regendum*, and so finally *aptus regnando* in place of an original *aptus regnandae* (cf. the author, Am. J. Phil. XV, p. 222, note). So Postgate has shown (Cl. Rev. V 301) that *daturum* is for *datu esum* 'to be about to give,' *esum* being infin. and *datu* 'supine'; from *esum daturum* there was an extension to *eam daturam* and *eos daturus*. The illustrations in the text show that the infinitive in °tum ('supine') came also to be interpreted as a ptc.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot agree with the theory of Howard, in the Harvard Studies, II, p. 119, that *fecisse volo* is a fut. pf. In the first place, we should expect *facere volui*; in the second place, the omission of *esse* with the passive forms is the rule of the language, and this is the only common use, for the active is rare. The employment of the active is practically limited to the official edict style (L. and Sh., s. v. *volo* I A. 3). An explanation presents itself from the consideration of the archaic nature of the idiom: at some Italic period before the rhotacistic change was completed, there must have been doublets like \**amase* | *amare* in popular use. Verrius Flaccus and the archaist Festus preserved, as we know, pre-rhotacistic forms. In regard of a phrase like *neve coniuirare vult* (Sen. Cons. de Bacch.), who shall say that *coniuirare* is not ultimately an archaic *coniuirare* interpreted as a perf. infin. because of *fuisse*, modelled on *esse* according to what seems the most probable explanation (cf. V. Henry, Gr. Comp., §161)? By this assumption the spread of the *fuisse* type to other verbs is made easy. That the forms in the Sen. Cons. de Bacch. represent fut. pfs. I cannot agree. They are simple futs. Thus in *ita exdeicendum censuere*: *ne quis eorum sacanai* (i. e. *bae*) *habuisse vult*. *Sei quae essent, quae sibi deicerent necesse esse bacanai habere eis*



Vs. 627. Here the MSS read: DI INMORTALES SOCIO IUSSI ADMIRER (J), SCIO IUSSI etc. (BF), OCIO IUSSI etc. (B<sup>3</sup>). This was corrected by Brix to *sicini iussi ad me ire*. Goetz reads *otiose adbitis* (!). For the rest of the line the MSS read *pedibus pulnu(o, JF)nes*. Gray adopts a 'clever' conjecture of Palmer's: si Iovis iussu ad me iret pedibus, plumipes Qui perhibetur, prius venisset, quam tu advenisti mihi, who explains *plumipes qui perhibetur* as equal to *Mercurius*. We should then have to assume that the angry lover was ironical,<sup>1</sup> for Mercury was storm-swift (cf. Vg. Aen. IV 241 rapido pariter cum flamine). Very far from a cogent parallel is Catull. 55. 27 Adde huc plumipedes volatilesque, where no reference to Mercury can be fixed, and the use of the plural speaks against it. Prof. Palmer has, I suppose, brought to his support Stich. 274 Mercurius, Iovis qui nuntius perhibetur, but I do not see how that makes for his position, particularly as *plumipes* is a very uncommon word (cited by L. and Sh. only for Cat. 55. 28). Here too we must stick by the MSS, in my opinion, and not correct, as Goetz does, following Brix, to *pedibus plumbeis*. Assuming either the conjectures of Goetz or Palmer as the original, then the scribes changed in every way to a *lectio difficilior*. I suggest, instead, the following:

di inmortales | <te> otio | iussi ad | mirer<e> | <sup>2</sup>: pedibus pulmonis  
qui perhibetur prius venisset etc.

In vs. 623 Stratippocles had said to his servant: adspecta et contempla <mulierem>. "Upon my soul," he now says, "I have bidden you (Epidicus) admire her at your leisure."<sup>3</sup> The snail-footed man in the story

utei ad pr. urbanum *venirent*, '*habuisse*' *velet* is no more a fut. pf. than '*venirent*'; again, in *neve* exstrad urbem sacra quisquam *fecisse velet*, nisei pr. urbanum *adieset*, '*fecisse velet*' plays the rôle of a fut. to the fut. pf. in '*adieset*.' That this archaism was a bit of legal terminology is clear enough from a passage in Gellius, X 3. 3 uxor eius *dixit* se in balneis virilibus *lavari velle* . . . *edixerunt* ne quis in balneis *lavasse vellet*, where '*lavasse vellet*' is as little fut. pf. as '*lavari velle*.' It is possible that the past tense *lavasse* has been attracted by the past tense *vellet* both here and in the Sen. Cons. de Bacch. We can see such an attraction in Liv. 24. 16. 11 priusquam omnes iure libertatis acquassem, neminem nota strenui aut ignavi militis notasse volui. Here we can translate 'I should have wished to have no one branded' (= *notatum habere*). Besides the passages to be attributed to the archaic edict style (Liv. 29. 14. 8; 29. 17. 3; 38. 11. 9; Ter. Hec. 563; Cato de Agr. V 4; Varro ap. Non., p. 394), Howard cites but few others until after Livy. In Livy 42. 11. 1 quibus credidisse malis 'such as one would be glad to believe,' I find a clean use of the tenses = *si credideris gaudebis*. So also Hor. A. P. 347 (cf. in this sense Riemann, Synt. Lat., §154, rem. VI). At Liv. 32. 21. 32 *quia pepercisse vobis volunt* is a periphrasis for the pass. form *quia vos servatos volunt*, due to the intransitive nature of *parcere* and its lack of a ptc. Howard cites four passages from comedy (Ter. Ad. 519; Pl. Poen. 570; 1206; Rud. 662) for *velim* + pf. subj. as a 'periphrasis for the fut. pf.' Poen. 1206 is instructive: Nimiae voluptati st . . . Quod haruspex de ambabus *dixit* . . . velim de me aliquid *dixerit*. *Dixerit* unquestionably repeats *dixit*. Here we are on the border-line of the unreal and ideal. The wish is in the past; the wisher does not know the result: 'I hope he has said something about me.' This principle of explanation applies to the other passages which shade into the unreal more or less.

<sup>1</sup> My impression is that such irony as this would be is not a feature of Plautus's style.

<sup>2</sup> The indicated scansion is undeniably heavy; perhaps we should read *ad me ire*, with Brix, *te* thus referring to the Danista. The actor possibly beat time with his foot, to prepare the audience for the rise and fall implied in *pedibus pulmonis*.

<sup>3</sup> For this use of *otio* for *cum otio*, I cannot cite another passage in Plautus, but he uses *salute* for *cum salute* (cf. Brix on Men. 134). Comparable are the adverbs of manner *iure*, *ratione*, *silentio*, and Phaedrus, I 24. 6 uses *otio*.

would have come sooner than you (the Danista)." The *pulmo marinus* (Gr. πλεῦμων) seems to have been to Pliny (N. H. 9. 47. 71) something of the jelly-fish sort.<sup>1</sup> Now, a jelly-fish rises and falls with the wave, but his motion toward an object is illusory, like a hobby-horse's. A jelly-fish pace is a sort of superlative to a snail's pace.<sup>2</sup> According to my proposed reading, <le> was thus lost: TEOTIO, next TIOTIO, by dictation (?) CIOCIO. This was simplified by the loss of the no longer intelligible CI° in the class of MSS represented by J's reading s-ocio; by the haplographic loss of CIO° in the class represented by B's s-CIO, s- in both cases being taken up from °TĀLES to make a sensible word. In *admirer* for *admirere* we are perhaps to see *admire* by haplography, and then *adm-ir-er* by dittography. Note, however, below (p. 372) *vider* for the infin. *videre*. The corruption of *i* to *e* in *pulmones* may be palaeographic, or may have been a correction on the part of some archetypal scribe. For the construction *jubere aliquem* c. subj. cf. Stich. 396 *jube famulos rem divinam* me apparent.

Vs. 632. Gray (Ussing) reads: Tene cruminam: huc inde: <capit> ST. <An tu nevis> etc. Goetz: Tene c.: h. i.: ST. Sapienter <mones> etc. Barring differences in the cast, the MSS agree substantially, and read SAPIENTER VENIS. The reading is right, I believe. Stratippocles says: 'you are wise to make terms' (i. e. not to haggle about terms); cf. Cic. Ver. 2. 3. 146 *ad tuam veniam condicionem* 'I accept your terms.'<sup>3</sup>

I now pass to other corrections, in the main of smaller import.

Vs. 7: Quod eo adsolet (MSS). Gray (Ussing) *ad* <di>solet, Goetz (Acidalius) *coadsolet*. The language of comedy is highly elliptical, pace Ussing; *coadsolet* is not a quotable Latin word, pace Goetz. Cf. Pers. 759 *Ponite hic quae adsolent* <sc. *hic poni*> (cf. Ter. Andr. 481), and the common Latin phrase *ut adsolet*. *Eo* is a terminal case with the ellipsed verb of the previous question, *Quid ceterum* <verbum addis>; cf. Rud. 1007.

Vs. 35: *Sed quid | ais* <tu>. Read: *Sed quid | ē(j)is* |, with the MSS. Cf. *cōnīcit* (Mil. 112), i. e. *conjicit* (?) in popular pronunciation. Note also 1st pers. *āio*, i. e. *ājo*. Is it not better to recognize *āts* than to insert *tu*?

Vs. 50. MSS:

EP. Vae misero mihi: male perdidit me. TH. quid istuc quidnam est.

Goetz corrects to *quid ais tu*. TH. *Quid est*. I suggest to read as the MSS, but *nam quid est*. Cf. Ep., vs. 58 *Nam quid ita?* with Gray's note.

Vs. 55:

Et is danista advenit una cum eo qui argentum petit.

<sup>1</sup> L. and Sh., s. v. *pulmo*, read for our passage *pulmon es* 'you are a fool.' This leaves *qui perhibetur* as surplusage, and is based on a misinterpretation of the passage cited from Pliny, who says that these animals are like vegetables, and have no senses.

<sup>2</sup> We must remember that Plautus was long before Pliny. Possibly *pulmo* in the *sermo popularis* was an occasional name for slugs, or snails, to which modern zoology has given the class name *pulmonata*. Why? Plato, Philebus 21 C, associates the πλεῦμων with the oyster.

<sup>3</sup> I can furnish no example of this ellipsis, but Men. 1160 suggests that the relation of *venio*: *venio* may have been enough to justify it. *Venit uxor quoque etiam, si quis emptor venerit, where venerit* might be taken in much the same way as I have taken *venis* above, but I do not insist (cf. Asin. 154).

Gray reads *atque* for *qui*, or else would read *petat*. Goetz reads with the MSS, and so would we, taking *qui* as the simple relative referring to *is danista*.

Vs. 136:

Hercle <qui> miserumst ingratum esse homini id quod facias bene.

So Goetz. Omit *qui* and read with hiatus *in pausa* after *esse*.

Vs. 204. Epidicus comes gasping up with *mane! sine respirem*. Brix suggests *mane* <*dum*>, and Gray *mane* <*sis*>. May we not imagine that Epidicus filled up the lacking short with a gasp instead?

Vs. 251 sq.:

Quia hodie adlatae tabellae sunt ad eam a Stratippocle:

<eum> argentum sumpsisse apud Thebas ab danista fenore:

id paratum <esse> et se ob eam rem id ferre.

By this emendation vs. 252 is O. O. reporting the chitchat of the Meretrix, and vs. 253 O. O. reporting the contents of the letter. It were simpler to read vs. 251 argen | tum sum | psisse apud | Thebas | <se> ab da | nista | fenor | e.

Vs. 254. MS:

haec sic aiebat sic audivisse (B<sup>1</sup> *audivi sese*) se abse atque epistola.

Goetz: . . . audivisse ex eapse atque epistola. Gray (Ussing): se audivisse ex eapse <*adlata*> epistola. I propose sic audivisse se abs eat (i. e. -d) epistola. The difficulties in this reading are that *abs* before vowels seems not known in Plautus. Neue Formenlehre, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 830, explains away inscription instances, e. g. "Unrichtig ist auch *abs iis* für *ab iis*, Corp. Inscr. Lat. Col. I. Z 5." Now, *abs* is not a historical form of the preposition, but one developed on Latin ground by abstraction from verbs, e. g. *ab-stulit*, interpreted as *abs-tulit*.<sup>2</sup> But the Romans used side by side *abs te* and *a te*, Cicero using first *abs te*, later *a te*. The preference for *abs te* in the *sermo popularis* of Plautus's comedies doubtless arose from the confusion of *ad te* and *a te* in rapid utterance. The form *ab-s* was helped into being with nouns by *ex*,<sup>3</sup> but, save in the phrase *abs te* (*tuo tuis* etc.), Plautus seems to use it only with *terra* (Trin. 947), *chorago* (Pers. 159, but *ā chorago* Trin. 858); he further has *abs qua* (Menaech. 345) and in Terence *abs quivis* is found (Ad. 254). From *abs qua* to *abs ea* is not a long step. If the archetype had *absead* when this was divided *ab se ad(t)*, the passage of *at* into *atque* was most easy.

Vs. 283: *Vive sapis, Et placet* (B). Goetz: *sane sapit*. Gray (Ussing): *tu ne sapis*. I suggest *vi nē sapis* = 'You are, I trow, mighty wise.' Plautus has *amoris vi* (Merc. 58) and *vi Veneris victus* (Trin. 657). We can thence infer *vis sapientiae* and *vi sapis*. Note also vs. 289 *sapit pleno pectore*.

Vs. 341:

Pro di inmortales mi hunc diem <ut> dedistis luculentum.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brix, Trin.<sup>4</sup>, p. 15, and Fowler[-Brix], Men., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the author in Am. J. Phil. XIII, p. 466, and note in addition that *su-stulit* is of precisely the same reduplicative type, so far as the consonants go, as *si-sto*.

<sup>3</sup> This is sufficient alone to the creation of the form.

*Ut* is inserted by Guyet. Not necessary; *hunc* is predicative = a splendid day is this you have given me.

Vs. 351:

peratum (B, *par*<sup>o</sup> J) ductare, at ego follitim ductitabo.

The correction of Camerarius to *peratim* seems every way right. Read *ductarē*, at with hiatus *in pausa* (cf. supra, p. 364).

Vs. 411 sq.:

ut ille fidicinam

<Facete> fecit nescire esse emptam tibi:

Ita ridibundam etc.

*Facete* is Goetz's emendation. In view, however, of the fact that J reads *Illam ridibundam*, I suggest that the original state of the MSS was *illam fecit nescire esse emptam tibi*, with hiatus *in pausa* after *nescire*. For *ille*—*illam* cf. Ep. 250 Ibi illa interrogavit illam etc.

Vs. 438: *virtute bellī armatus promerui* etc. Gray, following Ribbeck, reads *animatus*. Geppert *ornatus*. Goetz has for once retained the MS reading. Why change it?

Vs. 712: PER. *Tu meruisti?* EP. *Visse intro*. B and Goetz; but J reads *iusse*. I suggest that we should read EP. I, *visse intro*; cf. Bacch. 901,<sup>1</sup> I, *visse*.

I now turn to certain corrections that have been made for purely metrical considerations, though the last group was not entirely exclusive of such.

Vss. 46-7:

Nam certo priusquam hinc ad legiōnem abiit domo,  
Ipse mandavit mihi ab lenone ut fidicinā etc.

Goetz in his edition inserts after *hinc* <*in Thebas*>, and (following Ribbeck) <*interim*> after *mihi*. The MSS make very good *senarii* read as I have accented the verses. Vs. 45 is a trochaic *septenarius*. The excited questions of vs. 45 suit well with that metre; vss. 46-7 are plain narrative. These three verses are thrown in near the end of a group of iambic *octonarii*. Why not? Cf. Capt. 200-2, three *senarii* in a group of iambic *octonarii*, and Amph. 1068, a trochaic *septenarius* preceded and followed by iambic *octonarii*; Capt.

<sup>1</sup> I ask whether *visse* is used anywhere, with a terminal phrase, without an *i* in the context. At Capt. 894 B<sup>1</sup> seems to read *vos e* and E reads *vis erat*, B<sup>2</sup> reads *visse ad portum* etc. We might read *i visse | ad por | tūm* HFG. *Facer | ē cer | tūmst: tu intus | cura* etc. (For *facerē* cf. supra, p. 364.) Or we may read *visse, i ad portum* etc.; cf. Miles 301 *Visse, abi intro*, and perhaps *visse ad me intro*, Mil. 520, should be *me <i> intro*; cf. Truc. 197 *i intro, amabo, Visse illam*. At Rudens 567 A reads ESTVTESE where there is some doubt of the dotted letters. B, C, D read *est visse*, and Bothe's reconstruction of *es: i, visse* seems almost certain, especially as the VTES of A might be VEIS. There remains only Most. 793. A reads QUIDNUMVIS VISASPECTA TVO etc. B<sup>2</sup>CD *Quid nunc? Visse specta tuo*, but B<sup>1</sup> *Vis expectatuo*. I suggest that we read *Quid num vis Tr. I specta tuo* etc. Or perhaps *Quidnam*. *Quid num* is perhaps for *Num quid* (cf. Gray's note on *nam quid*=*quid nam*, Ep. 58). The dittography *visvis* of unrubricated MSS like A is of easy explanation. In B<sup>2</sup>CD there is a wrong division and the common palaeographic confusion of E and I; in the ASPECTA of A we are to see a variant of E-SP<sup>o</sup>, a correction due to the pair *ascendere | ascend<sup>o</sup>* perhaps, or in prototypes of A there were the variants ISP<sup>o</sup> and IASP<sup>o</sup>. Note in the next verse *age i duce me*.

525 is a *senarius* preceded by nine iambic *octonarii* and followed by seven trochaic *septenarii*.<sup>1</sup>

Vs. 306:

Nullum esse opīnor egō agrum in <omni> agro<d> At'tico.

Read *egō* with hiatus in *pausa*, and omit <omni>.

Vs. 325:

Nullam tibi esse in illo copiam ST. Interii hercle ego <oppido>.

So Goetz, completing the trochaic *septenarius*. I propose, if we must complete the vs., *equidem* after *hercle* (cf. Men. 504), reading *cōpidm*, with hiatus and *syllaba anceps in pausa* (cf. Brix, Trin.<sup>4</sup>, p. 21). The loss of *equidem* may have been due to tachygraphy of *quidem*. The loss of *equidem* after *ego* seems more probable than the loss of *oppido*.

Vs. 333:

Vae tibi <iners> muricide homo! CH. Qui tibi lubet mihi male loqui.

Read without *iners*, as a trochaic *septenarius*. See just above, vss. 46-7, for examples of such treatment. One would expect an interjection like *vae* to be accented.<sup>2</sup>

Vss. 333-6 may be read, however, as trochaic *septenarii* thus:

Vae tibi | muri | cide ho | mo | qui | tibi lu | bet mihi | male lo | qui.  
 Quippe tu | me aliquid | aliquo | modo | ali | cunde ab | aliqui | bus bla | tis.  
 Quod nus | quam <nun | quam>st<sup>3</sup> neque | ego <qu>id<em> | inmit | to  
 in <du><sup>4</sup> au | res me | as  
 Nec mihi | plus ad | iumen | ti das | quam ille qui | numquam eti | am na | tust.

I now pass to the examination of omissions, sometimes due to confusion of vocatives of the characters with the rubric of the MSS, a category again not exclusive.

<sup>1</sup>So Fleckeisen; Brix differs, but not materially.

<sup>2</sup>This accords with Plautine usage. *Vae* is initial in line and accented 13 times, initial in sentence and accented 25 times. It elides only twice, and then in the phrase *vae aetati tuae* (Capt. 885, Stich. 594). In Pseud. 1317 *Vae victis* in a lyric measure should possibly be differently accented, and C leaves a space after (?) *ae*. Rudens 375 reads *Vae capiti atque aetati tuae*, but B has a space of five letters after *vae*, a possible sign of corruption in the text. The text goes on, *Tuo mea Ampelisca*. Possibly *vae* represents a Gr. *φῆν* in the original, and made a line by itself (cf. *sho* supra, p. 363), followed by <*Tuo*> *capiti* etc. In Poen. 783 *vae vōstrae aetati*. *Id quidem* <nunc in> *mundost* *tuae*, the text is corrupt, or at least does not scan according to received principles. If we read *vae* (<sup>4</sup>) *vostrae aetati*. *Id quidem mundo*<d> *est* *tuae*, we should have another instance of quasi-extra-metrical interjection. At Miles 1078 *Et pueri an | nos oc | tin gen | tos vi | vont*. *Vae | tibi | nugá | tor*, I treat the first foot as a cretic (for at least Cretic words occur in the first foot, cf. Klotz, l. c., p. 62, and the reading *puer* for *puer* is like *quattuor*, Brix, Trinummus<sup>4</sup>, p. 21), and thus *vae* falls under the accent.

<sup>3</sup>W. W. in Lit. Centr.-Blatt, 1879, No. 11.

<sup>4</sup>For *indu | endo* see Neue Formenlehre, II<sup>3</sup>, pp. 907-8. This archaism survives in Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius. *Indu* was doubtless dead in the *sermo popularis*, but Plautus may have allowed himself to use it in combination with *aures*, because of *indaudisse* (Merc. 944). Cf. Brix to Miles, vs. 213, who cites eight instances of this verb, and note *indipiscor* (Brix, Trin.<sup>4</sup>, 224).

Vs. 62. Above this vs. Goetz prints an omission. The MSS read

ita voltum tuom (61)

Videor vider<sup>1</sup> conmeruisse hic me absente in te aliquid mali (62).

Gray reads *ut voltum tuom* | *Video, videre*. Goetz reads *videor videre* etc., after an 'out.' In vss. 59-60: plus scire satius quam loqui | Servom hominem: ea sapientias, Epidicus has been showing an unwonted prudence. Thesprio replies in 61: . . . trepidas Epidice. He then asks, after noticing some scar (?) on Epidicus: ita <n> voltum tuom Videor vider <e> conmeruisse etc.; here *voltum* is subject of *conmeruisse*: 'do I seem to see that your face has brought some trouble on you?'—a rather humorous way to put it. In restoring ita <n> the assumption of a falling out of N in the group ANV is not hard, or perhaps we should assume  $\Lambda \bar{V}$ .

Vs. 116:

Si hercle haberem <pollicerer>. STR. Nam quid te igitur rettulit  
Beneficum esse oratione, si ad rem auxilium emortuomst.

Goetz, who adopts Müller's emendation of *pollicerer*, a very good one, as emendations go (cf. e. g. vs. 331, where the same speaker says: Si hercle habeam, pollicerer lubens), tells us: "In B STRATIPOCES post *haberem* scriptum est a rubricatore, quod lacunae esse signum videtur." Why not read the name Stratippoces in the text with aposiopesis, thus: CH. Si hercle haberem Stratippoces—, followed by ST.<sup>2</sup> Nam quid etc.

Vs. 186: Sed eccum! ipsum! ante aedis conspicio <erum meum atque> Apocide <m>. Acidalius is responsible for the addition. Instead I would supply *cum* after *conspicio*, lost (as *com*?) by haplography with °*cor*; and I would also read *anti* <d>,<sup>3</sup> and to recognize a startled whispering enunciation allowing hiatus *in pausa* with *eccum! ipsum!* Thus: sed éc | cum íp | sum án | tid aé | dis cón | spicór | cum Apóe | cide. By the loss of *cum*, *Apocide* was taken for a rubric, and a space allowed (still represented in B, cf. infra, vs. 206) for the supposed speech. Instead, *qualis volo vetulos duo* (vs. 187) should be recognized as an iambic *dimeter*,<sup>4</sup> not a fragment of an *octonarius*.

Vs. 190. Before this vs. Goetz indicates two 'outs'—one for R. Müller and one for himself. It is well known that stage versions differ from authors' versions, and one dare not be dogmatic in regard of 'outs,' but everything necessary for sense and syntax is 'in' here. In sc. 1 the two old men have been discussing a second marriage for Periphanes. At sc. 2 Epidicus comes up and sees them, and addresses the audience; the old men continue to talk, but not necessarily to the audience. Periphanes had said at vs. 173 *Revereor filium*, and the last word of their talk in sc. 1 was *maritast* (vs. 180). When

<sup>1</sup> In Merc. 282 the MSS *dicere numquid* has been interpreted by Sonnenschein (Trans. Am. Ph. Ass. 1893, p. 14) as *dicer*'. Thus *vider* | *videre* (the latter an impv. form in Latin) is comparable to *duc* | *duce*. Why not read our verse thus:

videór | vidér' | conmérv | isse híc | med ábs | ente in | te aliquid | malí.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly ER. in an *aside* (?).

<sup>3</sup> *Antid* was alive to Plautus in *antidea*, *antidhac* and in the compound *antidire* (8 times in Plautus; cf. Brix, Trin., vs. 546). That *anti* <d> grew out of *pród* seems clear, just as *poste* | *post* is an affection from *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gleditsch in Iw. Müller's Handbuch, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 829.

they can be heard again after Epidicus's speech, Apocides says: *Continuo ut maritus fiat*. We can hardly imagine, however, that the talk of the old men began to be heard here where *ut* has no regimen. B has a space (*personae spatium*, Goetz) before *continuo*. We shall see presently (vs. 206) that if words get out of their place in the line in B, a blank is left for them, and an archetype may well have made some confusion with its short iambic dimeter (vs. 189). Into this *personae spatium* I propose to put <Fác> con | tínvo ut ma | ritus | fiat.

Vs. 206:

APOCIDES. SCIT FACTUM

EP. (space of 14 letters) EGO ITA FACTUM ESSE DICO.

Such is the state of things in B. In J we have *sic factum*, and in F *sic factum est*. I suggest that vs. 206 originally ended with *Quid est?*; thus there was liability to confusion with the rubric. The rubricator in B wrote names within the lines with black ink, and the rubric takes a variety of abbreviations (cf. Goetz, Praef., p. xiii). Who shall say that APOEQUIDEST did not give rise to the APOCIDES of B? I suggest AP. <Quid est? | (207) Quis> scit factum? Note that B having misplaced <Quis> *scit factum*, left a space in the next verse (cf. supra, vss. 186, 190).

Vs. 267: EP. *Continuo arbitretur uxor tuo gnato etc.* Before this vs. Goetz puts an 'out': "videntur quaedam intercidiisse quae ad verborum contextum vix abesse possunt." *Continuo* is most frequently apodotic in Plautus (but cf. Epid., vs. 360 *continuo hic ero*); even here the apodotic force may be intended to be conveyed, and from *continuo* we may infer a protactic 'Well, if I must speak,' an idea conveyed easily by a gesture, or the tone of the voice, and not requiring the assumption of an 'out.'

Vss. 444-7. These four verses have been transferred by Goetz from their place in the MSS, 431-4. Acidalius had put them after vs. 455. I believe we should adhere to the MSS. I construe *stultitias* (vs. 444) on the analogy of *longum est*. In vs. 430 Periphanes says: 'my son would have had the laugh on me <by getting the girl>.' He goes on: 'I should have been a fool to blame him for it, for I was up to that sort of thing myself when I was a soldier'; then he adds, with an irrelevance not unlike Plautus: *pugnis memorandis meis Eradicabam hominum aureis*. Precisely the same line of reflection turns up at vs. 390 sq. The words *pugnis memorandis* etc. are so pat where Goetz puts them that I cannot imagine that a scribe could have intentionally changed them, and there seems no occasion for change by *homoioleuton*. In their MS place they serve as a deft transition to vss. 431-2, where Periphanes turns and sees the swaggering soldier. Repellant is *illi* (vs. 444) after *tuas* (vs. 441), to Goetz's arrangement of the lines.

Vs. 578. Here an 'out' seems to be justified by A, for two lines' space is left; so Goetz reads, vs. 577 sq.:

Scio quid erres: quia vestitum atque ornatum immutabilem  
habet haec . . .

. . . PH. aliter catuli longe olent aliter suis.

B leaves a space of 2-3 letters after *catuli*. If the MSS before A had a

rubric, the confusion may have arisen in this way, reading: *habet haec mulier*. MULIER: *áliter cáuli <aliís> olént, alitér suís* = 'the young smell differently to different people, and still differently to their mothers (*suís*),' i. e. 'the mother knows.' For *catuli* = 'children' cf. *haec canes* (Trin. 172, Poen. 1236) = *hic homo, ego*. If in a rubricated MS the first *mulier* fell out by haplography, and the chain of succession to A passed through a non-rubricated MS,<sup>2</sup> the gap (cf. *supra*, vs. 206, for B's treatment) may have come to be the full line in A, whereas B, etc., may represent the real state of things better, as in Stichus, vs. 511 (cf. Fennell, p. xix).

I note now a place where Gray seems to me to have gone wrong in his individual comment. In vs. 35 Stratippocles had lost his arms. Epidicus cries 'Dreadful.' Thesprio replies: 'It's happened before; it will be an honor to him, as it has been to others before.' In this Gray sees a political allusion. Instead, the element of literary parody is specially strong in the Epidicus. Stratippocles' arms have just been likened to those Thetis brought to Achilles. In vs. 490 an allusion has been made to Iphigenia at Aulis; here, just after the Homeric touch I would see a reference to Archilochus and his elegiac poem on his abandoned shield.<sup>3</sup>

I observe that the foregoing notes on Plautus proceed from the extreme, conservative standpoint that the MSS are a better guide than metrical theories, and as between a violation of metrical norms and text correction that would be improbable in a prose author, I have preferred the latter alternative. I have doubtless gone too far myself in this direction.

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An Avesta Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. Part I. Phonology, Inflection, Word-Formation, with an Introduction on the Avesta. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1892.

Avesta Reader. First Series, Easier Texts, Notes and Vocabulary. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1893.

Science is of the world, and its followers know no national boundaries. The best product is sought, of whatever origin. Yet to us who so often look beyond the Atlantic for the best thing on a given subject, it cannot but be gratifying when we can say "in this case the work acknowledged to be the best is written in English and by an American." We have long had this undisputed satisfaction in the case of the Sanskrit Grammar, the loss of the author of which is so universally mourned. While not claiming that Jackson's Avesta Grammar is a great work in the sense in which this is true of Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, we may be confident that it is destined to take its place as

<sup>1</sup> So B rubricates Philippa.

<sup>2</sup> A is itself spaced, but not rubricated.

<sup>3</sup> No. 5 in Pomtow's *Lyrici Graeci* = Bergk 6.

<sup>4</sup> My colleagues in America will understand the impossibility of my commanding the periodical literature without larger library facilities than I now enjoy. I am under obligations for references to periodicals to Professor Warren, of Johns Hopkins, who is at once *et magister et amicus*.



the best Avestan grammar in existence. The book meets an actual necessity. In the first place, there never has been a good practical grammar of the Avestan language. Spiegel is too discursive, Geiger too meagre, Bartholomae too condensed. But aside from this, a new treatment of the subject was required by the new edition of the texts.<sup>1</sup> And Jackson, himself a pupil and friend of Geldner's, was in a particularly favorable position to undertake this work. Not only could he learn from him the readings of those portions of the text still unpublished, but also take advantage of the improvements which Geldner has made on his own text since publication; and how numerous these changes are can be realized only by one who has had a look at Geldner's private copy.

The grammar opens with an introduction on the Avesta, reprinted from the author's article in the *International Cyclopaedia*. Concise information is given upon the history of the world's acquaintance with the Avesta, upon its contents and religion, the manuscripts and the Pahlavi version. An excellent grammatical summary of the language of the Avesta concludes the introduction. The author's attitude toward the great fundamental questions—such as the age of the Avesta, personality of Zoroaster, development of the religion—is the same as that maintained by Geldner in his articles in the *Cyclopaedia Britannica* and also, independently, by Bartholomae. The reviewer feels strongly that this attitude is the only correct one, and rejoices that the radically different views of Darmesteter, as advanced in the introduction to his English translation, and which not long since reached such a startling culmination in the introduction to his French translation, have found no place in Jackson's work.

The introduction is followed by specimens of text with transliteration, a table of the alphabet with the author's transliteration compared with that of Justi, and a list of books most necessary for the beginner. Jackson's system of transliteration is that which he had already proposed and explained in detail in his pamphlet, *The Avesta Alphabet and its Transcription*. This system is in several respects superior to all its predecessors, and it is earnestly hoped that it will be adopted even by those who for one or the other character might prefer another sign; for nowhere has the want of unity in transliteration been such a bane as in Avestan philology. Hübschmann's transcription bids fair to remain in favor among those who busy themselves with Iranian dialectology, cf. Horn in *Indog. Anzeiger*, I, p. 102. But there seems to be no good reason why Jackson's transcription could not be adapted, with necessary additions, to the needs of Iranists. The chief obstacle is the fact that numerous works of this class have already made use of Hübschmann's system. This is used in Horn's *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, and is also, as it seems, likely to be adopted in the projected *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*.

In the body of the grammar, the Phonology gives an account of the Avestan sounds in comparison with those of Sanskrit, a knowledge of which is rightly presupposed. If it frequently fails to meet the strict demands of a compar-

<sup>1</sup> The *Avesta Grammar* of Kavasji Edalji Kanga (Bombay, 1891) does indeed reckon with the new edition, but this work will hardly have much currency outside of India. Its appearance would be highly discouraging to a beginner.

ative method, it is in most cases the fault, not of the author, but of the orthographical vicissitudes through which the texts have passed. It is frequently impossible to say whether a given variation is merely orthographical or represents a real difference in the language, due to conditions which are not apparent. There is a noticeable difference in method of treatment between Jackson and Bartholomae. In cases where several Avestan characters appear in correspondence with a single Sanskrit sound, Bartholomae usually forms a theory as to the conditions to which the variation is due, and groups the material under rules formed accordingly, each with a note to the effect that exceptions are numerous in the MSS. Bartholomae's work is indispensable to the scholar on account of its attempt to bring some order into the apparent chaos, and a large number of his explanations are undoubtedly correct. But by an arrangement which forces the material into these rules a somewhat distorted picture of the actual facts is produced, and for a grammar which is to serve as a practical text-book, Jackson's more conservative method is to be commended. Undoubtedly a slip is §63, note 3: "Instead of *i* (= *ya*), an *o* appears in Av. *maōma-* 'midmost' = Skt. *madh-ya-md-*." If, as has previously been done, we suppose beside *madhyama-* an Aryan \**madh-ama-* = Goth. *miduma-*, the necessity for this note disappears, and *maōma-* is to be mentioned in §29, with *upamam* = Skt. *upamdm*. A résumé of the principal phonological differences between Sanskrit and Avestan is valuable as suggesting to the beginner the parts most necessary to be studied at the outset. Under §197 should be added a reference to the change of *o* to *i* after *y*, §30, and under the heading 'Consonants' a reference to §81 (Av. *ʃ*).

The remaining chapters, on Inflection and Word-formation, follow closely the arrangement of Whitney's Grammar, and abound in references to its corresponding sections. Naturally, there are not a few cases in which there may be a difference of opinion as to the proper classification. In one case which I have noted, the author has been inconsistent in his choice between two current explanations. The infinitives in *-te* are cited in §254 as datives (cf. Geldner, KZ. 27, 226), in §720, 7 as locatives (cf. Bartholomae, KZ. 28, 21). In the Reader, under *daste* in the vocabulary, reference is made only to §254. In §265, by way of explanation of the locatives in *-vō* from *u*-stems, as *ahmi santvō* 'in this tribe,' we read "weak stem + *o*, orig. gen.?" This explanation, suggested by Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I, p. 82, is rightly felt to be extremely doubtful, as *-vō* as a genitive ending is infrequent compared with *-vūš*, *-aoš*, which are not found in locative use. The reviewer suggested in the classroom that these forms are based on the locatives in *ō*, with *v* introduced from the analogy of other cases in which the stem-vowel had retained its identity, as is the case in Skt. *sakhyāu*, *patyāu*, and has since observed that the same view had been briefly expressed by Bartholomae, Indog. Forsch. I, p. 191, note 1, end. A similar instance is the genitive form *darīyōiš* mentioned by Jackson, §254.

The Reader is intended to furnish reading material sufficient for one college term. Another volume, to contain longer texts and, doubtless, selections from the Gāthās, which are unrepresented in this first series, is in course of preparation. The selections are intended to be easy, but many of them contain hopeless hapaxlegomena or desperate passages. This is perhaps unavoidable.

A continuous Avestan text of any length which shall be perfectly clear and, at the same time, something more than a tedious repetition of formulas is indeed not easy to find. The notes are excellent, but very brief, the help given by the vocabulary being judged sufficient in most cases. It is unfortunate that the part of the grammar to which the references on points of syntax apply is not yet out. Naturally, even in so small a body of texts, not a few words occur, the interpretation of which is a matter of dispute. An interesting case, in view of recent developments, is that of *uši*. This used to be taken unanimously as a nom. sing. neuter with the meaning 'understanding, intelligence,' which is found in the Modern Persian *hōš*. Some years ago v. Fierlinger, KZ. 27, 335, advanced the theory that the abstract meaning of the modern language was secondary, developed from an older concrete meaning—namely, 'the two ears.' The word would then be related to Lat. *auri-s*, O. B. *uši*, etc., and in form a nom. acc. dual. This view was accepted by Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 113; J. Schmidt, Pluralbildung, 109; Johansson, Bz. B. 18, 25; Horn, Grund. d. neupers. Etymologie, s. v. *hōš*; but combatted sharply by Geldner, KZ. 30, 517, who declares that this purely etymological interpretation is tempting but untenable. The old view is also retained by Th. Baunack, Studien, p. 465, and by Jackson in the Reader. This is one of the striking instances of the clashes between those scholars of linguistic and of literary bent. The linguists accepted with open arms an interpretation which seemed to suit the context as well as its predecessor, and at the same time brought the word into connection with other known words, instead of leaving it completely isolated. Geldner, whose almost divinatory powers of interpretation cannot be too highly rated, cares little for strictly linguistic work, and in this case, as elsewhere, makes no secret of his scepticism. But in this case the linguists were right, and their interpretation has been vindicated in a way which Geldner will be the first to recognize. As briefly pointed out by Caland, KZ. 33, 462, the decision is given by a passage in the text *Nirangistān*, recently published by J. Darmesteter in the third volume of his *Avesta translation* (= *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. 24). In stanza 26 we find two lines:

“yēzi hvaēibyō ušibyō aiwisrunvaiti ratufriš  
yēzi āaṭ nōiṭ hvaēibya usibya aiwisrunvaiti rapayāṭ”

which Darmesteter translates:

s'il s'entend de ses propres oreilles, il est agréé,  
s'il ne s'entend pas de ses propres oreilles, qu'il essaie d'atteindre [le bruit].

Of the meaning 'if he hears with his ears' there can be no doubt. In one case the plural form is used, in the other the dual.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously with the proof-sheets of the above comes vol. IV of the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, in which Hübschmann devotes some space to ridding the scientific world of the phantom of an *uši* meaning 'ear.' Darmesteter's translation is frequently cited in support of the meaning 'intelligence,' but, curiously enough, no mention is made of the passage in the fragments. Yet the adherents of v. Fierlinger's view could not have manufactured a text offering more conclusive proof of their claim. That the development of meaning from 'ear' to 'intelligence' may have taken place at an early period, as indicated by the Armenian, is a different thing from the argument of Hübschmann that *uši* had nothing to do with the various I. E. words for 'ear.'

A few minor suggestions on the vocabulary may not be out of place here. The adverb *aītaḍa* 'then, thereupon' is explained as *aītaḥ* + postpos. *a*. Why not *aīta-ḍa*, as Skt. *ta-dā* 'then' and other adverbs in *-dā*? To *anu. pūṣṭwa-* is given as derivation "*anu* + *√pi*," and as meaning "pursuing." It is not easy to reconcile derivation and interpretation. Skt. *pi* is used of 'swelling up,' often in a proud or combative manner. 'Bristling up,' as suggested by my pupil, Mr. Fowler, would seem to suit the context everywhere (used as epithet of wild boar, and with *-vant*-stem of a kind of head-dress). The form *iṣṭāṇhaīta* is not sufficient evidence for a root-form *āk* beside *iṣ*, whatever may be thought of Bartholomae's explanation, Ar. Forsch. II 92. The European cognates of *√iṣ* show that an ablaut like that of Skt. *ṣāṣ* : *ṣiṣ* is out of the question. The meaning 'stouter than an arm' for *bāsu. ślaṣyaḥ-* does not make good sense, and an analogy from Sanskrit compounds would, if I mistake not, be hard to find. If we translate, with Geldner and Darmesteter, 'strong in the arms,' we indeed deny any more than an intensive force to the comparative, but obtain a satisfactory meaning and a compound on a line with Skt. *tanūcubhra* 'beautiful in body,' etc. The form *huṣṭrafa* is taken in the vocabulary as a nom. sing. of perf. participle, from which, however, we should expect *huṣṭrafāṣ*. In various sections of the grammar and in an article by the author, Amer. Journal of Philology, X, p. 86, the stem is given as *-van(ḥ)*. Why not give up the idea of a perfect participle and assume suffix *-van*, the only one which would regularly give nominative in *-a*, comparing for meaning the simple participial sense not infrequent in Sanskrit, e. g. *yajvan-* 'offering,' *-jitvan-* 'conquering,' etc.? Whitney, §1169. The etymologies in the vocabulary are confined to forms with the Iranian and Hindu branches. This is to be commended in general, but in a few cases where cognates are wanting here, but undoubtedly to be recognized in the European languages, a departure might not have been amiss. It is almost misleading to find the root *gram* 'to be angry' without etymology, as if it were wholly isolated, instead of being related to *grim*, Goth. *gramjan*, etc. So to *yāsta-* 'girded' a reference to *ζωσ-ρός* would have supplied the cognate which is wanting in Sanskrit.

In closing we can only desire the speedy appearance of the additional parts of both Grammar and Reader.

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#### A GROUP OF BOOKS ON SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

Die neunzehn Bücher des Mahābhārata (1893); Das Mahābhārata nach der nordindischen Recension (1894), von Dr. ADOLF HOLTZMANN, Professor an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Kiel, Haeseler, 1893, 1894.

These two volumes are the continuation of the first work on the great Hindu epic (Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata, 1892), already reviewed in this Journal (vol. XIII, p. 499). A fourth volume is promised, which is to contain a discussion of the relation of the epic to other Hindu literature, with a review of previous studies in this field.

In the former of the two present volumes Holtzmann gives, in three hundred pages, a compact review of the whole poem. The work will be indispensable to students of the epic, since it is almost impossible, without some such

running commentary, to find one's way through this Indian labyrinth, to which the Neunzehn Bücher will always prove a leading thread. But the book is by no means a table of contents alone; for each division of the subject is furnished with critical and historical apparatus, wherewith one can see what has been done and learn the editor's own views in regard to the originality of each section. For the general student it would perhaps have been more convenient to have the critique in one chapter, but this has been provided for in the other volumes, and there is nothing to object to in the arrangement or space allotted to critical remarks in this useful guide-book. Holtzmann sees at least three recensions in the epic, indicated by the different names traditionally given as relators of the story (p. 153). In respect of one or two important questions the author gives a decided opinion. He regards the original Bhagavadgītā as forming a part of the first poem, and thinks it was Droṇa who first declared it. Pantheistic at first, it became a sectarian (Vishnuite) laud at the hands of the second redactor. As to Christian influence in the account of the 'White Island,' Holtzmann does not believe it is necessary to assume such a source (p. 230). But he believes (as he has said elsewhere more *in extenso*) that he can show Buddhistic influence. The thirteenth and the seventh books appear to be imitations and enlargements of those respectively preceding, while the fourth book is an interpolation. The sixth and ninth books are old, generally speaking, and parts of the first, second and third. A good deal of *scheint* necessarily appears in these short critical notes, and occasionally one may take exception to a judgment wholly subjective, but objective grounds are usually given where they exist, and there is no attempt to urge a preconceived opinion. One of the most dubious conjectures is that at the very beginning, where the books are made eighteen in number either to bring them into conformity with the number of the Purāṇas or with the eighteen days of the war. The reviewer is inclined to think that the coincidence is a pure accident. Other divisions, as the author points out, are found without any external reasons for the division. If, as seems most probable, the Anuśāsana was not added till long after the Čānti, and this was also a parasitic growth, it is quite as plausible that these two parts were, like the Harivaṇṣa (now the nineteenth book), subsequently added to the formal divisions as they now exist; in which case the division would have been at first not into eighteen, but sixteen or (counting out the Virāṭa) fifteen books.

The Mahābhārata nach der nordindischen Recension reviews the different editions of the epic and is intended only for special students. The editions are taken up in their chronological order: first that of Calcutta (1834-39); then that of Bombay, from 1862-63, which has about two hundred more verses than the former edition and contains the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha. Holtzmann (p. 12) agrees with the reviewer's opinion, expressed in 1888 (Am. Or. Soc. Proceedings), that the extra verses in B are more apt to represent interpolations in this edition than lacunae in C. Other less known editions of the Mahābhārata are reviewed, with an account of the manuscripts at present accessible. Both B and C are based on Nilakaṇṭha's text; besides which there is another, that of Arjunamiçra, and, opposed to these two, a shorter South-Indian recension (p. 32). The Harivaṇṣa and the poem of Jāimini (*bhārata*) are discussed in the following pages [Is the work described in the

Notices, 2040, Harivaṅṣa Purāṇa, intended in the description on p. 40?], together with the Bālabhārata, that is the epic without the episodes, or 'baby-Bhārata.' The various selections and compendia of the epic then receive attention. Some of these are Jain works, a Pāṇḍavacarita, etc.; which, though all have a certain interest, are yet all of little importance so far as goes critique of the original text. The reviewer has a note on a *mahākāvya* called *kicakabaddha* (615), which he does not find in this list (p. 44 ff.). Anthologies and translations of the epic (including Edwin Arnold) are briefly noted, and finally there is a special chapter on the commentaries, some being known to us only by hearsay. The remarks on Nilakanṭha, including a discussion of the portions apparently lacking in his commentary, are very useful, if only to show at a glance what these are.

There are other Mahābhāratas, written not in Sanskrit but in Hindustani, Hindi, etc. The glory of the literature found in the Mahrathi language is found in translations from the Mahābhārata (p. 102); in Dravidian there are translations and poems based on the epic (imitations); and the same is true in regard to the Canarese and even the Malay languages. Java has also its pretended epic. Of foreign translations are mentioned those into Persian and Tibetan.

For its purpose this book is all that could be desired. The reviewer regrets that the author did not see fit to establish his statement on p. 13 (that B has more verses that are lacking in C than has C verses lacking in B) by a printed list in the form of an appendix. This would be a great convenience to epic students and might properly be printed in such a volume, whereas no *Oriental* journal seems willing to find place for a table of comparative varied readings (or omissions). Thirty three-column pages would give not only this but the equation of numbers, and every student of the epic would be thankful for the saving of his time and patience. If a stereotyped form were employed, these notes would take no more space than a number, e. g. 3. 70, a = omits, under columns headed III, B and C; whereas to get such a simple thing printed independently costs between one and two hundred dollars, so that each student must continue to go through this tedious operation for himself. But perhaps a humane body of editors will some day utilize what has already been done for the benefit of those that hesitate to spend a whole summer traversing so arid a desert as this. If so, they may be sure that they will receive the blessing due to the giver of the cup of cool water.

In conclusion it should be said that whatever be the defects of this work, it would be almost ungracious to emphasize them, in view of the practical use and great convenience of the book. Holtzmann has given us a very handy volume—one that materially benefits the epic student. The labor must have been great in preparing it, and the author deserves to receive the hearty thanks of Sanskrit scholars.

Die Çukasaptati, Textus Simplicior, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, von RICHARD SCHMIDT. 1894.

The reviewer has not received the original, though it is, he believes, now published. The preaching parrot is a favorite character in India, from the epic down. The Çukasaptati is very far down. A septuagint of parrot-stories, chiefly silly, sometimes indecent, which are related to prevent an

indiscreet woman from becoming an adulteress—such is the vacuous contents. As an example of *märchen* literature the work is valuable, but it requires a taste cultivated in such extravaganza to appreciate these childishly vulgar tales. Not one of the seventy shows wit or cleverness. They may be edifying, but they could amuse only a harem, and the harem might object to the edification. One wonders who ever took a real pleasure in reading them. For seventy days this tireless parrot, by means of tiresome stories, continues to persuade a wicked woman to behave herself. Then the husband returns, the parrot (who was under a curse) takes his real form, going to heaven, and the delighted husband lives happy ever after with his now moral wife. The translator promises us another volume, containing the *textus ornatior* and a Mahrathi translation.

Das Kathākāutukam des Çrīvara. RICHARD SCHMIDT. 1893.

This is an examination of Çrīvara's work compared with Jāmi's, with examples of the two texts, the critical question being whether the Sanskrit is a 'making-over' or a translation of the Persian. Schmidt shows that Çrīvara takes complete verses from Jāmi, but that he independently composes (as well as omits) whole new episodes. The illustrations and the review of each chapter prove how divergent are the two authors. In description alone, not to speak of events, there is a great difference. It is to be hoped that the editor will soon give us the whole poem, as he here promises to do, though one almost begrudges the time spent on imitations of imitations, considering how much original Sanskrit is still unpublished.

Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionsliteratur, von LUCIAN SCHERMAN. 1892.

Scherman's 'Philosophische Hymnen' has been followed by another interesting study, on later phases of eschatology in their connection with the earlier belief. His present pamphlet (though it is one of 161 pages) is furnished copiously with notes, and will prove a very useful addition to the literature of the subject. The author contends that Yama was not a nature-myth originally (p. 149), with which we agree, though we object to our own previous *suggestion* being looked upon as an argument 'impossible to prove' (p. 143), as no proof was intended. We disagree with the author, however, when he claims that the usual interpretation of Yama in ancient and more modern times respectively is incorrect. There are traces of the old belief of a heavenly Yama in later poetry, but the usual view is decidedly opposed to the Vedic one. In the epic the prevailing hope of the warrior is still for a happy heaven 'with Indra'; the bad are 'sent to Yama,' i. e. to hell. Yet does dim recollection of Yama as a king of all the dead still survive. He is practically reduced to a hell- and judgment-god, however, except in some portions of the epic, where he is so shadowy a creature that one must suppose later imagination to be at work, a poetic imagination not in touch with popular belief, as in the late description of Yama's heaven (*sabha*) in the second book of the Mahābhārata. But we can recommend Scherman's sketch to any one interested in the subject, for it is the most complete and thorough presentation of the theme that has been published.

E. W. HOPKINS.

## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. XLVII.

Pp. 1-52, 515-49. At the time when E. Klebs published his articles on the collection of the *Scriptores hist. Aug.* (vol. XLV, 436 ff.; A. J. P. XII 375). Seek had prepared a paper on the same subject, agreeing with Klebs in rejecting Mommsen's theory of a recension by a final redactor (*Hermes*, 1890, 228-92; A. J. P. XII 379-80), but raising, on his part, the question whether the whole collection was genuine, or a literary fraud. Seek attempted to prove the latter; but Klebs again comes to the rescue and repudiates the charge of fraud by examining (1) the asserted errors in the description of institutions existing at the time of Diocletian and Constantine; (2) their relation to other historical documents, and (3) the general literary character of the whole collection. To this third point the writer devotes the greater part of his long article, showing that (1) the collection is the work of several authors, and not that of a single late forger, the agreement in language and style being rather that of people belonging to the same class than that of one and the same writer; (2) the theory of a later recension of the whole collection is without foundation, and (3) the usual grammatical and critical method of treating the collection as a perfectly homogeneous work is not warranted. Certain groups of biographies, especially the work of Flavius Vopiscus, have their peculiarities in language, style and matter. Ed. Wölfflin (*Sitzungsberichte der k. bayr. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1891, 465-528),<sup>1</sup> advancing beyond Klebs, attempts to prove (1) that the documents quoted by Trebellius and Vopiscus were mostly their own productions, and (2) that Vopiscus had arranged the order of the whole corpus, and had enlarged the biographies written by his predecessors, with minor additions of his own. On pp. 515-49 Klebs concludes his articles with a linguistic argument as to the identity of the writings of Trebellius Pollio and Aelius Spartianus. There were altogether six different authors of the *Historia Augusta*, a fact proving to Klebs the genuineness of these writings. An appendix contains a discussion on the Sallustianisms of the S. H. A., and a postscript (540-9) considers three of the points in which Wölfflin differs from Klebs.

Pp. 52-60. W. Judeich denies that Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ., §3, proves the *βουκολεῖον*, i. e. the official residence of the archon Basileus, to have been in the *Lenaëum*, and the *Ἀθναῖον ἐν Δίμναις* itself to have been situated not south of the Acropolis, beyond the old Thesean city in the plain of the Ilissus, but in the northwestern part of Athens, in the neighborhood of the Dipylon, as has been recently maintained by Dörpfeld (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1890, col. 461) and E. Maas (*Index schol. Gryphiswald.* 1891-92).

<sup>1</sup>See also Wölfflin's *Archiv*, VIII 307; H. Dessau, *Hermes*, 1892, 561; Herman Peter, *Die Scriptores hist. Aug.*, Leipzig, 1892.



Pp. 61-73. O. Crusius continues his 'ad scriptores latinos exegetica' (see vol. XLIV 460; A. J. P. XI 385). (21) Ennius was a Greek by birth (Festus, 293 a, m.); 'Ev-vios is is qui habitat ἐν νῆφ, νῆφ being = νειῶ; (22) The Sacra historia Euhemeri was a prose rendering, not a metrical translation of Ennius; (23) Cato's 'praecepta ad filium' did not have the title 'oracula,' as Schoell believed, the 'oracula' quoted by Pliny and Priscian being ancient proverbs and sayings collected by Cato; (24) Defence of his interpretation of Hor. Epod. V 29-35 (A. J. P. XI 386) against H. Diels, showing that the same custom prevails to this day among the Batakkas on Sumatra; (25) Hor. Epist. II 1, 79 *crocum floresque recte perambulare* = *plausu excipi* or *probari*; (26) Ovid, Fast. II 108 ff., is perhaps an imitation of Aesch. frag. 139, 45 (schol. Aristoph. Avv. 808); (27) Mart. I 61 read *syllabos*, i. e. *indices*, which, again, may be a corruption of *sillybos*; (28) Hilberg's reading, Mart. Xen. XIII 34, *satyrkia potest* instead of *satur esse potes*, is incorrect.

Pp. 74-113. P. Cauer. In the Homeric poems, as well as in the Nibelungenlied, we often notice a lack of or defect in 'logical perspective,' which appears to be due to a weakness of memory on the part of epic poets in general. Certain peculiarities of expression, e. g. parataxis, are imperfections that must here be taken into consideration. The poet sometimes loses sight of the plan of the whole poem when he endeavors to push a single detail. This explains a great many contradictions, and does away with most of Kirchhoff's Lachmannian theories of the gradual growth and the several lays of the poems. Grammatical analysis of the epic language, investigation into the historical background, interpretation of Homeric mythology, and other lines of study must help us to gain a faithful and true picture of the gradual growth of the Epos, in the place of the prevailing ingenious but fanciful theories.

Pp. 114-29. J. Schmidt writes on the alba of the ordo of Thamugadi and the *flamonium perpetuum*. The list of officers in the *albus ordinis coloniae Thamugadensis* (Numidia), published by Mommsen in the Ephem. Epigr. III 77, is now completed by six fragments found recently, which prove (1) that aediles and quaestores had seat and vote in the curia, after the expiration of their term of office, and (2) that the *flamines perpetui* were former *flamines curiales*, to whom this honorary title was given at the end of their year's service.

Pp. 130-7. A. Elter publishes from Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1144 (saec. XV) 30 fragments of the Florilegium of Johannes Stobaeus, belonging mostly to the missing chapters of book II. Additional remarks on pp. 629-33.

Pp. 138-51. F. Skutsch proves a mesodic arrangement of lines 41-148 of the 68th poem of Catullus. The centre is formed by ll. 91-100 (the death of the brother); ll. 87-90 and 101-4 describe scenes from the Trojan war; ll. 73-86 and 105-18 treat of Laodameia; ll. 57-72 and 119-34 contain two similes; Lesbia; ll. 51-6 and 135-40 speak of Catullus' love; while ll. 41-50 form the initium and ll. 141-8, with the two missing verses after 141, the conclusio. On the construction of the whole poem, Skutsch sides with the 'Unitarians.'

Pp. 152-60. F. Rühl defends the MS reading νεώτερον of [Arist.] 'Aθ. πολ., c. 26, p. 26 K., against Kontos' νεωρότερον and Weil's νεωστέρον or ενεώτερον.

—Wilamowitz-Möllendorf's emendation of Thuc. VIII 67, 2 ἀζήμων εἰπεῖν against the usual 'Ἀθηναίων ἀνειπεῖν is unnecessary, because 'Ἀθ. πολ., c. 82, shows that we must retain 'Ἀθηναίων and add τοῖς βουλευμένοις or τοῖς ἐθέλουσι.—H. Usener highly commends Max Fränkel's edition of the Pergamenian inscriptions (vol. I, Berlin, 1890), and interprets No. 246 of this collection, which contains a decree of the city of Elaia conferring divine honors upon Attalus III.—F. Marx. The Auctor ad Herennium, desiring to explain the meaning of the ἐπιτροχασμός, must have written, IV 54, 68: Lemnum praeteriens cepit, inde *Ghasi* praesidium reliquit, post urbem *Viminacium sustulit*, inde *pulsus* in Hellespontum statim potitur *Abydi*. Marx finds here the earliest mention of Viminacium, a city of Moesia Superior, situated on the Danube.—A. v. Domaszewski explains, with the help of an inscription recently found in Transylvania, the *nocturni* of Petronius, 15, as identical with the *tres viri capitales*.

Pp. 161–206. H. Nissen holds that the *πολιτεῖαι* of Aristotle were intended to lead up to the publication of a law code for the empire of Alexander, and at the same time to serve as a series of handbooks for the use of Macedonian diplomatists. (See, however, Bruno Keil, *Die Solonische Verfassung*, pp. 127–50.) With the help of the extant fragments, Nissen defines, on pp. 189–92, the titles of 98 treatises. The *πολιτεία* was not completed before the beginning of 323 B. C.

Pp. 207–18. A. v. Domaszewski discusses the displacement of the Roman army, in the year 66 of our era. The report of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II 16, 4, is shown by inscriptions to be true and reliable. We must not forget that whenever one or more of the seven Roman legions were displaced, there always remained behind a company or two and auxiliary troops.

Pp. 219–40. O. Hense believes Philo, in his tract *περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον*, to have made use, besides a Stoic source, of an essay, *περὶ δουλείας*, by Bion. Hense's article was occasioned by Richard Ausfeld's dissertation on this tract of Philo (Göttingen, 1887), to which Wilamowitz-Möllendorf had added a number of text-critical remarks.

Pp. 241–68. O. E. Schmidt publishes additions and corrections to an article 'on the outbreak of the civil war in B. C. 49,' by H. Nissen (*Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift*, vols. 44 and 46). Caesar reckoned the *initium tumultus* from the time when Pompey placed himself in command over the army, i. e. upon his arrival in the camp at Luceria, about Dec. 16, B. C. 50. The *decretum tumultus* is not the same as the *senatus consultum ultimum*, but a preliminary step to the actual proscription, integral parts of which were the *institutum* and *saga sumere*. This was the Roman senate's answer to Caesar's invasion of Italy.

Pp. 269–90. F. Blass. *Studies in Demosthenes* (continued from vol. XLIV, 430; A. J. P. XI 107 f.). IV. Future present and aor. future. Starting from the usage of *φανοῦμαι* and *φανήσομαι*, B. shows that the difference in the future, middle and passive lies not so much in the *genus verbi* as in their temporal character, that we must distinguish between the *futurum praesentis* (or durative future) and *futurum aoristi* (or aoristic future), which in Greek is often

expressed by special forms of the verb. Blass believes that the present arrangement of the paradigm of verbs must be changed,<sup>1</sup> the two main groups being the active and the passive voices, while the middle is only an appendix. So also must the order of tenses be altered to present, imperfect, future (these three representing the durative action in the present, past and future); then aorist, perfect and pluperfect. The future perfect (*futurum exactum*) has no place in the active, because *ἐσθήξω* belongs to the passive, as well as *τεθνήξω*, the latter, with all the forms of *θνήσκω*, being the passive voice of *κτείνω*. In the passive the three futures follow immediately after their respective preterites.

Pp. 291-311. W. Fröhner sends a first instalment of emendations and interpretations of Greek and Latin authors, which, on account of their great simplicity, are very convincing.

Pp. 312-18. M. Ihm. There are two recensions of the *Hippiatrica*, the one, preserved in the edition of Grynaeus (Basle, 1537) and in some good old MSS, while the other is found in Cod. Paris. 2322 (saec. XI). It is by no means certain that the work in its present form was composed under Constantine VII, Porphyrogenetus (med. saec. X), all indications pointing to an earlier date. These *τῶν ἱππιατρικῶν βιβλία δύο*, consisting of verbatim extracts from the earlier authors on farriery, are of much greater value than the *γλωσσικά* (on which see E. Oder, Rhein. Mus. XLV 58-99; A. J. P. XI 373).

Pp. 319-28. A. Gercke believes that the remarks on Menedemus preserved in Diog. Laert. II 40, are based on the Alexandrian satyr-drama, 'Menedemus,' which Lycophron composed to ridicule his countryman and contemporary, Menedemus, the Eretrian philosopher (Athen. II 55).—C. de Boor. Niebuhr saw long ago that the *νέα ἐκδοσις* of Eunapius was but an expurgated edition of the original work, arranged by a speculative bookseller of a later date. It was to form a part of a great universal history on the plan of the *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*.—W. Dittenberger emends ll. 4 and 5 of the inscription treated by Gardthausen (vol. XLVI, 619 f.), and discusses another published by Schliemann (Athen. Mittheilungen, 1890, p. 217, No. 2), which refers to Emperor Tiberius.—J. Schmidt corrects and explains the text of an edict of Ulpius Mariscianus on the 'postulatio,' published by Mommsen in *Ephem. Epigr.* V 630 f.

Pp. 329-58. K. Buresch emends a number of passages in bb. III-XIII of the Pseudo-Sibylline oracles.

Pp. 359-89. R. Hirzel. The peculiarity of Theopompus always to examine into cause and origin of the passions and crimes of human society, his aversion to Plato, and his admiration of Aristippus show the cynic tendency in his philosophy. This also explains the insertion of myths and the moralizing tone of the whole historical work.

Pp. 390-403. S. Brandt. The Phoenix of Lactantius, which, on account of its pagan mythology, has often been ascribed to another author, may after all be the work of Lactantius; for it is well-nigh impossible to assume that any writer should have published such a work under the name of Lactantius. It

<sup>1</sup> See Kühner-Blass, Theil I, 2. Bd., S. 585.

is probably a poetical digression composed by its author when he was yet a pagan youth.

Pp. 404-13. H. Rabe publishes and interprets the *Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto* from the Codex S. Salvatoris 118 of the royal library at Messina, saec. XIII. The work is arranged alphabetically, and abounds in quotations and excerpts on words with *ι προσγεγραμμένον*.

Pp. 414-56. MM. Holleaux, P. Paris and others collected at Oinoanda, in Lycia, some 33 inscriptions, being the literary legacy of Diogenes, an old Epicurean philosopher of the third century of our era, in which, addressing his friend Antipatros and others, he explains the doctrines of the Epicurean school, and endeavors to win, even after his death, converts to these doctrines by declaring that he gained happiness and peace in them. These inscriptions were carefully edited by M. G. Cousin in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XVI (Jan.-Mar. 1892), pp. 1-70. H. Usener now publishes these texts again, with many suggestive remarks and critical notes, in order to make them more accessible to German readers and, at the same time, to correct some false deductions of Cousin's from Usener's Epicurea. Especially noteworthy is a letter of Epicurus addressed to his mother.

Pp. 457-72. W. Kroll gives a preliminary list of MSS needed for a reliable edition of the *ποίησις πάντ' ὀφέλιμος* of Pseudo-Phocylides.—F. Rühl. Theophrastus, speaking of the olive-oracle of Thessalus, the son of Peisistratus (H. Pl. II 3, 7), did not mean a permanent oracular medium, as E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 70, believes, but only a single omen which was not repeated.—R. Jahnke discovered a new vita of Ovid on the front page of the last leaf of an old book in the city library at Hamburg. Author and date are entirely unknown.—C. Hosius. The authors of Late Latin inscriptions frequently borrow quotations from Latin writers; thus, e. g., C. I. L. VI 11252 is taken from Seneca, de remed. fortuit. II 1 (II, p. 447. Haase).—M. Manitius. The language of Curtius betrays remarkable resemblance to and agreement with that of Velleius; on the other hand, there are many similarities in style and language with Curtius in the writings of Florus. Appended is a list of works intended or mapped out by Velleius, but probably never executed.—W. Sternkopf believes that there were two 'supplicationes' in honor of Pompey, after the bellum Mithridaticum (cf. Cic. de prov. cons. II, 27), one lasting 10 days (in B. C. 63) and the other 12 days (in B. C. 62).

Pp. 473-88. M. Fränkel. According to Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.* IV 2 (edd. Kaibel et Wilamowitz-Möllendorf), the constitution of Draco decreed that the Prytanes should be chosen from those possessed of land producing yearly 500 medimni (*πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*); that the archons and *ραμίαι* should be taken from the knights (*ἱππεῖς*); while the generals of the army (*στρατηγοί*) and commanders of cavalry (*ἵππαρχοι*) might belong to the *ζευγίται*, the third of Solon's four classes of Athenian citizens. The Prytanes had originally also the care of the treasury and the military equipment, as well as the oversight of the disbursement of the public funds; their subordinates were the comptrollers (*ραμίαι*), the chief householders (*ναύκαραι*) and the collectors (*κωλακρέται*). For the finances they associated with themselves the *στρατηγοί*

and ἱπαρχοι. The εἰθύνη, or public account rendered by all officers at the expiration of their term of office, existed as early as the time of Draco.

Pp. 489-514. J. Ilberg. On the writings of Claudius Galenus of Pergamum. II (see A. J. P. XI 110). An examination of Galen's anatomical and physiological works, and of his personal history, shows that he studied in Pergamum from A. D. 147-151, and in Smyrna since that time. His first visit to Rome falls between A. D. 164-168; here he dedicated a number of tracts to Flavius Boethus, Teuthras and Antisthenes. The second sojourn there was under Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus (A. D. 169 ff.).

Pp. 550-7. E. Kirchner. There were ten districts in the phyle of Antigonis, and only nine in that of Demetrias.

Pp. 558-68. L. Traube has a new interpretation of the *sententiae sapientium qui fuerunt in convivio cum metello* (= *M. Tullio*), the Latin version of the sayings of the seven wise men. This version is contained in the collection of excerpts made by Heiric of Auxerre, which his famous teacher, Lupus of Ferrières (med. saec. IX), dictated to him and then presented to Bishop Hildebold of Soissons, between the years 871-6. It comprises 23 *sententiae*, divided among seven famous Romans, viz. Crassus, 1-3; Catullus, 4-7; Crassus again, 8-12; Scipio, 13-15; Laelius, 16-17; Rusticius, 18-20; Cicero, 21-23. These excerpts are based on the collection of Demetrius (apud Stobaeum), 1-13 referring to Cleobulus, Solon, Chilon, Thales, 18 to Bias, and 21-22 to Periander. The remainder of the Latin text consists in later additions.

Pp. 569-76. L. Radermacher. The Ajax and Odysseus of Antisthenes are merely prose renderings ('declamationes') of *ῥήσεις* of tragedies, so that Antisthenes cannot be considered an original author. The two works seem to be based on a post-Euripidean tragedy, treating the *δῦλων κρίσις*, and the original metrical form can easily be restored.

Pp. 577-96. E. Bethe. Studies in Vergil. II (continued from vol. XLVI, 527). The I and IX Eclogues are each composed of two distinct, separate parts, one of which is based on Vergil's own condition of life and experiences, while the other, holding itself entirely aloof from such conditions, presupposes the ideal pastoral life. In like manner does the VIII Eclogue consist of three separate parts. O. Ribbeck adds remarks on the interpretation of this poem.

Pp. 598-627. W. Kroll publishes, from a palimpsest in the library at Turin (cod. Fvii, foll. 64; 67; 90-4 *obv.* and *rev.*; together 14 columns of 35 lines each; saec. VI), the Greek text of a neo-Platonic commentary on Parmenides, with additional explanatory notes. The text was copied by the late W. Studemund in 1878, but pressure of work and his early death prevented the great Latinist from publishing the tract.

Pp. 628-44. O. Ribbeck. On the distribution of Herondas, I 81-8, III 58-97.—A. Elter. On the new fragments of Stobaeus, and on the proverbs of Euagrius of Pontus, from the Leyden Codex Voss. Gr. 4to, No. 18.—K. Dziatzko. The assertion of Hauler (Wiener Studien, XI 268 ff.), that the handwriting of the *corrector recens* in the Bembinus MS of Terence dates from saec.

VIII/IX, rather than saec. XV, is erroneous. The same is the case with Gutjahr's identification of Calliopius with Alcuin (Ber. der k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl., 1891, pp. 265-94). The MS from which the Victorianus of Terence was copied must have been an illustrated MS.—J. S. Speyer proposes to read Juvenal, III 238 *eripiant* somnum *surdo*; and F. Becher omits *aliquid* after *id autem est* in Cicero pro Deiot. 13, 35.—E. Wölfflin. Quintilian's judgment on Demosthenes and Cicero (X 1, 106) must originally have read: *curae plus in hoc, in illo naturae*.—C. Weyman. Zeno, Bishop of Verona (†380), made use of the Phoenix and the Institutiones of Lactantius.

A supplement of 152 pages contains philological extracts and notices from old library-catalogues collected by M. Manitius. It is a very welcome and useful compilation on the basis of Gottlieb's famous book, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890, pp. 520). We hear of the wanderings of MSS and the diffusion of knowledge of the Greek and Latin authors in France, Germany, England, Italy and other countries of Europe, from the early Middle Ages down to saec. XIII. Of the greatest importance is the index of authors, showing us at a glance which were in those days the favorite authors whose works were read by many. Thus we find Petronius frequently mentioned, but Phaedrus is not represented. Numerous notes and remarks are added for the guidance and instruction of the reader of this most valuable contribution, especially noteworthy being the excursus on Celsus, on the Phoenix of Lactantius, on Julius Valerius and on Aurelius Victor.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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### III.

C. Trierer, *Die Idee der vier Weltreiche*. T. shows that the idea of the four universal empires was advanced by a Greek soon after the defeat of Antiochus of Syria by the Romans at Magnesia. The fact that the author of the idea followed the Attic date of Troy shows that he was independent of Eratosthenes and the Alexandrian School, and that hence he must have been a Pergamene or a Rhodian. Varro seems to have remarked that Rome began just about the time when the Assyrian Empire ended. Soon after Varro, Dionysius in his introduction presented the idea of the succession of the four universal empires; Pompeius Trogus constructs his entire work on this foundation; but it was Jerome who, in his commentary on Daniel, gained universal acceptance for it. The date assigned by Cato (Dionys. Hal. Antiqq. Rom. I 74) to the founding of Rome was 751 B. C. Cato was followed by Velleius, Apion, Eusebius-Jerome and Frontinus, but not by Solinus, even though the latter expressly mentions the first year of the seventh olympiad as the date of the founding of Rome.

K. Bürger, *Der antike Roman vor Petronius*. In 1890, G. Thiele, in an article entitled 'Zum griechischen Roman,' made a partially unsuccessful attempt to show that the realistic novel which is exemplified to a remarkable degree of perfection in the *Saturae* of Petronius is found on Greek soil also. Bürger attempts to supply additional evidence of this fact. He argues that



so perfect a work as that of Petronius must have had a string of predecessors, but that Varro's Menippean satires cannot be counted among this number. In fact, the close correspondence in the art of realistic portraiture between the mimetic poems of Theocritus and the mimiambi of Herondas on the one hand, and Petronius on the other, would seem to point to a Greek origin of the technic of this species of writing. B. claims that the realistic novel must have flourished between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. Contrary to the views of Rohde and Christ, he proves that the *Μιλησιακά* of Aristides was a single novel (*Roman*), and not a collection of separate stories (*Novellen*). Ovid also mentions a Eubius *impurae conditor historiae* and a Sybaritis. From Greece the novel was brought to Italy by Sisenna, the translator of Aristides' *Μιλησιακά*, and reached its highest state of development in the work of Petronius.

K. Bürger, *Epilogische Volkswitze in den Fabelsammlungen*. Bürger calls attention to the fact that in the collections hitherto made of this species of popular wit, those examples have been overlooked which by making the epilogue precede have been turned into fables.

E. Meyer, *Homerische Parerga*. 1. Der älteste Homertext. Among the Flinders Petrie Papyri there is a fragment containing portions of Il. A 502-37. Though extremely fragmentary, enough of the text has been preserved to reveal a number of variants, of the existence of five of which nothing had been known up to that time. From the date of this fragment and the nature of the variants, M. draws the following conclusions: The composition of the Iliad antedates all variants. It would be wrong to infer that the large proportion of uncertain lines in our fragment was characteristic of Homer as a whole. The text of Aristophanes, Aristarchus, our MSS and our editions is in the main the text as constituted by Zenodotus. The Alexandrian critics followed the readings of the better class of MSS, noting only the variants found in them, and entirely ignoring those of the inferior MSS.

2. Thesus bei Homer. Meyer takes up anew the question of the genuineness of Homer A 265, and, contrary to Wilamowitz-M., reaches the conclusion that the ancients were right in rejecting the verse as spurious. He believes that its introduction here, as well as in Hesiod, Sc. H. 182, was due to Attic influence.

3. Apollofest am Neumondtage. Meyer shows that in Samos, the day of the new moon was a festival of Apollo.

4. Der Wettkampf Homers und Hesiods. Meyer claims that Aristophanes Pax 1282 f. are verses of the *ἀγών*, and that this is the best proof that has as yet been given of the antiquity of the latter work.

Joh. Geffcken, *Saturnia Tellus*. G. surveys a number of elaborate eulogies of the soil and resources of Italy. The one in Strabo, VI 286, he deduces from Polybius. The one in Dionys. Hal. Antiqq. Rom. I 36 sq. he traces to Varro, comparing also Pliny, III 41-2 and Vergil, Georg. II 136 sqq. Polybius was used to a certain extent by Varro also.

M. Wellmann, *Juba, eine Quelle des Aelian*. W. shows Juba to have been almost the only source from which Aelian drew his various accounts regarding elephants. He further makes it appear probable that Aelian diligently consulted Juba in reference to other matters also, and that in particular Aelian's stories about Mauretanian animals are derived from that same author.

F. Noack, *Die erste Aeneis Vergils*. This paper is divided into six sections. In the first the writer, upon the basis of his own researches and the investigations of others that preceded him, shows that books III and V of the Aeneid, while composed independently of II and IV and IV and VI, and at a later date than I, VII, VIII and possibly also XI and XII, could not well have been written after books IX and X, but that they, conjointly with IX and X, belong to the closing years of the poet's life. In sections 2, 3 and 4 it is shown how, from the point of view of chronology, contents, and comparison with Homer, books I, II, IV and VI form a closer union. Section 5 treats of the sources of the Aeneid, and another proof of the essential unity of books I, II, IV and VI is presented. Book I, the close of II, IV and a portion of VI are all derived from a common source, Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*. In the sixth and last section, Noack goes still further, and maintains not only that books I, II, IV and VI originally formed a complete unit, but also that they constituted the first draft of the Aeneid, except that perhaps where III and V were later introduced, a short account of the wanderings of Aeneas was inserted. The twelve books that we now possess are the result of a later attempt of Vergil's, involving a hard and prolonged study of the mass of Roman and Italic legends. By the introduction of this new material and the insertion of books III and V the unity of the composition was lost to a certain extent and a number of inconsistencies were introduced, so much so that Vergil lost courage and ordered the work to be destroyed after his death. The plan of the larger work had been matured in 25 B. C., but when called upon by Augustus, between 23 and 22 B. C., to read a portion of his poem, the poet selected the choicest parts of his original draft, having added to book VI the lines on Marcellus to suit the occasion.

P. Stengel, *Zum Saecularorakel*. Stengel defends the reading *αἰσια δέχθω θύματα* of verse 17 f. of the oracle found in Diels, *Sibyll. Bl.* 134, against the reading *ἰσα δεδέχθω θύματ' Ἐλευθιῆσιν* proposed by Wilamowitz and adopted by Th. Mommsen. In view of a remark of Zosimus, the question arises as to whether it was lawful to burn expiatory offerings upon altars. The question is answered in the affirmative, but with the limitation that either such altars might not be used for any other kind of offering or they were erected simply *ad hoc* and used but once.

F. Noack, *Die Quellen des Tryphiodoros*. N. claims that Tryphiodorus obtained almost all of his material from Quintus Smyrnaeus, Vergil and Homer.

U. Wilcken, *Ein Actenstück zum jüdischen Kriege Trajans*. This paper contains a new edition and a thorough discussion of Paris Papyrus 68, which was published for the first time in 1865, by Brunet de Presle, in *Notices et Extraits*, XVIII 2, p. 383 ff. The new text is based upon a collation, made by the editor in 1887, of the *editio princeps* with the original Paris MS. Wilcken has been able to supply a large number of new readings, and seems to have arrived at a much truer understanding of the nature of the document than his predecessor. He proves pretty conclusively that the papyrus in question relates to the Jewish rebellion in the reign of Trajan, and that it records an interview between the Emperor and a delegation of Jews. The



interview probably took place at Antioch, in 117 A. D. In connection with the Paris Papyrus, W. also gives a new ed. of a London papyrus referring to the same event. The London fragment is published in *Greek Papyri in the Br. Mus.* XLIII.

## IV.

M. Mayer, *Mythistorica*. I. Megarische Sagen. M. thinks that the inscription *Φως* on an ancient Corinthian vase at Breslau is the name of the large owl-shaped bird with woman's face that is represented on that vase as one of the companions of Athena. He transliterates it *Φῶνς*, and identifies it with Hesych. *πῶνς*, Aristot. *φῶνς*, Et. M. *βούγς*. But *αἰθνια*, according to Et. M., is another name for *βούγς*, and Pausanias tells of an Athena *Αἰθνια*. Hence the association of the bird with the goddess. *Αἰθνια* is also the name of a cliff on the coast of Megara. Here Pandion, the father-in-law of Tereus, was buried. This gives rise to a number of etymological, geographical and ethnological speculations, centering about the names Pandion and Tereus. Pandion is connected with Pandaros, Pandares, Pandareos and the Pandoi, and Tereus is connected with the Thracian Treres. Tereus (Thuc. 2, 29, 3) ruled at Daulis, then inhabited by Thracians. Daulis was named after Daulieus, and is connected with Daunis and the Daunians, of whom there are but a few traces. Possibly the name Danaoi, which was early applied to the Greeks, caused the disappearance of the original form.

II. Jacar, Kephalos and the Karians. *Jacor* is the name applied to Memnon on a Praenestine cista, Mon. d. Inst. VI 54. Mayer identifies this with Hesych. *ιακάρ*, which is explained as *ὁ κύων ἀστήρ*. Memnon was the morning star, *Ἑωσφορος*, *Ἑωσφόρος*, the son of Eos. The dog-star version is found in the story of Ikarios and his dog Maira. For to Mayer, Jakar, Ikaros and Ikarios are all cognate forms. From Ikaros there is but a step to the *Kāpes*, and this leads to a discussion of Kephalos and the Karians, and the relationship existing between the Karians, Leleges and the Pelasgians. Leleges is considered a reduplicated form and identical with Lycians. The Karians and Leleges are closely interwoven, but a wide gulf seems to have separated the two from the Pelasgians. The name of Agamemnon, the leader of the Western Greeks, was formed with direct reference to Memnon-Jakar, the leader of the East.

III. Catamitus. The writer proposes a new etymology for Catamitus, which was supposed to have been a corrupt Latin form for *Γανυμήδης*. Mayer thinks that Catamitus is a mixture of *κατάμηλος*—*καδμήλος* and *Μίτος*. *Μίτος*, it is suggested, was possibly the name of the boy that was the cup-bearer of the Kabiros, though on the Theban vase (Mitth. d. Ath. Inst. 1888, Taf. IX) the name is applied not to the cup-bearer, but to a satyr-like young man. In Samothrace the cup-bearer was called Kadmilos. Nonnos gives the form *Καδμήλος*. *Μίτος* is supposed to be connected with *μίτυλος*, *μικκός*, *μιστύλλω*, and *Καδμήλος* is *κατάμηλος* (= *ἐπιμήλιος*, *νόμιος*), the god of the herd = Hermes.

P. Viereck, *Urkunden aus dem Archiv von Arsinoe vom Jahre 248 n. Chr.* This paper contains the text and a thorough discussion of Papyrus N. 1506 of the Berlin Museum. The documents are from the archives of Arsinoe. They belong to the year 247/248 A. D., and seem, all of them, to refer to the

collection of taxes. New proof is afforded of the fact that members of the council of Arsinoe did service in the matter of the levying of taxes in the country districts, and we learn that these councillors were appointed by the president of the council. It seems tolerably certain also that it was the duty of these councillors, in connection with the nomarchs, to determine the amount of the assessment, and probably the expression *διὰ ψηφικῶν λόγων* (= Lat. *per rationes calculatorias*) refers to this process. The papyrus in question further shows that the offices of strategos and nomarch were not in the course of time merged, that both were civil offices, and that the nomarch, together with the committee of councillors, was subject to the orders of the strategos, the strategos in turn receiving his orders from the procurator. In conclusion, Viereck suggests that in this year, on account of the millennial celebration of the founding of Rome, special efforts were made in collecting all the money available.

C. F. Lehmann, *Zur 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*. L. undertakes to show that Aristotle is mistaken when, in the tenth chapter of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, he states that the weights, measures and coins of the system introduced by Solon were larger than those in use before that time. He does not believe in emending the words *ἀξέησιν* and *μείζω κατὰστασιν* and *μείω*, neither can he agree with Hultsch, who, after searching for a system that would conform to Aristotle's statements, announces it as his opinion that the Royal Babylonian-Persian system was the system in use before Solon's time. According to metrological and historical testimony, the Solonian mina weighed 436.6 g., the foot was from 295.6–297.7 mm.; the pre-Solonian mina weighed about 600 g., and the foot was from 328 to 331.3 mm. In each case, the cube of the foot (the *metretres*, the unit of volume) is 60 times the weight of the mina. This clearly shows that the Solonian weights and measures were smaller than the pre-Solonian. The Solonian mina of 436.6 g. cannot have been derived from the Royal Babylonian-Persian gold mina of 420 g., for the former belongs to the system of the common Babylonian silver mina (545.8–547.7 g.), the other is a secondary form of the Royal Babylonian gold mina (426.4–427.8 g.), which is itself a secondary form derived from the common Babylonian gold mina (409.3–410.8 g.). The Solonian mina is  $\frac{2}{3}$  and the pre-Solonian  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the common Babylonian silver mina. The talent of Solon is the Euboean. The pre-Solonian weights and measures were those of Pheidon. The Pheidonian system is totally distinct from the Aeginetan.

H. Dessau, *Ueber die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. D. reaffirms and defends the views set forth in *Hermes* XXIV concerning the works of the so-called *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. He believes that these biographies were not written in the age of Diocletian and Constantine, but that they represent a big piece of forgery, and were composed by one and the same author, about the close of the 4th century. The paper is largely a rejoinder to the opposing views of Klebs (*Rh. Mus.* 45 and 47). There is also a discussion of the theory of Wölfflin (*Sitzungsber. d. philos.-philol. u. hist. Cl. d. k. bayr. Ak. d. W.* 1891, p. 465 ff.) regarding the authorship of these *vitae*.

E. Norden, *Scholia in Gregorii Nazianzenii orationes inedita*. Encouraged by the success of Piccolomini and others in making important finds among

the scholia to the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus, and owing to the lack of proper care on the part of A. Jahn in his publication of the scholia edited on the basis of three Munich MSS, Norden, in the hope of obtaining some valuable gleanings, undertook to re-examine the three Munich MSS and the Oxford MS. He also collated two Laurentian MSS. The results, which did not come up to his expectations, are recorded in the above paper. They consist of a number of hitherto unpublished scholia on philosophy, mythology, grammar, lexicography, etc., and a long string of emendations to the text of published scholia.

B. Keil, *Attisches Viertelbolzeichen*. The occurrence of the sign  $\rangle$  in one of the Oropian inscriptions published Bull. de corr. hell. XV (1891), 490 ff., gives rise to a discussion concerning the origin of the sign. Keil shows that this was one of the Attic marks for  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an obol. The official mark was T, but at the time of the Oropian inscription, the mark  $\rangle$  had probably come into more general use. As for the origin, K. thinks, with Boeckh, that it was due to the halving of O, which is occasionally used to designate an obol. C was used for  $\frac{1}{2}$  obol and  $\rangle$  for  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol. K., however, calls attention to the fact that the mark of a semicircle was used on the tetartemorion ( $\frac{1}{4}$  obol) piece from 430-322 B. C., to designate its value.

Miscellen. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Zum Saecularorakel*. A reply in which W. defends his emendation (vid. supra) against Stengel.—M. Wellmann, *Nochmals Sostratos*. A reply to R. Wagner (vid. A. J. P. XIV, p. 507). W. thinks that Wagner failed in his attempt to identify the poet, the mythographer and the iologist Sostratos.—E. Wölfflin, *Die Annalen des Hortensius*. H. wrote no annals in the sense of a history of Rome beginning with Romulus. What he wrote was simply a sketch of the Social War, probably (Plut. Lucull., chap. 1) as a result of a kind of wager.—M. Wellmann, *Addend. to Hermes*, XXVI 546 f. Another fragment of Alexander of Myndos.—P. Viereck, *Addendum to V.'s article above reported*.

C. W. E. MILLER.

E. G. SIHLER.

#### NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1892.

##### Fascicle 1.

1. Pp. 1-22. J. Menrad treats the rhetorical figure sarcasmos and its use in Homer under three heads: I. The etymology of the word; II. Definitions given by the ancient writers, with critical discussion of each; III. Use of the figure in Homer. Sarcasmos, according to Scaliger, is biting scorn or mockery of that which is dead or dying. In Homer, excluding instances in which mere irony or scorn is expressed, he finds twenty cases of the use of the figure in the Iliad and three in the Odyssey. Of the twenty in the Iliad, nine are to be found in those portions included in Christ's Class I, ten in Class II, one in Class III, and none in Class IV; whence the conclusion that the figure is characteristic of the earliest stage of the poems and was used by the most ancient poets. The Odyssey affords less scope for this figure, owing to its theme, and the three instances noted all occur in the *μνηστηροφονία*.

2. Pp. 22-3. Otto Höfer identifies the goddess 'Opala, mentioned in a Peiraeen inscription, C. I. A. III 1280, with Cybele, of whom a common epithet was *ὀπάα*.

3. Pp. 23-8. In an inscription found during the excavation of the Cabiri temple at Thebes, and published by E. Szanto in the Mittheilungen of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (vol. VII 2), a certain Damon is said to have received 24 drachmae, 5 obols and 9 chalkoi of silver, and in return to have dedicated a statue of the value of one gold stater and three Attic obols. Fr. Hultsch shows that, reckoned according to known Attic values, the ratio of the value of gold to silver was at the time of the inscription (200-171 B. C.) 10 to 1; but reckoned according to Theban values of that day, when the drachma contained 5.2 gr. silver instead of 6.2 gr. of the older period, the ratio is about 12 to 1, or, allowing for compensation for the work done, 11  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1.

4. Pp. 29-44. F. Blass sets forth the points of interest and value in the hypothesis to Demosthenes' Contra Midiam contained in the London Aristotle papyrus and in the beginning of a commentary on the same. The Kenyon Herodas papyrus is more important for the text of Demosthenes, as it contains the greater part of the third letter (§§1-38). The orthographical peculiarities of this text are noted and the text compared with that of Demosthenes that we before possessed.

5. Pp. 44-9. F. Roehl questions Köhler's conclusion that the fragment of the oration against Philippides, published in Kenyon's Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, was written by Hypereides. The misfortune suffered by Athens, which is mentioned in this oration, is assumed by Kenyon and Köhler to be that of Cheironeia in 336/5. This Roehl shows is indefensible. The expressions found in the oration refer better to the treatment of Athens by Antipater after the Lamian war. If this is a correct inference, the oration could not have been written by Hypereides, but must have been written by Demochares, Glaucippus, or one of their contemporaries.

6. Pp. 50-2. Hugo von Kleist considers the definition of *ἀνδρεία* in Plato's Laches, and defends the view of Bonitz that *ἀνδρεία* is "die auf sittlicher Einsicht beruhende Beharrlichkeit," as against the opposition of Zeller in his History of Greek Philosophy, bringing forward further confirmation from the dialogue itself.

7. Pp. 53-9. F. Polle (Ovid and Anaxagoras) observes a number of parallels between the preface of Diodorus and Ovid's Metamorphoses, in passages relating to the physical theory of the universe, and, following the indication of Diod. I 7, 7 (*Εὐριπίδης . . . μαθητὴς ὄν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου*), comes to the conclusion that Ovid made a considerable use of Anaxagoras *περὶ φύσεως*.

8. Pp. 59-64. E. Grupe discusses a number of passages in Caesar de bel. Gal. which contain, as he believes, interpolations, introduced for the purpose of lending color to the author's style.

9. Pp. 65-74. K. Niemeyer controverts the interpretation of Horace, car. III 1-6, presented by Mommsen before the Prussian Academy (Jan. 24, 1889).

10. Pp. 74-9. K. Rossberg. Critical notes on Manilius, occasioned by Ellis's *Noctes Manilianae*.

11. Pp. 79-80. J. H. Schmalz shows that the adjective use of the fut. part. in Cic. Att. V 15, 3 (*reddituro*), is at variance with Ciceronian usage and that, in fact, the cod. Tornaesianus read *redditu iri*.

12. *Iocorum*. A catalogue blunder.

#### Fascicle 2.

13. Pp. 81-7. R. Vari shows that the codex of the Homeric Hymns found in Paris in 1890 (suppl. grec. 1095) is a sister manuscript to the one, denominated A, which Aurispa brought from Constantinople to Venice in 1423 and which is the source of the two manuscripts of the Hymns previously known, viz. Codex Laurentianus and Codex Estensis. The archetype of the three Vari denotes by Σ, and he gives a list of the variants in the text of the first and second Apollo hymns between its readings and those of the edition published by Abel (Leipzig and Prague, 1886).

14. P. 88. R. Leyde makes two corrections to the work of Adolf Bauer upon the historical value of the Aristotelian Constitution of Athens. 1. The archonships of Damasius are correctly placed as 583/2, 582/1. The first year is not the third of an Olympiad but the second, so that *Δαμασίον τοῦ δευτέρου* of the Parian Marble is the second year of the archonship of Damasius, not that of a second Damasius. 2. Bauer regards, though wrongly, the statement of Herodotus (V 65), that the rule of the Peisistratidae lasted 36 years, as an error. The correct explanation, given by Kenyon and the editors of Herodotus, is this: the actual length of the reign of Peisistratus was 19 years, to which are added the 17 years of Hippias, making 36 in all.

15. Pp. 89-95. Critical review by Fr. Reuss of O. Keller's *Xenophontis Historia Graeca*, ed. mai., Teubner, 1890.

16. Pp. 95-6. K. J. Liebhold proposes emendations to the following passages of Xenophon's *Hellenica*: II 3, 27; 38; VII 1, 14.

17. Pp. 97-105. Fr. Blass considers the fragment of the oration *κατὰ Φίλιππίδου* in Kenyon's *Classical Texts* from the British Museum as the work of Hypereides. It deals with a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* brought against Philippides for proposing to crown the proedroi in honor of Philip, as Blass thinks. The date he fixes at 337 B. C. or the first half of 336 B. C. The text is given, with critical notes and interpretation.

18. Pp. 105-7. Fr. Reuss removes the conflict between the statements of Diodorus and Polybius in regard to the date of the beginning of the reign of Hiero II by the following interpretation: Hiero was chosen military leader, not king, in 275/4, became king of Syracuse in 270, and was selected as king of the allied forces in 265/4.

19. Pp. 108-12. R. Schneider suggests solutions of difficulties in thirty passages of the *mimiambi* of Herondas.

20. Pp. 113-32. E. Schweder (*Ueber die Weltkarte und die Chorographie des Kaisers Augustus*) attempts to arrive at a conception of the geographical

work which must have accompanied and served as a commentary to the great chart of the world published at Augustus's instigation by M. Agrippa. Observation of the geographical data of Pliny and Mela, and the remains of the chart of Augustus (*tabula Peutingeriana*), leads him to the conclusion that the geographical commentary to the chart served as the source of Pliny and Mela, and that from their data a reconstruction of the work must proceed.

(8.) P. 132. E. Dettrich. Critical note on Caes. B. G. IV 29, 2.

21. Pp. 133-40. C. Haeberlin, *Analecta Apuleiana*. Conjectures to Apuleius.

22. Pp. 140-2. P. Müller. Critical observations on several passages of the *Germania*.

23. Pp. 142, 144. M. Mertens. On Ausonius, ad Grat. grat. act. 18, 82.

#### Fascicle 3.

24. Pp. 145-66. H. Welzhofer continues in two chapters his review of the history of the Persian wars begun in the *Jahrbücher* for 1891, pp. 145-59. In chapter III he treats of various points mentioned by Herodotus in regard to the march of Xerxes to Sardis and Abydos, the principal conclusion being that Xerxes did not undertake the expedition to Greece with a view of making war upon Athens and the other Greek states that did not voluntarily subject themselves, but that this march was rather of the nature of a royal visit. Doubtless a second purpose, though not the main one, was the subjugation of Athens. In chapter IV the march through Thrace is described, the stories of the crossing of the Hellespont and the enumeration of the army passing under criticism. Welzhofer shows that Herodotus made use of two sources of information, one good and the other poor, but did not notice that the statements were oftentimes contradictory.

25. Pp. 166-9. Regarding the use of the term *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* by Greek writers of Roman history, Th. Büttner-Wobst shows that Mommsen's identification of the term with *praetor maximus* rests on very dubious authority. Polybius (VI 14, 2) shows the meaning of the Greek term, and one must conclude that *ὑπατος* must be a substantive and cannot be an adjective, nor can it be the equivalent of *maximus*. The designation *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* must be an attempt to designate the main functions of the Roman consul, *στρατηγός*, his *imperium militiae*, and *ὑπατος*, *imperium domi*. But Greek names of Roman officials are rather translations of Roman names than terms invented by the writer to express the functions of the magistrate concerned. Hence it is probable that *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* had its counterpart in Latin, and that in the earliest times the Romans called their chief official *consul* with reference to his peace functions and *praetor* with reference to those of war. And as in Latin the single term *praetor* prevailed earlier and *consul* later, so in Greek *στρατηγός* was the common appellation in the earlier time, *ὑπατος* later.

26. Pp. 170-6. K. Hude compares carefully and critically the accounts of the murder of Hipparchus as given by Thucydides and by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, c. 17). His conclusion is that that of Aristotle is more reliable, and that the source of Aristotle's information was probably the same as that of Androtion, his contemporary.

27. Pp. 177-91. A consideration by H. Lewy of the following names in Greek mythology, in which use is made of cognate Hebrew and Syrian designations: 1. Elysion, 2. Scheria, 3. Kimmerioi, 4. Seirenes, 5. Eileithyia, 6. Artemis Oupis, 7. Ogygia, 8. Olen, 9. Amaltheia, 10. Skylla and Charybdis, 11. Acheron, 12. Bellerophon, 13. Baldir, Augustus, 14. Elioun (= Mygdalion, Amygdale), 15. Sarpedon, 16. Minos and Rhadamanthys, 17. Atymnos and Miletos, 18. Adrasteia, 19. Endymion, 20. Kronos, 21. Orion, 22. Niobe, 23. Priapos, 24. Leto.

28. Pp. 191-2. Otto Dingeldein upholds the reading and the interpretation offered by Pfeiderer and Zeller of fragm. 11 (4) (Schuster and Bywater) of Heracleitus, as against the emendations suggested by Bernays and Cron.

29. Pp. 193-205. B. Maurenbrecher reviews O. Keller's *Lateinische Volksetymologie* (Leipzig, 1891) and F. Oskar Weise's *Charakteristik der lat. Sprache* (ib. 1891).

30. P. 205. E. Thewrewk von Ponor corrects a line of the *Vespae iudicium* (PLM. 4, 326).

31. Pp. 206-10. A. Giesecke attempts to show that Ariston of Chius, the Stoic, is the author of the dialogue on old age to which Cicero refers in the *Cato Maior* and of which he made use, of the work entitled *ῥητορικά*, and of other matter which is attributed to the peripatetic, Ariston of Keos.

32. Pp. 211-12. A. Fleckeisen, *Munitare*. Critical note on Cicero pro S. Roscio 140.

33. Pp. 212-15. A. Fleckeisen. Critical note on Plautus's *Stichus*, vs. 167, and *Miles El.*, vs. 1255.

34. Pp. 215-18. E. Redslob. Critical notes on the *Pseudolus* (vss. 279 and 497-9) and the *Stichus* (vs. 759) of Plautus.

35. Pp. 219-24. K. Petsch. A characterization of Orosius' use of his sources, based on the passage (VI 6, 5-7) describing the allotment of the Gallic provinces to Julius Caesar.

F. L. VAN CLEEF.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

## BRIEF MENTION.

In a paper read before the Philological Congress at Vienna in 1893, Professor HUGO JURENKA ranged himself under the banner of DRACHMANN, the same Drachmann that the enthusiastic Terpandrian FRACCAROLI, in his elaborate work on Pindar, *Odi di Pindaro dichiarate et tradotte*, has dismissed with curt contempt. Drachmann's book, entitled *Moderne Pindarfortolkning*, was put forth in 1891, and its object was to confute those who seek in Pindar's odes some law of composition. Professor Jurenka thinks that scant justice has been done the Danish scholar, and cites an article in which Bornemann lifted up his heel against him. What else was to be expected of Bornemann? The lover of Pindar has to accept his poet *cum onere*. Few trouble themselves much about Pindar, and, as in the Midsummer Night's Dream one cannot do without Bottom and Puck, so in Pindar one cannot do without Bornemann and Bury. Drachmann's work is written in Danish, and as he ignores English and American contributions to the study of Pindar, whereas Fraccaroli has sought light from every side, English and American students might return the compliment and excuse themselves from toiling over an unfamiliar idiom in order to make out, and perhaps imperfectly make out, the message which Drachmann has to convey. Even omniscient Germans show so often that they know only English enough to misunderstand and misinterpret those who write the foremost of all *Cultursprachen*, that one who is not a professed Scandinavian scholar might well hesitate to follow so bad an example. However, Drachmann has had the good sense to give at the end of his book a compendium of his views in Latin, and for this he is much to be commended. Indeed, in this flood of Danish, Swedish, Bohemian, Russian and Hungarian contributions to classical philology, one welcomes an occasional Latin raft. So Professor HANSEN, of Santiago, deems it necessary to give a Latin abstract of his Spanish disquisitions on Homer, though in his *Un pasaje de la Iliada* he sadly apologizes for a recent slip in Latin gender by his over-familiarity with Castilian. "Propter castellanæ linguæ consuetudinem me hebetiorem factum esse ad latine scribendi artem nuper sensi, cum in annalibus, qui anglice *The American Journal of Philology* vocantur, Peloponneso id genus attribuissem, quo ab Hispanis notatur (vol. XIII, p. 441)." But the Romans made similar slips in Greek gender by over-familiarity with Latin, and my long experience as an editor has made me tolerant. The main thing is to be understood by the mass of classical philologists; and while no one would wish to do away with the minor literatures of the world, surely Latin, Greek, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish would seem to be channels enough whereby to reach the world of scholars.

But this long-drawn sigh of a much-enduring editor leaves scant breath for the main subject, and Pindar, Jurenka, Drachmann and Fraccaroli are reserved for a more spacious table than *Brief Mention*, which in this number has been contracted to make room for original papers.



The Journal has from time to time admitted to its pages lists of *errata* in such standard works as are not likely to be reprinted in any reasonable time. Too much space ought not to be given to such registers, yet the value of them is undoubted, especially in the case of books intended for younger students, who may be led astray. So in SEYFFERT's attractive and handy *Dictionary of Classical Antiquity*, edited by two very competent and careful scholars, NETTLESHIP and SANDYS, I find that in the article *Aeschines* the battle of Chaeronea is put down 332 B. C. instead of 338, that *Callimachus* is credited with 'a very popular epic poem Hecate' for 'Hecale,' and *Hyperides* with a speech 'against Euxenippus' (*ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου*), and that *Pindar* is said to have been born about 522 and to have died in 422, aged eighty. In reading such corrections I have often wished that my *Pindar* were a standard work, but as it has the other qualification that it is not likely to be reprinted in any time to which I may reasonably or unreasonably look forward, I am tempted to do public penance for the following slips in the impression of 1890:

First two droll 'heterophemies': p. xxvi, l. 3 fr. bottom, for 'Ergoteles' read 'Psaumis'; p. 177, l. 8 fr. bottom, for 'marigold' read 'gillyflower.' Then p. xlvii, l. 13 fr. bottom, read 'B 4444 = 16'; p. li, l. 12 fr. top, for 'exhibits' read 'exhibit'; p. lvii, l. 7 from top, read  $1.1 + 1.1$ ; p. 47, O. 11, 2, 3 read with Wilamowitz *ὑδάτων, ὁμβρίων*; v. 21 *διαλλάξαντο* (see A. J. P. XII 386); p. 95, P 5, 97 *dele*; p. 125, l. 8 fr. top, read 'but even in the earlier time'; p. 159, l. 19 fr. top, for *ὀξείας* read *ὀξέος*; p. 251, l. 5 fr. top, read *οἰκτίρεσθαι*; p. 266, l. 4 fr. top, read *κλήρονες σωτήριοι | θανόντι*; p. 357, l. 4 fr. bottom, for 'second' read 'third.'

Small matters, it is true, some of them, but no philologist who has ever read can ever forget Dante's apostrophe:

O coscienza dignitosa e netta,  
Come t'è picciol fallo amaro morso.

When I introduced, if I introduced, the word 'anticipatory' into the treatment of the Greek condition,<sup>1</sup> I hoped that it would be limited to the *ἐάν*-condition, to which I distinctly restricted it; and I find, to my concern, that Mr. BALDWIN, in his very interesting *Morte d'Arthur*, and Professor HALE, in his *Anticipatory Subjunctive*, have applied the word, the one to English, the other to Latin, both with reference to my studies. Now, I have never blended, as Mr. BALDWIN does, 'anticipatory' and 'ideal,' nor have I confounded, as Professor HALE does, 'anticipatory' with 'prospective.' I should never dream of paralleling, as Professor Sonnenschein has done in his 'important note' to Dr. PALMER's *Amphitruo* (p. 271), the form *si* with pr. subj. followed by fut. ind., with the form *ἐάν* with subj. followed by fut. ind.; nor can I accept Professor HALE's parallel between the Greek subj. in comparison and the Lat. pr. and perf. subj. after *tamquam* and the like (A. J. P. XIII 62). Of course, I have no patent right to the word 'anticipatory,' but I regret that a loose use of it should bring back the confusion against which I protested eighteen years ago.

<sup>1</sup> Transactions Am. Phil. Ass. 1876, p. 7.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Aristophanes. *The Wasps of Aristophanes*, by C. E. Graves. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 243 pp. 16mo, cl., net \$1.

Cicero (Marcus Tullius). *Pro L. Murena oratio*; ed. with introd. and notes by J. H. Freese. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. (Classical Series.) 16mo, cl., net 60 cts.

Gildersleeve (B. L.) and Lodge (G.) *Latin Grammar*, being the third ed. of Gildersleeve's *Latin Grammar*, revised and enlarged. New York, *University Publ. Co.*, 1894. 550 pp. 8vo, \$1.20.

Gleason (C. W.) *The Gate to the Anabasis*. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1894. c. 4 + 47 pp. (School Classics.) Map, 16mo, cl., 45 cts.

Muss-Arnolt (W.) *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (Assyrian-English-German). (In ca. 7-8 parts.) Part 1. gr. 8. S. 1-64. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.* @ \$1.25.

Smith (W.) *Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography*; based on the larger dictionaries by the late Sir W. Smith; rev. and in part rewritten by G. E. Marindin. New York, *Appleton*, 1894. 1019 pp. Maps, il., 8vo, hf. mor., \$6.

Tacitus (C. Cornelius). *Agricola and Germania*; with introd. and notes by H. M. Stephenson. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. (Pitt Press Series.) 16mo, cl., 80 cts.

Thucydides. Book 3; ed. on the basis of the Classen-Steup edition, by C. Foster Smith. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1894. c. 11 + 320 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.75.

Xenophon. *First Four Books of Anabasis*; with notes adapted to Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* and to Hadley's *Greek Grammar* (rev. by Allen); ed. by W. W. Goodwin and J. Williams White. With an illustrated dictionary to the *Anabasis* by J. W. White and M. H. Morgan. Rev. ed. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1894. c. 52 + 274 + 290 pp. Il. 12mo, hf. leather, \$1.65.

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#### GERMAN.

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## I.—AGGLUTINATION AND ADAPTATION.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

For a lustrum or two the science of linguistics has advanced on the hypothesis that there are no exceptions to phonetic law. As an *a priori* contention this is no better nor worse than all things *a priori*. Phonetic laws as we have them are the result of our own inductions! The belief in their inviolability depends on our granting *a priori* several impossible conditions. I can do no better than quote the words of Bréal on this point (Transac. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1893, p. 21): "The phonetic laws act blindly if we admit a set of conditions that are never realized anywhere; viz. a perfectly homogeneous population coming into no contact with the outside world, learning everything by living and oral tradition, without any books, without any monuments of religion,—a population in which every one should be of the same social condition, in which there should be no differences of rank, of learning, nor even of age or sex."

Not but that exceptions to phonetic laws are granted: analogy is allowed to be a centrifugal force to this centripetal influence. Dialect variation is called into play also to explain differences of phonetic treatment. It were easier, in my opinion, to allow phonetic variation in many cases than dialect mixture, as in Lat. *bovem* for a theoretical *\*vovem*.

<sup>1</sup> A brief abstract of part of this study was read before the American Oriental Society in New York (March 31, 1894); cf. Proceedings (1894, p. cxl). On my return from New York I found in Bezenberger's Beiträge, XX, p. 81 sq., an article on the Sk. dat. by Johansson which has a certain likeness to my own speculations (cf. infra, p. 425).

I especially note as an objection to a rigid belief in phonetic inviolability two points: 1st. Within the same person's language two forms of expression or pronunciation sometimes obtain. Typical for this is Cicero's use in early life of *abs te*, in later life of *ā te*. In the passage of words from one phonetic value to another there must always be a longish period when both forms obtain, and both forms may indefinitely persist in the same dialect, and be finally adapted to different uses. The Roman grammarians had a clear tradition of words that retained a pre-rhotacistic -s. The doublet *quaero* || *quaeso* used to be explained in this way, and possibly this was a correcter view than the interpretation from \**quaesso*.<sup>1</sup> 2d. Linguistic science has failed to note the importance of the difference between familiar and unusual words, in regard of their phonetic treatment (cf. Primer, A. J. P. II, p. 201).

I refer at this point particularly to Whitney's 'Examples of Sporadic and Partial Phonetic Change in English' (IF. IV, p. 32 sq.). Tarbell (Transac. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1886, p. 1 sq.) was the first to raise the objections noted by Whitney. The examples presented there ought to be conclusive: an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory.

These points might be indefinitely increased by insisting on the categories of hallowed words (alluded to by Bréal in the passage just cited), technical words, differentiation of sense coupling with phonetic differentiation, etc. The delicate interplay of analogies is also not sufficiently reckoned with. The source of analogical influence may itself have been lost, or a subsequent divergence of meaning may prevent our ever tracing the analogy. Thus under a too rigid construction of phonetic law the linguist will keep separate what ought to be brought together.

Dialects must eventually root in individual variations. When such are fostered by geographical separation, dialect ensues. Caste distinctions are as potent as geographical remoteness to

<sup>1</sup> As long as there is no good etymology of *quaero*, I propose the following: *quae-sivi* is, like *po-sivi*, a compound, and meant originally 'put-whats.' The original compound started possibly with *quae-sor*, as a contemptuous designation of a person always asking questions. We could then see in *quae-sivi* the source of *pet-sivi* and *laccess-sivi*, and, subsequently, *aud-sivi*. I note the English word 'quidnunc' as comparable in meaning; comparable formations are 'nonplus,' 'what-not.' Who shall say that behind the Sk. roots 1. *ci* 'classify, punish,' 2. *ci* 'observe,' *ci* 'perceive' and *ci* 'think,' a pronominal stem \**qi* does not lurk with a primary sense 'to ask why, investigate'?

keep alive dialect in the same district. The caste distinction may pass away and leave no trace but the survival of some word in an unusual phonetic value. Caste may be of no wider extent than a single family.<sup>1</sup>

LINGUISTIC SCIENCE UNDER THE REIGN OF PHONETIC LAW.—This is a seductive working theory. Thus the science becomes an exact science with sharp critical possibilities. The analogies of linguistics are not, however, with the exact, but with the natural sciences. In biology one must reckon with variation from type quite as much as with conservation of type.

The greatest trouble with the results of linguistic science up to this time is that they do not harmonize. Schrader's *Urgeschichte* has demonstrated for the Aryans a meagre civilization.<sup>2</sup> Brugmann's *Grundriss*, on the other hand, gives them an extremely high development of language. These results are irreconcilable to a degree. Grammatical potentialities greater than the Greeks had are an inconceivable possession for a primitive and unlettered people. A primitive people must have had a primitive language.

I illustrate from 'mixed cases': the Greek genitive, for instance, is regarded as a sarcophagus in which bones of dead cases repose. From the biological standpoint it ought to be regarded as the representative of an undifferentiated embryo out of which the differentiated cases have come.

Quite early in the study of Aryan linguistics under the influence of the Sanskrit *Dhātupāṭha* (Root-Book), words were regarded as developments of primitive monosyllables called roots. This tenet has been of late years called in question, and the claim is specious enough that the sentence and not the word is the unit of expression. But if, as the biologist sees in the embryo the traces of previous development, the linguist can see in a child's language a repetition of primitive conditions, then a little child can teach us that the monosyllabic word, excluding mere reduplicated cries like *mama*, which is the first stage, comes before the dissyllabic word, and before the sentence as well.

<sup>1</sup> I am acquainted, for instance, with a family that has maintained the tradition of 'woound' for 'woond,' in spite of all their neighbors. It may be answered that 'woond' is an Irish pronunciation re-introduced into English by the Duke of Wellington (for there is such a story), but the illustration serves to show that two pronunciations may both be current in the same geographical and social environment.

<sup>2</sup> For a convenient summary I refer to Clark's *Manual of Linguistics*, p. xxiii sq.

Granted our monosyllabic words, whether imitative ('bow-wow') or interjectional ('pooh-pooh!'), or reverbatory like *ouch!* ('ding-dong'), the passage to dissyllables remains still to be traced. If any considerable number of the original stock of words was monosyllabic, then dissyllables must have come by composition or agglutination. Delbrück (*Einleitung*<sup>3</sup>, p. 111) thus formulates the result of his critique of the theory of agglutination: "Auch jetzt noch können wir nichts weiteres behaupten als was oben behauptet wurde, dass das Princip der Agglutination das einzige sei, welches uns eine verständliche Erklärung der Formen gewährt." I now undertake to locate some of the agglutinative processes of the Aryan language out of which the inflections of the derived languages developed.

PRONOMINAL STEMS.—I note first that the Aryans possessed a considerable number of pronominal stems made up, in the main, of stop-consonants plus a vowel,<sup>1</sup> or of a vowel alone. I note the following, using *a* as a symbol for a vowel undifferentiated between *a*, *e*, *o*: *a-*, *ta-*, *ka-*, *sa-*, *ya-*, *wa-*, *na-*, *ra-*, and these were further combined with one another into groups, thus: *a-ta*, *a-sa* etc., *a-ra*, *tya-*, *syar-*, *swa-*, *kwa-*, *tra-*, *ta-ra-* etc. The developed meanings of these stems will display themselves later on. They were at first of very free employment, a sort of uninflected interjection, accompanied doubtless by gesture.

In addition to these interjections were a class of monosyllables to which more definite meaning had been attached. Into their further embryogeny I propose to go in a second essay. I assume as such early Aryan monosyllables *bhar* and *ad*, meaning respectively 'bearing' and 'eating.' They were originally neither verbs nor nouns, but amorphic centres out of which verbs and nouns equally developed, such as we call action-nouns, but with an

<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon meets us in almost every other language as well. I refer to the paper of Dr. Brinton, the American ethnologist and linguist, in the *Proc. of the Am. Or. Soc. for 1894*, p. cxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> I put myself on the footing of Merlo's essay: "Ragione del permanere dell' A e del suo mutarsi in E (O) fin dall' età protoariana"; that is to say, though *ɛ* and possibly *ø* had developed by the end of the Aryan period out of *d*, there was a time when many roots that now appear with *ɛ* | *ø* had *d* as their original vowel. There is no intrinsic improbability in ascribing *dyu* and *edu* to roots originally *ag-* and *ad-*, and the reason for the change to *ed-* before the close of the primitive period is to be sought, in my opinion, in the consonantal environment (*infra*, p. 425 sq.). In constructed forms showing this *a* I shall feel at liberty to omit the construction-symbol (\*).

element of agent-nouns, and directly comparable with the English words I have used in translating them.

IMPERATIVE-VOCATIVE.—Starting from such bases as actual words of speech, we may posit as their simplest inflectional forms *bhar-a* (Grk. *φέρ-ε*) and *ad-a* (Lat. *ed-e*). These forms are dubious as soon as we come to their interpretation. They may be imperatives or they may be vocatives. The form is one; the development of meaning is subsequent. Here again we must regard the differentiated as later than the undifferentiated. The vocative is by nature an imperative, and this force may be felt even now, after language has been highly developed. When language was in embryo, the probability of this relation must have been much stronger. The elliptical in language to-day is a continuant of the elliptical in primitive language, and the primitive man was doubtless in addition much more gesticulative. If one's carriage is in waiting before the house, but not directly at the step, the call 'Driver' is enough to have it brought to the step. In the primitive period, before individual names had developed, it would not be necessary to call to a herdsman 'Driver, drive,' for 'Driver' was summons enough. No little child misunderstands to-day if her father says 'Come, my slipper-bringer,' or 'Where's my slipper-bringer?' The command is inferred even without the father's pointing to his slippers. Cries like 'Fire!' 'Murder!' 'Police!' speak volumes, and 'Police!' is certainly a vocative. 'Waiter, two sandwiches' is hardly an ellipsis: when actor and action were fused in one monosyllable, when *bhar* meant 'bearing' and 'bearer,' to say *bhar* to a person who was *bhar* and point at a thing was command enough.

For the identification of impv. and voc., and the subsequent development of the verb from the impv., the common enclisis of voc. and principal verb speaks most strongly (cf. *infra*, p. 416).

As a first enlargement, then, of *bhar* 'bearer, bearing,' I regard *bhar-a*, and see in the *-a* a demonstrative, a suffixless interjection, meaning 'now,' 'here,' which is still preserved in Greek *ἐ-κεῖνος*, *ἐ-μέ*,<sup>1</sup> Lat. *e-quidem*, etc. A combination *bhar-a* would thus mean 'Bearer, here,' and the summons was equivalent to a command to bear; but *bhar-a* was doubtless liable also to the interpretation 'this one bears,' for *-a* has been retained in its 3d personal signification in the perf. 3d sg.; Sk. *véd-a*, Grk. *Φοῖδ-ε*. This was

<sup>1</sup>Very probably, too, in the interjection *ἐέ*, where the reduplication gave an especial emotional tone.

termination enough where but two persons were concerned, but given a speaker and two others, inferiors, and a further specification was necessary. Here it was necessary to call in another set of demonstratives, *sa* and *ta*, the former being used perhaps of a nearer and the latter of a remoter person addressed. These forms as thus employed are directly comparable in use with *iste* and *ille* in Latin. In Vedic these stems are used of all persons. To the stem *bhar-* we thus get the groups *bhar-sa* 'bearing this one' and *bhar-ta* 'bearing that one,' and to the stem *bhar-a-* the groups *bhar-a-sa* 'bearing here this one,' *bhar-a-ta* 'bearing here that one.'

Another element of enlargement to the verb comes from the pronominal stem of the 1st person, *m-a- || a-m-*.<sup>1</sup> When this is added to the stem *bhar-* we get a form *bhar-am* = 'bearing I.'

The forms *bhar-a-sa* and *bhar-a-ta* in collocations with words of vowel initials were elided to *bhar-a-s* and *bhar-a-t*. I say elision, for this is altogether a simpler and more natural process than the mystical one of gradation for earlier linguistic stages.<sup>2</sup>

COMBINATIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES.—In Lithuanian *szlái* we are taught to see a combination of two demonstrative stems, viz. *ko* and *to* (Brugmann, Gr. II, §409). A similar phenomenon is doubtless to be seen in Latin *i-s-te*. The Sanskrit representative of *i(s)te* reverses the order of the two stems, viz. *syá-*, *tyá-*.

<sup>1</sup> In English the commonest word for the 1st person is a nasal grunt represented by such spellings as *humph*, *ugh*, etc. It is properly a vocalic *m*, and is an interjection of the 1st person. Some one makes a remark: I grunt in reply *m*; it means that I am listening. I am asked a question: I answer *m*, and this *m*, with a rising inflexion, expresses surprise or interrogation: I express assent by a double *m<sup>h</sup>m*, protracting and accenting the final *m*. I express dissent by protracting and accenting the first *m*. The Aryans had all these uses, for this nasal grunt is at the base of Grk. *μή*, *νῆ*, Sk. *mā*, *nā*, Lat. *ne* negative, Grk. *νῆ* (*vai*), Lat. *nē* affirmative, Grk. *μή* affirmative or negative (reinforced by *vaí* or *oú*), Lat. *-ne* interrogative. In this grunt I would find the origin of the 1st person pronoun stem *m-a-*. It is to-day, when emphatic, prefaced or followed by an *h* that is almost sonant, as witness the popular orthography of *humph* and *ugh*. Is this sound identical, perhaps, with Sk. *h* in *aham* 'I'?

<sup>2</sup> That gradation as a conscious mode of form-making had been developed before the close of the Aryan period is perhaps indubitable, but only three propositions seem to me reasonable and provable in this regard as to the *e/o* series: 1st. *e* is accentual, 2d. *o* is post-accentual, and 3d. complete disappearance of the vowel is pre-accentual. These formulae do not sufficiently explain the words of which Grk. *φόρος* is the type (infra, p. 426); and I am not at all certain that the *e/o* variation is an accentual phenomenon.



These stems were also Aryan, as will be presently shown. We thus have the triplet *bhar-sa*, *bhar-a-sa*, and *bhar-a-sya*; *bhar-ta*, etc.

GEN.-[ABL.] OF THE NOUN = 2D SG. OF THE VERB.—If we remember, now, that we are dealing with nominal concepts undifferentiated between action and agency, we are entitled to assume a sentence of the following type, paratactic and without a copulative verb<sup>1</sup>: *bhar-a-s* 'ad-a-sa', primitively 'bearer this, eater this,' or 'bearing this, eating this.' Now, the potentialities of hypotactic meaning resulting from this collocation are numerous.<sup>2</sup> 1st. 'Thou bearest, thou eatest,' which passes into 'Thou, the bearer, eatest.' Here *bhar-a-s* is, speaking anachronistically, an *e*-stem<sup>3</sup>; 2d. '<what> thou bearest thou eatest,' whence the subsequent *-es*-stems were developed; 3d. in certain cases the shading became '<after> bearing thou eatest,' then '<from> bearing thou eatest,' or '<of what> thou bearest thou eatest,' and thus the gen.-abl. was developed. Simpler than *bhar-a-s ad-a-sa* we may assume *bhar-s ad-a-sa*, taking *bhar-s* after the 1st interpretation. Thus 1° *bhar-s* || *bhar-a-s* are active (*nomina agentis*); 2° *bhar-as* is passive (*nomen actionis*), and 3° *bhar-as*<sup>4</sup> is a gen.-abl. to a *nomen agentis*. This type we can illustrate (1°) in Sk. *vāc*, Lat. *voc-s*, Lat. *°voco-s* 'speaking'; (2°) Sk. *vac-as*, Grk. *ῥέω-ος* 'spoken'; (3°) Lat. *voc-is*, Sk. *vāc-as* 'of the speaking.' A confusion of active and passive stems is seen in Grk. *ἄγγελος* beside Sk. *āṅgiras*.

We are prepared, after what has been said, to recognize the origin of the other genitives in this same group. In *bhar-a-sa* || *°sya yaṅṅ-a-sa* 'of what thou bearest, thou sacrificest' we see an instance of how they might be in actual use. In *bhar-a-sa* we

<sup>1</sup> The copulative verb has no warrant to pass for extremely primitive. The earliest literatures could always dispense with it altogether!

<sup>2</sup> To justify the shifts of meaning out of which the various case uses are developed, I compare the absolute constructions in the individual languages: Sk. loc. and instrum. absolute, Grk. gen. and acc., Latin abl., etc. These are all remnants of the paratactic stage of linguistic development, and represent original verb-nouns. *Caesare* <*d*> *duce* <*d*> (infra, p. 416 n. 2, for the <*d*>) *visit* may well be a development from \**Caesar ducet vivit* 'Caesar rules, that one lives.'

<sup>3</sup> This is Streitberg's nomenclature for the usual 'o-stem,' and seems to me very convenient.

<sup>4</sup> We shall presently recognize in this ending (infra, p. 418) what I call a 'thematic' ending. I had independently recognized this valuation and adopted this terminology before being aware that Streitberg, in IF. I 91, had preceded me by some years.

have the Aryan beginning out of which the Germanic genitives sprang (Brugmann, Gr. II, §228), while in *bhar-a-sya* we have the prototype of the Greek and Sanskrit forms.<sup>1</sup>

ABL.-[GEN.] = 3D SG.—*bhar-a-t ad-a-ta* or *bhar-t ad-a-ta* = 1st. 'he bears, he eats,' 2d. '<what> he bears he eats,' and 3d. '<of what> he bears he eats.' Typical of the 1st value are such words as Grk. *θη-s*, gen. *θη-τ-ός* 'workman,' Lat. *sacer-dō-s*, °*dō-t-is* 'sacrifice-doer,' *tege-s teg-e-t-is* 'cover-ing.' Of nouns with passive meaning, few examples are quotable. In Greek *ἀ-γνώ-s*, gen. *ἀ-γνώ-τ-ος* 'ignorant,' 'unknown' both active and passive senses obtain. Lat. *seg-e-s*, gen. *seg-et-is* 'field,' 'crop' seems also to contain both senses. The survival of this suffix as abl.-[gen.] is plainly to be seen in Avestan *yimāp* beside Sk. *yamād* (cf. Bartholomae, Altir. Dial., §238), and perhaps in Latin *modō(d)*, *benē(d)*, etc., which Brugmann explains as instrumentals (Gr. II, §275).<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit also this ending is preserved in such words as *dev-āt-as*, where in *-āt-* we are to see one abl. sign and in *-ās* another, as in Latin *fund-it-us*; but *dev-āt-as* was perhaps felt as a 3d pers. stem (*devāt-as*), like *seget-is*.

That this suffix had also, at least in its dithematic form (cf. infra), the value of a genitive is seen from Lith. *vilko*, O.Bulg. *vlūka* 'lupi' (Brugmann, Gr. II, §228). We are not to regard this as a confusion of a differentiated genitive and ablative, but as a survival from their undifferentiated state.

THE ENCLISIS OF THE VOC.-IMPV.—We can assume, however, a still more primitive sentence *bhāra yaga*, subordinated under

<sup>1</sup> Greek had perhaps both types: the genitives in *-οιο* from *-οιο*, and those in *-οο* from *-οο*. It cannot be proved that *τελείω* | *τέλλω* are early and late forms of \**τελεογο*-. The adjectives *τέλειος* | *τέλεος* may belong to an *e*-stem just as well as the pair *χρίσειος* | *χρίσεος*. (Johannson also to the same effect, BB. XX, p. 100, note.) It has not been proved that the difference between *δέος* and *δεῖος* is anything more than orthographic, with the passing vowel between *e* and *o* indicated in one case and not indicated in the other. It is mere hedging with the phonetic laws to write *ποιός* out of \**ποι-ιος*, as Brugmann does. One is every way justified in seeing in *ποιός* a gen. \**ποιο* out of \**ποιογο*-, made nominative, like the Latin pronoun *quōdus* (cf. Kirkland in Class. Rev. VI 431 sq.), from the genitive. I ask if, the possibility is excluded that *quōdus* is from \**quōd-nyo*-?

<sup>2</sup> I have written the abl. sign indiscriminately *-t* or *-d*. Of course *t* and *d* are but varying forms of the dental stop-consonant, due only to their environment as finals. The setting aside of *-t* for verbal and of *-d* for nominal use was merely a later adaptation. For a different interpretation of *bene* see below, p. 421.

one accent (cf. Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 314 *d*) when equal to two vocatives in apposition, thus: 'bearer-sacrificer.' But as soon as differentiation of verb from noun sets in, then both words are accented, bearer, sacrifice. I compare Sk. *āṣrutkarna śrudhī hāvam* 'O-thou-of-listening-ears, hear our call' (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 594 *a*). If, however, both words have verb value, as in *Pāpa, aga yāga* 'Pāpa, come sacrifice,' it is the second that receives the accent. I cite *asmā-bhyañ jeṣi yōtsi ca* 'for us conquer and fight.'<sup>1</sup>

The reason for the accentual treatment in the last case is obvious. The second impv. is not to be considered initial in a new sentence, as Delbrück takes it, after the native grammarians (SF. V, §23, 1), but is to be considered as dependent on the 1st impv.; thus, 'come and sacrifice' = 'come to sacrifice' nearly.

The approximation of 'and' to a result-purpose particle, as in the English doublet 'go and see' || 'go to see,' is shown in Greek also. Compare Hom. *α 284* *ελθε καὶ εἵρεο* 'go and ask' with the normal construction as in Ar. Ran. 326 *ελθε χορεύσων*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are able to get a glimpse here of the reason for the accentuations *εἰπέ*, *ἔλθε*, *λαβέ* in Homer. Their accent came from their use as the second of a pair of imperatives. We are justified in reconstructing a pair *άγε εἰπέ* (so far as the order is concerned) by γ 332 (*άλλ' άγε τάμνετε*), θ 149 (*άλλ' άγε πειρησαι*). In the Odyssey Homer has elsewhere the order *άγε* + intervening words + impv. There are, however, five cases of *εἰπ'* *άγε* (ο 347, ψ 261, Γ 192, I 673, K 544), a position doubtless due to metrical considerations. *άγε* ... *εἰπέ* occurs nineteen times. Homer uses *ἔλθε* five times with impv. or infin. (= impv.), once in the order of Ψ 770 *κλῖθι, θεά, άγαθή μοι ἐπίρροθος ἔλθε ποδοῖν*, and uses *λαβέ* three times with another impv. (infin.), once in the phrase *παρέξο καὶ λαβέ* (A 407). The phrase *άγε ἔλθε* is to be inferred for Greek from Homer's *άγε* ... *εἰσελθε* (π 25), *άγε* ... *ἰομεν* (ρ 190). By Sk. accentual laws a phrase \**άλλ' άγε λαβε* would accent only *λαβέ* of the two impvs. In Grk. *άγε λαβέ* the accent of *άγε* is the secondary substitute for enclisis, according to Wackernagel's famous law (KZ. XXIII, p. 457; Bloomfield, A. J. P. IV, p. 21), whereas *λαβέ* would represent the original Aryan accent of a thematic aorist impv. (cf. *λαβών*), when it follows directly another impv. (cf. *γῶτσι* in the Sk. example cited above).

<sup>2</sup> Connection can possibly be established by this line of reasoning between Sk. *utd* 'and' and Lat. *ut* of purpose-result. *Ut* belonging to *utd*, fell into confusion with the rel. \**quut*, \**cut* (cf. Sk. *kū-tra*) | \**put* (?) in the Italic period, whence the loss of *qu-*, *c-* | *p-* in *uter*, *ubi*, etc. In the Vedas *utd* seems a simple 'and,' but in Brāhmaṇa it is about equivalent to *itaque*, and amounts to the affirmation of a result; it is construed with the opv. as well as the indic. While *itaque* never became a particle of result, the precisely equivalent particle *ωστε* reached that stage.

**THEMATIC AND DITHEMATIC.**—Grammatical terminology has heretofore practically restricted the term 'thematic'<sup>1</sup> to verbs. After the reduction of verb and noun to a common basis, it is necessary to extend the terminology to nouns also. If now in Avestan *yim-a-p* we see a thematic abl., then for Sk. *yam-ād* I propose the term 'dithematic.'<sup>2</sup> The origin of the dithematic forms was this: to a stem capable of functioning alone as a nominative, there was doubtless a 2d pers. nom. in *-s*, and also a 2d pers. thematic nom. in *-a-s*; thus to *bhar* the forms *bhar-s* and *bhar-a-s*. There was also a voc.-nom.<sup>3</sup> *bhar-a*. Now, when in the upgrowth of inflection *bhar-a* was conceived as a stem and *-as* was conceived as an ending, by the syncretism of the two there resulted *-ās*.<sup>4</sup> For the ablative likewise there was a form *-āt*.

**THE DISTINCTION OF NUMBER.**—No language has ever entirely differentiated singular and plural in the 2d person. Our English *you* is in line with linguistic phenomena all over the Aryan field. It is fair to extend this fact to the primitive period. Thus in our gen.-abl. form *bhar-a-s*, which we saw was also a 2d pers. nom. sg., we may see the nom. plur. *bhar-as*; and as this *bhar-as* (conceived finally as a stem) was used as object in the sg. (Grk. *γίvos*), so, doubtless, it was conceived as object in the plural. In the 3d declension nom.-acc. *-ēs*<sup>5</sup> of Latin we may see an example of this in a dithematic form.

**ACC. SG. = 1ST PERS.**—I now take for illustration the sentence *bhar-am, ad-am* 'I bear, I eat.' This comes to mean, 1st. 'I bearing eat,' 2d. '<What> I bear I eat,' 3d. '<Of what> I bear I eat.' The manifest accusative of 2° will be clear to all. In 3° no vital genitive survives of the thematic form, but the di-thematic form is to our hand as the Aryan GEN. PLUR. in *-ōm*. In agent-

<sup>1</sup> Streitberg seems to use the term 'thematic' freely, as in IF. I, p. 91, but Johansson (BB. XX, p. 100) prints with inverted commas 'thematische.' Brugmann (Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, p. 91) speaks of *-o-* as a nominal suffix, but so far as I know does not recognize the division of noun-stems as I suggest.

<sup>2</sup> This term has been used already of the *r/n*-stems, but not, so far as I know, of the endings with long thematic vowel.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by Grk. *ἐπιβρίη*, etc., in Homer, and possibly also in *macte* of the Latin proverb *macte virtute esto*, which may be, however, for *macte <d> virtute <d>* (supra, p. 416), that is to say, an abl. of quality.

<sup>4</sup> Such a dithematic nom. sg. is, in my opinion, the *-ης* of Greek *-εξ*-stems. I note especially Sk. *dāṅgīrās* to Grk. *ἀγγελοξ*.

<sup>5</sup> Explained by Brugmann (Gr. II, §325, 1) as being derived from *-ēns*, spite of Latin *ensis* from *\*ḡsis*.

nouns the form 1° seems on the face of it not to have survived. As to nominatives like *bhar-a-s* stems like *bhar-as-*, and to nominatives like *bhar-a-t* stems like *bhar-at-* were developed, we should expect the group *bhar-a-m* and *bhar-am-*, and so we may look upon the participial suffix *-m-a-* as an extension of the non-thematic type *bhar-m-*; thus Grk. θερμός 'heating, warm' (Brugmann, Gr. II, §72).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PTC. STEM IN *-ant-*.—It seems to me, indubitable that, given a stem *bhar-am*, we should have to allow it a bye-form *bhar-an* as the product of sentence euphony.<sup>1</sup> Thus in 1° we can see the Sk. ptc. *bhār-an* (nom. sg.). We thus reach an explanation for the voc. *bhāvas* to the nom. (of the ptc.) *bhāvan*: the former is 2d pers. and the latter 1st pers. (? or 3d pers., infra, p. 432). It is by no means conclusive that in Sk. *bhāv-a-tas* we have an Aryan *-nt-as*.<sup>2</sup> It may, instead, be comparable with the type *devātas* (supra, p. 416). The working of

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann (Gr. II, §325) implies that the group *-ms* in Aryan would be permanent and not become *-ns*, on the ground, I infer, of certain Baltic forms in *-ms*, *-mt*. In this I cannot believe he is right. The persistence of *-ms* in the Lith. dat. plur. *kūrēms*, for instance, must hang with the dat. sg. *kuriēm*, ins. sg. *kuriū-mi*. Spite of the loss of the Lith. correspondent of Latin *decimus* we are to see in *dessimtas* 'tenth,' *dessimt* 'ten' the influence of Aryan *\*dekmmo-s*. Because of Lat. *decimus*, Sk. *daśamd-*, we cannot conclusively set up an Aryan form *\*dekmo-to*. Grk. *δέκατος*, Goth. *tathunda*, etc., may well have been called separately into being from *έκτος*, *sathsta*, just as Sk. *saptdthas*, OHG. *sibun-to* probably were. Brugmann (Gr. II, §186) cites O.Prus. *deiwan* (*deos*) as proof that the Aryan acc. plur. was *-ns* and not *-ms*. Even granting the validity of the contention that Baltic *-ms* represents Aryan *-ms*, this example will prove nothing. The Baltic paradigm would have had an acc. sg. represented by *deiwan* (Brug., Gr. I, §217), beside which a plur. *\*deiwan-s* could hardly have been maintained. This can be proved by Pruss. *mans* 'nos.' In the Aryan acc. *ns* (Goth. *uns*) I see *ms*; there was also an accented form *ma-s*, doubtless. Out of interplay between *ma-s* and *ns* a bye-form *na-ns* developed, whence a plur. stem *na-* was abstracted. Pruss. *mans* represents a still more primitive syncretism. Nothing more definite than *m/n* ought to be written for a final nasal in the Aryan period. This would save a good deal of analogical juggling about *novem*, for instance.

<sup>2</sup> The strong stem has penetrated from the nom. into all but the Indiranian group, the Celtic, and possibly the Italic (but here the influence of the gerundive *ndo*, cf. A. J. P. XV, p. 317 sq., can account for the vocalism). Proof is furnished by O.Irish *car-it* (dat.), *car-at* (gen.), which may represent an original *-et* or *-ot*. Additional proof is furnished by Grk. *εἰδός-ος*, Sk. *vidvdt-*, for under any theory of the perf. suffix—Schmidt's *van-s* or Brugmann's *vas* (Cl. Rev. VIII, 455 n. 2)—we have to seek an analogical source for *-vat-*, and that source was doubtless the pres. ptc. with a stem-form still represented in Irish *-at-*.

the *-t-* out of *bhāvatās* over the rest of the inflection is simple enough. In this way *rājan-* 'king' is to be interpreted as an older form of *rāj-ant-* 'ruling.' If, however, we take a 1st-person form *bhar-am* with euphonic bye-form *bhar-an*, it was liable to be made 2d person *bhar-an-s*, or 3d person *bhar-an-t*; thus in Sk. *rājā* (nom. sg.) 'king' may lurk a 2d pers. *\*rājānz*, from *\*rājan-s*, and in *rājan* 'ruling' a 3d pers. *rājan-t*.

† THE INSTRUMENTAL SG.—I resume my sentence in the form *bhar-m̐ adat* 'I bear, he eats.' This is liable to the interpretation 'by my bearing he eats.' With consonantal stems Brugmann's argument for an instrumental suffix *-a* rests on forms like Sk. *prati-bhidy-a* 'with splitting,' Greek prepositions like *μετά* 'with,' and Latin *ped-e* 'with the foot.' Every one of these forms may represent an Aryan *-m̐*.<sup>1</sup> The instrum. ending *-mi* of the Baltic languages speaks for this conception, and is to be equated in the verb with the primary 1st sg. *-mi*.

It remains to discuss the instrumentals to *e*-stems of which Sk. *ṛk̐ā* is a type. I note, in the first place, that if the assumption of a suffix *-m̐* above is right, and of a suffix *-mi* = 1st-pers. vb. suffixes, then we may see in *ṛk̐ā* the correspondent of the 1st pers. in *-ō*, e. g. *φερ-ω*.<sup>2</sup>

Another explanation of this case involves no phonetic difficulties. We know that the type *bhar-asa* is impv. in Greek (cf. *ἔπεο*) in its verb-function, and in Latin impv. or indic. (cf. *sequere*). The type *bhar-a-ta* is indic. ('middle') in Greek (*φέpero*), impv. in the Sk. 'injunctive' (*bhārata*), and impv. in Latin (*tegitō*).<sup>3</sup> Then

<sup>1</sup> Certainly in such early Latin as the epitaphs of the Scipios such forms as *omne* for *omnem*, *aide* for *aidem* appear. It may well be that *-e* is *-ē* and the normal representative of final *m̐*. Then in *omnem* we are to see a restoration from *domom*, etc. In *decem* the force of compounds like *decemviri* accounts for the form. It cannot be denied, however, that 1st- and 2d-declension accusatives also lose the final *m̐*. It is not necessary to explain *pede* as instrum. of the 1st person. It may well be instrum. of the 3d, developing from a sentence *bhar-ad adusa* 'he bears, thou eatest,' which gives 'by his bearing thou eatest.'

<sup>2</sup> The relation of *-ō* to *-om*, primary and secondary 1st sg., has not been explained. Can we conceive of *-ō* as *-ē* arising from *-om* in certain cases of sentence euphony? This seems to me the interpretation of Homeric *δῶ* 'home,' which I take to be for *dom-*, a neuter non-thematic stem. Note the suffixless Avest. loc. *dam̐*. Another explanation is given below (p. 421).

<sup>3</sup> I am not oblivious of the form *tegitōd*, but I regard *-itōd* as syncretic, just as the abl. *-itos* (*fund-it-os*). Back of *tegitōd* lie three forms: *\*tegit̐* | *\*tegitōd* (dithem.) and *\*tegitō*; *tegitōd* is *\*tegitō* reinforced from *\*tegitōd*, or, more simply, the failing abl. sense of *tegitō* was reinforced, and the result was *tegitō-d*.



in the doublet *bhar-a* || *bhar-a-sa* we can infer the indic. function for *bhar-a* (supra, p. 413). In a sentence *bhar-a adam* 'thou bearest, I eat,' the sense 'by thy bearing I eat' comes easily. Thus in the instrum. -ā we may see a dithematic continuant of *bhar-a* in the typical sentence given.

There is also no reason why in such Latin adverbs as *bene* we should not see this earliest extension of the stem. We could then explain the vocalization of *bene* : *bonos* by regarding *bôn-* as infected from -*ōs* (infra, p. 426).

Another source from which the instrum. may spring is the 1st sg. -āu || -ā, and the loss of all trace of āu may be due to differentiation from the dual (infra, p. 429).

There is also an instrumental suffix in -*bhi*, Grk. -φι (e. g. θεόφι-(ν), p. 477). This I take to be a 2d-pers. suffix directly comparable with -*mi* of the 1st pers. I connect this suffix etymologically with Sk. *bho* (not *bhos*, see Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 174 *b*) 'your honor, your presence,' belonging possibly to the √*bhū* as a vocative; cf. *atrabhavant* 'your lordship' in the drama. This *bho* is, like 'your lordship,' a sort of mixture of the 2d and 3d persons. It was sometimes pronounced with *plūti* (Delbr., SF. V, §270 *a*), which meant *bhāzu* (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 78 *c*). We can then identify it with the final element in Grk. ἀμ-φω, Lat. *am-bo*.<sup>1</sup> There is also

<sup>1</sup> The only way in which these words can be brought into relation with Sk. *ābhāu* is to see in *ā* a sometime representation of *ṃ*, as in Avestan *guf-ra* to Sk. *gabhi-rā* (Jackson, Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1893, p. xl; Horn, A. J. P. XI 89-90). We have also to see in ἀμφι : Sk. *abhi* an irregular representation of Aryan *ṃ*, repeating itself in Lat. *ambi*. One may ascribe the irregularity to Aryan dialect-differences for solution. But in ἀμφω there lies, I suspect, 'I + thou'; the permanence of the nasal in the orthography may rest on consciousness of the relation with 'me.' In Lat. *ambo* we may see the direct continuant of *ṃ-bh-*. It is not proved that *ṃ* is represented by Lat. *em* as *ṃ* is by *en*. For -*ṃ* final = *em* I have given a reason above; back of *em* lies *ē*, from *ā* (p. 420 n. 1). Taking the material of Stolz (in I. Müller's Hdbch. II<sup>2</sup>, §45), we can explain *sem-el* as affected by *semper* from \**senper* 'once' ('always,' by analogy of opposites, *sim-plex* as affected by *singuli* from \**senguli*; the Lat. forms *hemo* | *homo* need not be identical in grade with Goth. *guma* from \**ghm̥m-ōn*, for as Sk. *mūrdhān*, gen. *mūrdhāns*, shows, there was a shift of accent to the case-endings, and for the gen. *hominis* we can infer oxytone accentuation, whereas in *hemo* the initial accentuation of vocatives may have played a rôle. It was perhaps from noun vocs. of initial accent that the Italo-Celtic initial accentuation originated. For *imber* 'shower' : Sk. *abhrd-* an Italic stage *ṃ fer-* must be admitted, cf. Osk. *anafr̥ss* (?). The derivation of Lat. *emo* from *ṃmo* (cf. Grk. *véμω*) would account for *e-*, if that derivation is correct. There is, however, no ground for assuming an inflexion for any of the congeners of *véμω* in the

kinship, doubtless, between  $-\phi_i$  and Grk.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , whose pronominal nature Bugge long ago recognized for Homer (KZ. XX, p. 42).<sup>1</sup> The vocalization of the doublet  $b\hbar\ddot{a}u \parallel b\hbar\ddot{u}$  is due to its being a voc. of the stem  $b\hbar\ddot{a}$  + the interjectional  $\ddot{a}u$  (infra, p. 429); the  $\sqrt{b\hbar\ddot{u}}$  is after all a secondary development from this demonstrative (cf. Part II).

THE PRIMARY ENDINGS.—The discussion of the instrumental suffix  $-mi$  brings up the question of the origin of the primary endings. We have equipped the Aryan verb with these forms:  $b\hbar ar\text{-}t$  (Lat. *fer-t*),  $b\hbar ar\text{-}ta$  (Lat. *fer-to?*),  $b\hbar ar\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (Sk. injunc.<sup>2</sup>  $b\hbar\acute{a}r\text{-}at$ ),  $b\hbar ar\text{-}a\text{-}ta$  (Grk. inj. middle  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}p\epsilon ro$ ). There were also forms like  $b\hbar ar\text{-}a\text{-}t\ddot{y}a$ , which does not survive as a vb.-form (but cf. the Sk. gerundial doublet  $-t\ddot{y}a \parallel -ya$ , Wh.<sup>3</sup>, 992); but 2d pers.  $b\hbar ar\text{-}a\text{-}s\ddot{y}a$  survived in nouns and also in verbs in a modified form, viz. in the future. Taking the typical sentence  $b\hbar ar\text{-}a\text{-}t\ adas\ddot{y}a$  as impv. = 'of what he bears thou shalt eat,'  $ad\text{-}a\text{-}s\ddot{y}a$  became the basis of a new tense-system, in a fashion that may be represented proportionally thus:  $ada\text{-} : ada\text{-}sa = adas\ddot{y}a\text{-} : adas\ddot{y}a\text{-}sa = adasa\text{-} : adasa\text{-}sa$ . That is to say, as impv.  $ad\text{-}a$  began to be looked on as a base for indic.  $ada\text{-}sa$ ,  $ada\text{-}s\ddot{y}a$ , so impvs.  $adasa$ ,  $adas\ddot{y}a$  formed the base of an indic.  $adasa\text{-}sa$ ,  $adas\ddot{y}a\text{-}sa$ , etc., and in these new infixed

weakest grade with accented thematic vowel. On the other hand, *emo* 'take (buy),' Lith. *imù*, O.Bulg. *imā* are plausibly connectible with Sk.  $\sqrt{yam}$  'hold.' In  $y\acute{a}d\acute{c}hati$  we have the weak grade for  $*yach\acute{d}ti$ , and the Epic  $yamati$  is perhaps for  $*yam\acute{d}ti$ . Of positive proof that  $m$  gives *am* in Latin, at least when followed by labial consonants, I cite the form *ampos*, i. e. *impos* (Pl. Trin. 131; see Loewe in Act. soc. phil. Lips. V, p. 306 sq.). The usual form *impos* was due to the neg. *in-*. *Ambo* is liable to the same explanation as *ampos*. Perhaps in *sa-nec-si* from  $sm\text{-}nec\text{-}si$  or  $*nect\text{-}si$ ? (cf. my explanation of *vinxi*, A. J. P. XIII, p. 481) we have a similar treatment of  $m$ : the primary meaning of the word would be 'bind together.' The formation of the adj. *sacer* can then be confidently referred to that Italic period in which Umbr.-Osk. *pacer* was forming to Latin *pācēt*, *pāciscor* 'make a covenant.' For *pacer* the sense is 'faithful'; cf. Bréal, Tab. Eug., p. 74, on this word.

<sup>1</sup> I note that these comparisons were original with myself, and started from Sk. *bho*, a comparison which, so far as I know, has never been suggested by anybody. I find that the other comparisons have been in part anticipated by Johansson (BB. XIII 122 f.).

<sup>2</sup> I use the term 'injunctive' of the augmentless tenses with secondary endings, whether they have impv. value or not. I note that these tenses in Sk. are a sort of blank verb-form indicating all tense and mode values, the undifferentiated embryo out of which the functional tenses and moods have developed (cf. Wh.<sup>3</sup>, 587). Whitney does not specifically mention the future use, but it is, after all, implicit in the opt. and subj. use.



elements *-sa*, *-sya* we are to see the origin of the aorist-future systems. Returning, however, to the form *adasya*, we can illustrate the upgrowth of the *-si*-form by the following proportion: *adasa* : *adas* = *adasya* : *adasy* || *-si*.

There is, however, another possible explanation that deserves to be mentioned. After the form *bhar-at* from *bhar-a-ta* became fixed as an independent form, it came, doubtless, to stand as a sentence final; now, in pronouncing *-at* a breath-fragment is bound to follow the *-t* as the tongue falls to a position of rest. Who shall say that this breath-fragment, which may be described as a whispered vowel, was not recognized by the Aryans as a speech-sound, and preserved in the subsequent literatures as *i* or as *ü* (Sk. and O.Bulg.)? Its extension to the other persons would easily follow.

THE LOCATIVE.—The raging battle of the locatives is summarized by Meringer in his review (IF. Anz. II, p. 13 sq.) of Bloomfield's 'Adaptation of Suffixes' (A. J. P. XII, pp. 1-29). After all, the loc. is either suffixless or has the ending *-i*. As a suffixless case the locative, in liquid and nasal stems, corresponds either with the nominative (masc.) or the acc. (neut.). In the latter case I believe it to be an out-and-out accusative. Of locs. to action-nouns like 'bearing' there can hardly be question in the primitive period. The conception of loc. and acc. is entirely indifferent: 'I hit his arm,' or 'I hit him on the arm'; only a shade removed is 'I hit at his arm,' where failure to realize is implied by the context. As a *terminus ad quem* the loc. cannot be regarded as more frequent than the acc., and as a suffixless case the loc. and acc. have the same form for neuters to designate place where. As to the correspondence of suffixless locs. with masc. noms., it may be remarked that nom. and acc. were never fully differentiated for neuts., and this state of things was doubtless prior to the differentiation in mascs. In such nom.-locs. I see nom.-accs., the loc. being a subsequent development.

To the loc. suffix *-i* I assign just the origin assigned above to *-i* in the personal endings. A stem *ped-* used as a nom.-acc.-loc. before the 2d pers. *-s* became a nom. sign, and the 1st pers. *-m*, an acc. sign, was as a sentence final *ped+v*,<sup>1</sup> in the developed languages *ped-i*.<sup>2</sup> This *-i* came to be analogically attached even

<sup>1</sup> By this sign I indicate the whispered vowel or breath-fragment.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae's locs. in *-u* may show a variant rendering of this *v*, just as the Slavic verb-forms in *ü*; cf. 3d sg. indic. *-ti*, impv. *-tu* in Sanskrit.

to liquid and nasal stems. Thus we might account for certain *-i*-stems; e. g. Lat. nom.-acc. neut. *mīte* for *\*mīti*. For the origin of the oblique cases cf. *infra*, p. 431.

THE DATIVE.—A ground of kinship between dat. and loc. is perhaps to be seen in their nearly equal use as terminal cases. The suggestion, then, that in the *-ai*-diphthong of the dat. we should see a loc. because of the *-i*, cannot be utterly rejected. In this diphthongal dat. ending Brugmann (Gr. II, §245) sees *-ai*, on the basis of Greek infinitives like *ἰδμεν-αι*, but we cannot be in the least sure that the vocalization has not been affected by the dithematic infinitives in *-ai* (cf. Sk. *°dhyāi*, Grk. *-θαί*).<sup>1</sup> The home of a vital dat. is, after all, in the *e*-stems, where we find the endings *-ōi* and *-ēi*. If a rapprochement be made of dat. and loc.—and be it remembered that in Greek one must speak of a dat.-loc.—then in the dat. diphthong *-ai* of consonant stems we might recognize a thematic *-a + i*, that is to say, a locative, and in *-ēi*, *-ōi* dithematic continuants of *-āi*.

THE DATIVE = 1ST SG. MIDDLE.—But a more primitive character must be assigned to the dat., and one allied to verb-inflexion. The dat. is the case of personal interest and the middle is the mood of personal interest, and the diphthongal element characterizes their endings. The origin of this diphthong I find in the following considerations. I note the exclamations *ai*, *alai*, *oi*, *oīmoi*, *ei* in Lat. *ei mihi*, and also Lat. *vae*, and all of these words are, speaking anachronistically, datives. A Sanskrit interjection *ē* is reported by the lexicographers, and forms perhaps the basis of the emphatic demonstrative *e-ta*.<sup>2</sup> If we bear in mind how infrequently the interjection finds room in the earliest forms of literature, it does not seem too bold to assume an Aryan interjection *ai*. In Grk. *oīmoi* I regard the *-oi* at the end as assimilated to the initial interjection *oi*-. If we assume a sentence *ai! edai bhar-a-sa* 'oh I eat, do thou bear,' it is not hard to pass into the sense 'for my eating, do thou bear.' As a warrant for a 1st sg. middle *-ai* one can cite Sk. pres. and pf. forms and also the Lat. pf. in *-i*. The Greek ending *-μαι* is of subsequent origin.

Rearranging our sentence to *ai bharai adasn* 'oh! I bear, thou eatest,' the hypotactic result is subsequently '<of what I bear> thou eatest,' i. e. a gen., or 'by my bearing thou eatest,' i. e. an

<sup>1</sup> On the origin of these infinitives and the nature of the final diphthong, I refer to my note on the Lat. gerundive (A. J. P. XV, p. 317).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sk. *as-dū*, Grk. *av-τε*, etc., *infra*, p. 429.

instrum. As a relic of the gen.-dat. we must regard Sk. forms in *-āyāi* (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 365 *d*); the Grk. dat. is really a dat.-instrum. Thus, once again the 'mixed' case preceded the differentiated.

In consideration of the Indiran datives in *āya*, for which I give below a specific explanation as secondary, we cannot exclude the possibility that the dative *-āy* is related to *-āya* in just the same way that the gen. *-as* is related to *-asa*. It does not seem to me, however, that by this explanation we are brought so close to the solution of the optative problem which is, I believe, bound up in the complex of dat. = 1st sg. mid. (cf. *infra*, p. 439). Johansson, in BB. XX, p. 98, has indeed already seen in Sk. *-āya* an Aryan *-o-yo*.

I have now developed the typical Aryan cases for the sg. It remains to speak of some individual phenomena in Sanskrit.

THE SK. DATIVE IN *-āya*.—The Sk. dative is theoretically *\*devāi* || *\*devāy*; the historical form *devāya* is due to the influence of the gen. *devāsya*, and it is not improbable that the gen. before vowels was elided in Aryan to *-sy*, which would render this analogy easier.

THE SK. INSTRUM. IN *-ena*.—We are entitled to assume (*supra*, p. 420) that there was a Sk. 1st pers. instrum. of the type *\*dev-am* thematic, or *\*dev-ām* dithematic,<sup>1</sup> and to assume the bye-form *\*devan* in sentence euphony (*supra*, p. 419 n. 1). Now this *\*devan* may have added once more the consonantal stem-suffix *a* (from *m*), giving *\*devana*; cf. Avest. instrum. sg. *ka-na* and Sk. adverbial forms like *canā*. In *devēna* we can explain *-na* in the way suggested, and see in *deve-* a thematic dat.-instrum. (*supra*, p. 424), as in *deve-bhyām* (instrum. dual).

THE SK. GEN. PLUR. IN *-ānām*.—Here I find a syncretic form, the result of the euphonic doublet *\*devām* || *devān*. From these sources *-n-* became a regular inflective element in Sk.

CHANGES OF THE VOWEL *a*; GENDER.—According to the view stated above (footnote to p. 412), *e* and *o* developed out of a primitive *a*, owing to the consonantal environment. Thus in a 2d pers. nom. to an *e*-stem we should expect *-e-s*, the dental vowel before the dental sibilant, and so in the 3d pers. abl. *-e-t*. In the 1st pers. nom.-acc. an original *-a-m* gave us *o-m*, a change due to the rounding of the lips preparatory to their closure for the *-m*-sound. Thus, and not by gradation, I would explain the vari-

<sup>1</sup> For instrumentals in *-ām* cf. Brug., Gr. II, §896, Anm., and the articles there cited.

ation of *e* and *o* in masc. thematic inflexion. No gradation theory will genetically explain, for example, the *-o-s* of thematic genitives to monosyllables, which was always under the accent, and no gradation theory explains the invariable *-e* of the voc. sg., which was never under the accent; no explanation of the stems *ped-* || *pod-* as due to gradation can pretend to be adequate. Particularly cogent for the view I have stated is the fact that in verb-inflexion the thematic vowel *-o* appears only before *m* (*n*).

By this view an explanation of the type *φόρος* is in our reach. There were conflicting 1st and 2d pers. noms. in *o-m* and *e-s*. Out of this conflict came *o-s*; but this was not all: when *\*bher-e-s* and *\*bher-o-m* created the new type *\*bher-o-s*, the infection went further to *\*bhor-o-s*. By subsequent differentiation came accs. of the *γίν-ος*-type (supra, p. 415) and noms. like *φόρ-ος*. This explanation is obviously applicable to the doublet represented by the Grk. gen. *ποδός* || Lat. *pedis*, i. e. *\*pedēs*.<sup>1</sup> By this explanation Lat. *bene* represents an older vocalization than *bonos*.

The same principle of explanation is applicable to initial vowels and root-finals. Let us take the *√ag* 'drive.' Is there any phonetic reason why *a* was the vowel-shade in this root? Yes, a very good one: *a* and *g* are both gutturals. In the same way the *√ad* 'eat' became *ed-* by assimilation. It is noticeable that in a language as copious as the Greek there is no root-word beginning with *éγ-*, for in *é-γείρ-ω* the so-called prothetic *é-* is the 'augment,' just as in *é-θέλ-ω*: Homer uses *θέλ-ω* only once, and *\*γείρ-ω* never. There is no ground for believing that the augment was past originally, and I do not look upon the relation of *θέλ-ω* : *έθέλ-ω* as in any way different from that of *κείνος* : *έκείνος*. The reason that in *έθέλ-ω* 'wish' the *ε-* became attached to the entire vb. was doubtless that it had a slight emotive force (cf. the interjection *έί*), which helped the connection to be made. The use of the unaugmented past tenses in both Homer and the

<sup>1</sup> In Lat. *pedem* we may see a thematic acc. affected by the gen. *\*ped-es*. Sk. *pād-am* may be also a thematic acc. persisting in non-thematic inflexion. Thus in the Lat. instrum. *pedē* we can see *-ē = -m̄* (supra, p. 420), and in Sk. *pād-a* (with secondary lengthening) *-ā = -m̄*. Apropos of Grk. *ποδός*, I suggest that the doublet *πῶς* || *ποῖς* is based primarily, by external phonetic similarity, on the doublet *βῶς* || *βοῖς*; *ὀδούς* 'tooth' has doubtless affected the accent of *ποῖς*, while the accent of *πῶς* (for *πῶς*, Bloomfield, A. J. P. IX 15) shows the effect of *βῶς*. The extension of the form *ποῖς* was doubtless aided by the other part of the body, *ὀδοῖς* (Bloomfield, A. J. P. XII 2). I note also the spelling *οῖς* : Lat. *auris* (cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 262).

Vedas as regular pasts (along with the 'injunctive' meaning) shows that the augment was not definitely given a past value till in the separate life of Greek and Sanskrit.

The only other word is *ἐγ-ώ*, whose *ε-* is due to the *ε-* in other words of the paradigm (cf. Gr. *ἐμέ*, Lat. *enos*).

In the same way assuming a  $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ , we should expect this to become in 2d sg. *\*gēs*, 3d sg. *\*gēt*, but in 1st sg. probably *\*gōm*; while its voc.-impv. would remain *\*gā*. When the endings became extended in verbs to *\*gā-si*, *\*gā-li*, such forms as *\*gāsi*, *\*gāti* were the result of the feeling of the connection with impv. *\*gā*. Thus, beside *\*g-ēt*, one user of language might maintain *\*gā-t* to correspond with voc.-impv. *\*gā*, while another made a voc.-impv. *\*gē* to correspond with his abl. 3d sg. *\*g-ēt*. This differentiation of vowels, due to their assimilation to the neighboring consonants, was interpreted as gender in the verb (infra, p. 435 sq.).

The problem of gender is also involved in this explanation. From the point of view of the form, the designation of gender is limited to the thematic declensions where, beside stems in *e/o*, masc. (neut.), fem. stems in *-ā* appear, with voc. in *-ā*, i. e. *-ā*. This *-a* with guttural environment persisted, as it also persisted in the verb, e. g. Grk. *ἀγα-μαι*<sup>1</sup> 'admire.' It would be just as allowable to call *ā* a grade in the *e/o* series, as it is to speak of the *e/o* series at all. In the earliest Aryan times the distinction of gender must have been at least as important as the distinction of case, and probably existed before case-person was developed.

A very special reason existed for the adaptation of the voc. in *-a* to the feminine. This was the primitive child-word *mama*,<sup>2</sup> an unconscious utterance, but almost universally applied to the female parent, sometimes, however, to the natural milk of which she is

<sup>1</sup> I see nothing convincing in bringing *ἀγαμαι* into relation with *μέγας* 'great.' The linguistic research of to-day allows itself too many liberties with gradation. We cannot simply infer from *μέγα-ς* to *\*mga* without being able to prove the latter stage in any language at all. In the still unwritten chapter on the Aryan spirants *ἀγαμαι* will be found, I believe, a congener of German *ach*!—whence *ach-t*, *acht-en*.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot question the preponderance of the word *mama* over *papa*, but the latter left its trace in the Greek voc.-noms. like *ππότης*. I note that, so far as my observation goes, the natural utterances of a child give only the vowel sounds *ā*, *i*, *ū*, and their calls are nearly all reduplicative: *water*, e. g., becomes *wawa*. I find that Brugmann (Gr. II, §57, Anm.) has had the same notion of the effect of the word *mama*.

the source. We cannot doubt that natural gender preceded grammatical gender.<sup>1</sup>

In the *-a*-stems where *a* persisted we have the same state of things as in the *e/o*-stems, thematic forms in *-ā* and dithematic forms in *-ā̄*.

THE NEUTER.—This must have been the last of the genders to develop. We have seen above (pp. 415, 416, 418), how 1st, 2d and 3d pers. nom.-accs. developed. The acc. as a practical *nomen actionis*, passive noun (supra, p. 415), was neither masc. nor fem. by natural gender, whence its adaptation to the nom. neut.; the employment of the passive *nomen actionis* as a subject must be manifestly subsequent to this use of the active *nomen agentis*.

The only specific neut. form is the nom. plur. in *-ā || -ā̄*: these I explain as dithematic and thematic respectively, representing Aryan *-ā̄*. The permanence of *-a* was due again to consonantal environment, e. g. in *yug-a*. The thematic voc.-nom. sg. persisted in Greek, e. g. *εὐρύονᾶ*, and retained, though subsequently adapted as a neut. plur., its verb in the singular: *ζυγά ἐστιν*. When the *-s* of the 2d pers. became a nom. sign in the fem. plur., the dithematic *-ā̄* which was left over was adapted to neuters. Adaptation of abandoned forms to new needs is a regular process of linguistic economy (cf. my remarks on 'Linguistic Conservation of Energy,' *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, col. 268).

THE PLURAL.—We saw above (p. 418) that the plur. and sg. were not originally separated; that the distinction of number is elusive, particularly in the 2d pers. Thus it was possible to see in Aryan *-es* an undifferentiated group, plur. or sg. at will. Its dithematic form persists in *-ōs*. There was also a diphthongal ending, Grk. *-oi*, which I take to be identical with the dithematic dat. *-ōi* in origin. The exclamatory nature of this diphthong was set forth above (p. 424); we need not be surprised, then, at the Sk. vocs. (fem.) like *āḥve*; cf. Grk. voc. *Παιδοί* (infra, p. 431). That the same type is presented by the Lat. voc. plur. *equai* is probable enough. The adaptation of the diphthong to the gender (*-ai || -oi*) was of course inevitable, according to the vowel shown in the sg. The acc. plur. I have explained above (p. 419 n. 1) as acc. sg. + a pluralizing *-s*, borrowed from the nom. The gen. plur. is a dithematic acc. sg. (cf. supra, p. 418).

<sup>1</sup> Grammatical gender is not quite coextensive with the division of stems into *ā- || e-*stems. Greek preserved fems. in *-ος* and mascs. in *-ᾶς*, and Latin has mascs. in *-ā*.

The loc. pluralizes by adding *-s* to the suffixless loc. sg., extended to *-s-i* as the suffixless sg. was extended by *-i* (supra, p. 423). I note also the variation *i/u* as in vb.-inflexion. The dat.-instrum. plur. adds in thematic nouns a pluralizing *-s* to the dithematic dat.-instrum. sg. Instrumentals in *-bhi*, *-mi* are used as sg. or plur., or pluralize by adding *-s*. The abl. plur. is a composite of the *-bhi*, *-mi*-forms + the thematic abl. sg. ending *-as*. The Indiranian *-i* of neut. plur. to consonant stems is of the same nature as the *-i* of verb-inflexion, and of the loc. and the *-i* of the neut. sg. (supra, l. c.).

THE DUAL.—In the nom.-acc. *-ōu/ō* we might see, perhaps, a dithematic *ō* with a *u*-vanish of a parasitic nature. The Grk. fem. dual in *-ā* is of the same nature as the masc. in *-ω*. In the *u* of the gen.-loc. *-ous* || *-ou* we might see a thematic loc. in *-u* extended to vowel stems from its place as a parasitic vanish to consonant stems (supra, l. c.), pluralized (?) or genitivized (?) by the *-s*. In the Sk. ending *-ayos* we have perhaps a double form loc. sg. *ai + ous*. It is to be noted that the loc. dual ending *-ou* is limited to Indiranian and Slavic, just as the vb.-ending *-u* for *-i* (supra, l. c.). The neut. acc. dual ending *-ai* may be identified with the loc. sg. (supra, l. c.), or may contain an element of the voc.-dat. (supra, p. 424), as the thematic fem. dual in *-ai* does. The *-ε* of Grk. duals to consonant stems is the *-ε* of the voc. sg., a relic of the period before number was developed.

But the GOTHIC VERB-ENDING *-au* OF THE OPT. IMPV. invites comparison with the dual ending. It needs no explanation to say that the opt. is exclamatory, and doubtless originally of the 1st pers. To find in *au*, as in *ai* (supra, l. c.), an interjection is most easy. The demonstrative value is retained in the Sk. *as-āu* 'thou yonder' (Delbr., SF. V, §136), Grk. *αὐ-τός* 'self' and *οὐ-τός* 'yon one.' I add to this group Lat. *hōc*, *hūc*: here I find a dithematic *-āu* || *-ā*, based on an interjection *āu* (cf. Grk. *αὐτός*). In *hōc* (nom.-acc.-abl.) I see <*h*>*ā + ce*, and in *hūc* <*h*>*ou + ce* (Grk. *οὐτός*). The nature of this interjectional *-āu* || *-ā* cannot be very different from that of our English *ah*! Now in the Aryan 1st pers. subj. *-ā* we may see the bye-form of *-āu*. Its adaptation to the indic., as in Grk. *φέρ-ω*, followed. Sk. also preserves this ending very fully, viz. in the pf. 1st and 3d sg. *-āu* || *-ā* to roots in *-ā*. It is pluralized also in the Sk. 1st dual in *-āv-as*. The problematic Lith. 1st sg. pret. *-au* has perhaps the same history.

In the *-ō* of the instrumental we may have this same *-au* (v supra, p. 420, for another association with the 1st pers.).

How can this 1st sg. voc.-opt. be brought into relation with the dual? A stem *bhar-* would have had two vocatives, *bhar-a* and *bhar-āu* (also *bharāi*, supra, p. 424). It was simply a question of subsequent adaptation to treat *bhar-āu* as a voc. dual.

But there was a more specific motive, and that was the form *dvāu* 'two.' In *dv-āu* I see *tu+āu*, with an original meaning 'thou—yonder' (cf. Sk. *as-āi*, supra). It was, I believe, Benfey who first suggested that 'thou' and 'two' had a common source. In point of meaning no objection can be made to this association. The dissociation of *tu* and *dvāu* in the Aryan period was due, doubtless, to a euphonic doublet *tuau*, then *tv-āu*, and with assimilation *dv-āu*.

The dualic godheads like *Mitrā Vārunā* in Vedic furnish evidence for the vocs. in *-āu* to Sk. *ā*-stems. *Mitra* was doubtless merely an epithet meaning 'friendly' (cf. Lat. *mit-is* 'gentle'), and this 'god' was never fully personified in the Veda (cf. Kaegi's RV., Am. ed., n. 227), and ought not to be individualized any more than *Gradivus* beside *Mars*. I note that each word retains its own accent. Avestan seems to prove this, for *mīpra-* retains its ordinary meaning of 'friend,' while *varenyā*, which is perhaps to be connected with Sk. *vāruna-*, takes pejorative force, like *devā-*, becoming an epithet of demons.

The standing explanation of *Mitrā-Vārunā* (Delbr., SF. V, §58) is not to be accepted. Delbrück himself, while explaining the dual form *āhanī* 'two days' as a way of saying 'day and night,' doubts whether this explanation is applicable to *rōdasi* 'two worlds,' i. e. heaven and earth. In this last case the inference is a perfectly simple one, and *āhanī*<sup>1</sup> has possibly been patterned on *rōdasi*; so also *Mitrā*<sup>2</sup> = '*Mitrā* and *Vāruna*' (once

<sup>1</sup> If my comparison of *āhan* with Germ. *abend* (Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 269) is right, then *āhanī* (: *ādah* 'burn') may have meant 'morning and evening glow.'

<sup>2</sup> It must also be noted that the compound is separated at RV. VIII 25, 2, thus: *mitrā* (dual?) . . . *vāruno* (sg.). I would explain this usage as harking back to a state of things when *mitrā* was but an epithet, in the nom.-voc., thematic *\*mitrāu* and dithematic *mitrāu*. This monothematic form is the background of the Sk. and Avestan nom. in *-o* (i. e. *-du*, not *-as*; cf. on Avest. *-ō* from *-du* Bartholomae, BB. IX, p. 308; XIII, p. 83). In Greek nouns in *-εύς* we have possibly an adaptation of this suffix to a special value. I note my equation of *\*Απεις* = *I>n<d>ra* (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, p. vii). See also below in the text on the development of *i-* and *u-* stems from *a-* stems.



in RV.) is a forced construction patterned on *āhanī*, and not a normal usage of the language.

**SOME SPECIAL FORMS.**—The Sk. neut. plur. in *-āni* I explain as a dithematic neut. sg., with change of *-m* to *-n* (supra, p. 419), and the addition of the breath-fragment *-v* from the consonantal declension (supra, p. 423). The fem. declension in Sk. differs from the normal forms. This difference can be stated for the Indiranic period by saying that between the root and the dithematic endings in the sg. the group *-āy-* is interposed. I compare, morphologically, *áfvā* (nom. sg.) : *aḥve* (voc. sg.) with *Πειθῶ* : *Πειθοί* (supra, p. 428). In the gen. *áfvāyās* (Avestan *-āyā*), *Πειθῶος* the endings have been affixed to the voc.-nom. in *-oy-*, just as in Germ. *-e-so* (supra, p. 415) we have the voc. + the gen. ending *-so*. In *Πειθῶ* we are to see a dithematic nom. sg. without *-s*. In *fidē-s* we have the dithematic type with *-s*. Worthy of note is the Sk. loc. in *-āyām* beside the acc. in *-ām*. For the loc.-acc. see above, p. 423.

Indeed, in the vocatives in *-āi*, *-āu* (supra, p. 430), ONE SOURCE OF THE *-i* AND *-u*-STEMS may be seen. Thus, to a locative in *-ai* a gen. *-ay-as* (Grk. *ῥφεος*) was formed, which, when the suffix was accented, became *-y-ás*, thence *-i-yás* (Sk. *āv-yas*, but *ari-yás*, Grk. *ῥφιος*). In *-i-y-as* the *y* was felt as a mere passing sound, and thus stems in *-i-* were abstracted to stems in *-a-*. If we substitute *u* and *w* for *i* and *y* in the above explanation, it will serve to show a source of *-u*-stems. I do not exclude original words in *-i* and *-u*, for these sounds are among the child's powers of utterance.

Traces of the extension of the voc. as a stem are seen in the Sk. nom. *vī'-s* (beside *vīs*) and in the Avestan noms. in *-āus* to *-u*-stems (cf. also supra, p. 430, footnote 2). The Sk. locatives in *-āu* to *-ū* (*-i*) stems are probably of this origin. They were doubtless adapted to the loc. before the loc. sign *-i* was developed. It will be borne in mind that the prime value of *-āu* was deictic.

In the Sk. DUAL ENDING *-bhyām* we are to see a combination of the sg. endings *-bhi* and *-m/-mi*. Avest. *-bya* is for *-bhyṃ*. The long vowel in *-bhy-ām*, also from *-bhyṃ*, has been affected by the nom. in *ā* (*āu*): *devā-bhyām* for *\*devābhyām*, because of nom. *devā*; or *-ām* may be simply taken as a dithematic 1st. pers. instrum. (supra, p. 425). *\*Devābhyām* is justified by the pronominal dative plur. *asmābhyām*.

**THE PLURAL IN VERBS.**—We are prepared, after the identification of verb- and noun-inflexion given above, to pass at once to

an explanation of some of the plural forms: *bharam-as* is manifestly a plural to *bhar-am-*, and 3d dual *bharat-as* is a manifest plural to 3d sg. *bharat*; 2d dual *-thas* is modelled on 3d dual *-ta-s*, but in its *th* we have an affection from 2d sg. *-tha* of the perf. In Sk. 2d plur. *-tha* we must recognize this pf. 2d sg. *-tha*; for confusion of number see above, p. 418. The vocalization in *-tha-s/-ta-s* was patterned on that of *-m-es*, and so became *th-es*. In Grk. *φίπετε* we may have the representative of Aryan *bharatha* or the equivalent of Sk. *bhārata*. In *bhāra-ta* with impv. force, Lat. *fer-te*, we must recognize a confusion of persons due to the fact that *-sa* and *-ta* were both originally 2d persons (supra, p. 413). Note the 2d and 3d impv. ending Sk. *-tād*, Lat. *-tōd*. The ending *-me* (for *-me-s*) was doubtless patterned on the pair *-the* || *-the-s*. The duals of the impv. in *-tam*, *-tām* I reserve for treatment below. In the Sk. 1st dual dithematic *-āvas* we have a pluralization of the 1st sg. *-āu* (cf. supra, p. 429).

THE 3D PLUR. ACT.—In its secondary tenses Sanskrit employs the doublet *-an/-ur* in the 3d plur., and *-ur* universally in the perf. and opt. It is possible that the ending *-an* is for *-ant*, i. e. *-on-t*; cf. Grk. *-ον-τι*, *-ον-το*. A possible explanation of this as a 1st pers. stem *-on* (from *-om*) + a 3d personal *-to* lies implicit in what has been said about the pres. ptc. (supra, p. 419); thus: *bharan-t(a)* *adam-* 'they bearing, I eat,' *bharanta* being a form prior to the upgrowth of *-s* as a pluralizing sign (cf. 2d pers. *-ta*).

Another explanation of *-an* is that in the *n* we have a relic of a compound demonstrative stem, the same as the Indiranic and Balto-Slavic stem *a-na*, which has passed into thematic inflexion. It appears also in Sk. in the form *an-yá-* (*a-n- + yá-*) 'other,' i. e. the 'further of two.' In suffixal *-onto* we may see a compound of two demonstratives, just as we do in *an-ya*, with a sense of 'yon that one,' i. e. 'that one yonder'; or *-onto* is copulative 'that + this' = 'they.' The adaptation of *-on* to the plural followed subsequently, as number became important.

From the source *-on* the noun-stems may have also developed, as well as from the doublet *-om* || *-on* (supra, p. 419 and n. 1).

In the ending *-ur* I also see a demonstrative stem. Like *a-n*, it is used as an indefinite in *ἄλλος*: *alius*, from *ar*,<sup>1</sup> + *yo-*, i. e.

<sup>1</sup> For the symbol *r*, I refer to my article in A. J. P. XIII, p. 463 sq. The sound is an *r* that became *l* in the European languages and remained *r* in the Asiatic. As a final it did not alter in European, nor in certain special positions (ib., p. 472), and perhaps not always as initial. That in the passage

$a+r+yá-$ , and as a remote demonstrative in Lat. *olle*<sup>1</sup>: *ul-tra*, Umbr. *uru* || *ulo*; cf. Sk. *ārē* 'far, afar.'<sup>2</sup> In the Greek enclitic *ῥα* || *ῥ'* we have this pronominal stem, and in O.Irish *ro*.<sup>3</sup> This word is used as a perfect-forming suffix; cf. s. v. *δ*), Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 744: "vor Präsensformen in der Erzählung, die dadurch praeteritale Bedeutung erhalten," and, just before: "Gebrauch sehr gewöhnlich vor Perfectum und Praeteritum." In Indiranic *-ur* is a 3d plur. ending, but that is no proof that it was originally 3d plur. Sk. also shows compound forms with this ending, restricted to the perf., viz. 2d dual *-thur*, 3d dual *-tur*, but euphonically often *-thus*, *-tus*; *-thus* is patterned manifestly in the consonant part on the 2d sg. pf. *-tha*. But *-tur* is not solely an Indiranic form. It appears also in the Italo-Celtic deponent and passive, Lat. 3d sg. *-tur*, Ir. 3d plur. *-tir* || *-tar*. The Ir. 3d sg. pass. is *-ir* || *-ar*, and will be seen to correspond with Sk. 3d plur. in *-ur*. Now, Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I, §77)

of *r*, to *l* certain *r*'s should have resisted change by adaptation to certain meanings, is in line with the statements above advanced. It is splitting hairs to set up an Aryan root *delo* 'split' and another *dero* 'split,' as Prellwitz has done in his *Etym. Wört.*, s. v. *δέλτος* and *δέρω*, when they ought to be united under the form *der*. It is a rigid uniformitarian that would separate *χολάδες* 'guts' from *χορδή* 'gut,' or Umbr. *uru* from *ulo* = *illo*. I do not myself believe that the interchange of *r* and *l* needs to be referred to dissimilative reduplicating groups (cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §60, Anm. 1). The conception of a root at all is that it is the common base of all its derivatives. Thus freedom of interchange between *r* and *l* is limited by semantic considerations.

<sup>1</sup> I surmise that *ille* for *olle* (from *ll-e* or *l-se*?) has been affected in its initial by *i-s*, *i-d*.

<sup>2</sup> It has been already suggested in the Academy (1086), by Darbishire, that Lat. *altus* 'renowned, noble' belongs to this group; cf. *ille* '(that) famous.' We could thus connect Sk. *aryd* 'lofty, noble' and Grk. *ἀριστος*. To this *λῶϊον* 'better' may be related, from *\*f-iyon-s*. The variation between *r* and *l* in Greek would have associated itself with a divergence of meaning.

<sup>3</sup> The specific correspondences of usage between Grk. *ῥα* || *ῥα'* and Ir. *ro* are very marked; *ro* is used with the rel. pron., and is sometimes enclitic in position (Windisch, s. v. *ro* 3); similar in use is *ῥα'* (Autenrieth, s. v. *ῥα* 4): *ro* is used after the negation (Wind., l. c. 1); note *οὐδ' ῥα' ἐμέλλεν* (cited by Autenrieth, l. c. 1): "in der Composition steht *ro* zwischen Präpos und Verbalform" (Wind., l. c. 8); note *κατ' ῥα ἐζέρο* (A. 68): *ro* is used after *co-n* 'in order that' (Wind., l. c. 4), *ῥα'* is used after causal particles (Auten., l. c. 3). The identification of *ro* with *πρό*, good enough phonetically, suffers from a lack of analogy in its syntactical value: when we conceive *ro* as a demonstrative, the Lat. use of *iam* (Gildersleeve's *Gram.*, §230) as a tense-forming particle, and the Sk. use of *sma* (Wh.<sup>2</sup> §778 *b* and *c*) are cases directly analogous. For *ro* with pronouns and conjunctions, the equation with *πρό* is worthless.

makes the Ir. gen. *athar* come from *\*pater os*, or *\*patr-os*, but, after all, that does not make the *-ar* clear, so far as I can see. I suggest instead that in the gen. *māthar* we have the same form as in Sk. *mātūr*. In both I see an Aryan *-tṛ*, not *-tṛ-s*, before vowels *-tṛr* (Gr. I, §285), whence Sk. *-tur* and Irish *-tar* (cf. *ib.*, §298, 3). Thus in Ir. 3d sg. deponent *-thar*, and in Lat. 3d sg. dep. *-tur*, I would see an Aryan *-tṛr*, Sk. 3d dual *-tur*. This state of things allows us to see at once that in Ir. 3d sg. *-ar*<sup>1</sup> we have a form directly comparable with Sk. 3d plur. *-ur*. I note also Umbr. 3d sg. *fer-ar* (= *fer-a-tur*). The correspondence is certainly striking, that the abl. gen. sg. is again found similar to the 3d pers. sg. of the verb.

A word remains to be said on the nature of the compound stem *tara-* with thematic bye-form *tr-a-*. It is, like *śya* (supra, p. 422), and *śva*, below, a compound of two demonstrative stems, *ta-* + *ra-*. As we actually have it before us, we may regard the ending *-tur* as an abl. 3d sg. in *-t* + an abl. 3d sg. in *-ṛr*, the result of elision of *-ra*, as *-t* is of *-ta*.

THE SUFFIX *ter*.—The difficult question of the relation of the past ptc. suffix in *-to* to the agential suffix in *-tar* here comes to a solution. In Avestan the ptc. and the agency noun often conflict in meaning (cf. my 'Studies in Etymology,' A. J. P. XIII, p. 477). It was noted above (p. 416) how the 3d pers. consonantal stem *ā-γνṵr-* is act. or pass. in meaning. Its thematic extension *ā-γνṵro-* was prevailingly passive; a further compound with the weak stem *-r-*, giving *-tar-*, was again prevailingly active.

I reserve to a later point the discussion of the development of the Italo-Celtic deponent-passive, and of the Sanskrit perf., merely remarking for the present that what is probably the earliest of all the perfs., the only one, I believe, widely diffused in the subsequent literatures, is that represented by Sk. *vēda*, Grk. *Fōda*, which is neither reduplicated nor 'perfect.'

OTHER DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS IN VERB-INFLEXION.—The stem *ve-*<sup>2</sup> also entered into verb-inflection; this stem was finally adapted to the 2d person, and is the base of Lat. *vōs*. It appears in Sanskrit verb-inflection as a 2d sg. (mid.) impv. in the compound form *-śva*, directly comparable with *-śya* (supra, p. 422).

<sup>1</sup> This is the ending for conjunct inflexion. In the form *ber-ir* beside *dober-ar* I would see a *\*ber-r-*, with metathesis of *\*ber-ri* because of *dober-ar*.

<sup>2</sup> From this point on the writing of stems with *-a* will be occasionally given up in favor of the current theories.

*ke, ske* (Brugmann's Classes XXII-XXIII).—Another stem that made its way into verb-inflexion was *ke-*. Just like *e-*, this was doubtless added first to the root-nouns to form impvs. Its deictic value for verbs was just what it was for pronouns. The *-k* became so thoroughly identified with the root that examples covering the Aryan field do not appear. I find one in Latin *face* || *fac*, precisely comparable in point of formation with *hi-ce* || *hi-c*. In Greek the pf. sign *-κε* is doubtless to be ascribed to this source, as also the three aorists in *-κε*. But if the proposition is incapable of proof that *-ke-* was added to the Aryan root, it is very clear that the compound *-ske-* was. I note Hom. *βάσκε*<sup>1</sup> (always with elision *βάσκ'*) and Vedic *gácha*. This type was widely diffused. Interesting is the distribution of these suffixes between pres. and aor. in Grk., e. g. *λά-σκειν* : *λα-κεῖν*, where the root was *r,ā* (cf. the author in Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., '94, p. vi).

*te, ste* (?) (Brugmann's Class XXIV).—This stem was also the base of an inflective type (Brugmann, Gr. II, §679 sq.). Traces of the compound stem *ste-* are perhaps to be found in Germanic, e. g. in NHG. *kri-sten* 'groan' : MLG. *crī-ten* (ib., §685), and in Baltic, e. g. Lith. *kil-stu* (ib., §686), which is possibly original, and not analogical.

*se, ye, sye* (Brugmann, XIX sq., XXVI sq., XXX).—We are prepared to see in these verbal elements the same development from demonstrative stems as has been seen in the case of *e, ce*, etc.

*ene* || *ne, neve* || *neu* || *nu* (Brugmann, XIII, XVII-XVIII).—In *ene* || *ne*, compound of *e + ne*, and in *neve*, compound of *ne + ve*, we have further demonstrative stems that penetrated into verb-inflexion in a way already sufficiently indicated.

So much in sketchy outline for the part of demonstrative stems in verb-inflexion. I reserve for subsequent fuller treatment some of these points.

**GENDER IN THE VERB.**—It is well known that the Hebrew verb denotes the gender of its subject, in the 2d and 3d persons (cf. Harper's Elements, §58, n. 2). The Aryan verb has the category of gender in all its participles. May it not also have had the gender-inflexion in its finite forms?

In the first place, it probably did have that affection in its denominatives. In Greek there are a great number of denomi-

<sup>1</sup> *βάσκ'* 6 times, other forms in compounds twice: this statistic possibly allows an inference to be drawn as to the impv. origin of this type.

natives in *άω* to noun-stems in *-o/e-*. This relation I ascribed to gender in the following cautious way, in an exercise on the Greek Denominatives which I read in Prof. Brugmann's *Linguistische Gesellschaft* in Leipzig, in the winter of 1892: "Es gab also in der Urzeit neben masc. *o*-st. fem. *ā*-st. die 1) die geschlechtige motion zeigten, und 2) abstracta waren. Zu der 2en klasse formten sich schon in der Urzeit vb. denom. in *āy*—möglicher weise auch zu der 1ten klasse—um die geschlechtige motion auf das gebiet des verbums fortzuführen. Auf beiden fällen, was die einzelnen sprachen betrifft, können entweder die *ā*-st. oder die *o*-st. oder beide ausgestorben sein, und die dazugehörigen vb. denom. geblieben sein."

To that statement, which I then carried no further, I offer the following considerations by way of proof. The material is assembled in L. Sütterlin's *Zur Gesch. der Vb. Denom. im Altgriechischen*, p. 19 f. Sütterlin's study annexes these verbs in *άω* to neut. plurals, where such are to be found, a process due to V. Henry, *Études sur l'Analogie*, p. 175 f., or he ascribes such formations, when only masc. *o*-stems survive, to analogical associations with verbs of like meaning beside feminine nouns, e. g. *γοάω* : *γός*, patterned on *βοάω* : *βοή*. His first group consists of agricultural verbs. Of these Homer uses *άμάω* 'mow' frequently and with any sort of subject. At ι 247 *πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν άμψάμενος κατίθηκεν* seems to mean 'collecting < measuring,' in which case, if the word is to be connected with Lat. *messis* 'harvest,' which I greatly doubt, we must refer it to the *√mē* 'measure.'<sup>1</sup> Its prothetic *a-* comes perhaps from *\*hmā-*. In point of fact one cannot well pronounce an initial *m* without putting a short *h* before it. This phonetic condition will explain the prothetic vowels before *m* and *n*, in *ά-νήρ*, e. g.

Another Homeric verb is *άλοιάω*, *άπ. λεγ.* at I 568 *πολλά δέ καί γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσίν άλοία* 'Many times she lashed the grass-clad earth with her hands.' The verb is supposed to be denominative to *άλωή* 'threshing-floor.' I note that the subject is feminine.

The third agricultural verb in Homer is *τρυνάω* 'gather grapes.' This occurs in the *Hoplopoiia*, Σ 566, and is explained by the two next verses: *παρθενικαί δέ καί ήθεοι άταλά φρονέοντες | πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι φέρον μελιηδέα καρπόν*. Here it is plain that maidens were engaged at the vintage. In η 124 the word is again used, with indefinite subject, but possibly harking back to *δμφαί* in vs. 103.

<sup>1</sup> *άω* and not *-έω*, because the vb. is feminine (cf. *infra*, p. 438).

That women were the agricultural laborers of Aryan times is every way likely. The Indian women of North America were, and the women on the continent of Europe are to-day.<sup>1</sup> The Homeric women ground the meal, η 104. The men seem to have ploughed, ζ 542, and the verb ἀρόω is masculine. In Lat. *agricola*, *arāre* we seem to have feminines, possibly in reminiscence of an earlier state in which husbandry, even in its heaviest tasks, was left to the women.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, too, that the feminine association came from the fact that cows were the plough-drawers, γ 382-3.

Sütterlin next sets up a class of verbs (p. 22) showing "eine handwerksmässige fertigkeit oder thätigkeit." The Homeric examples for which he finds feminines in -η as patterns, are τεχνάω, ὑφάω and σκεπάω; ὑφάω means 'weave,' and is certainly feminine; τεχνάω was used in the same sense (η 110 ἰστών τεχνῆσαι). σκεπάω 'ward off' is used in the form σκεπάωσι (for σκεπάουσι) at ν 99, but with feminine subject. τεχνάομαι as a general handicrafts word would have affected πελεκκάω 'hew' (ε 244). There is undoubted connection between τεχνάομαι and τέκτων. Lat. *texere* 'weave' has the special sense of τεχνῆσαι in η 110 (supra). Every one knows that the sewing-machine is feminine.

Sütterlin (p. 23) makes a class of verbs that express sickness. The most of these have beside them *ā*-stems and call for no explanation. I remark that disease is in a sense feminine, owing to woman's law of periodicity.<sup>3</sup> Lat. *laborare* possibly means 'travail,' but this sense for the vb. is not seen in the citations presented by L. and Sh. before Horace (Carm. III 22, 2 *laborantes utero puellae*), though it is perhaps implicit in *laborare ex intestinis*, Cic. Fam. VII 26, 1; *ex renibus*, id. Tusc. II 60. The noun *labor* 'travail' is seen in Plaut. Curc. 219-21:

valetudo decrescit, ad crescit labor  
nam iam quasi sona liene cinctus ambulo  
geminos in ventre habere videor filios.

Note also Vg. Georgic. IV 340 *Lucinae labores*. In Greek τοκάω 'be near delivery' we have the same inevitable feminine.

Sütterlin's next two classes of verbs (p. 24) denote 'strong and sickly passions.' Of these κισσάω is used of pregnant women's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. T. Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, chs. II, VI.

<sup>2</sup> I cite Plaut. Merc. 396-7: nihil opust nobis ancilla, nisi quae texat, quae molat, lignum caedat, pensum faciat, aedis vorrat etc.

<sup>3</sup> Michelet in *L'Amour*, I, ch. II.

desire for strange food, σκυζάω of a bitch in heat, σπαργάω of pregnancy, all feminine; καπράω 'want the boar' is a feminine verb to a masc. *o*-stem; these verbs are necessarily *feminina lantum*.

A class of verbs implying outcries is also set up by Sütterlin (p. 24): "γοάω 'cry out' : γόος 'cry' patterned itself on βοάω : βοά." The reason is deeper than that. Kingsley gave it in the 'Three Fishers': "For men must work and women must weep."<sup>1</sup> Cf. Φ 123 οὐδέ σε μήτηρ—γοήσεται. κολφάω 'scold' is feminine even in its English definition, and its restriction by Homer to Thersites does not gainsay this proposition. μωμάομαι, Γ 412, is used of gossiping women, and in ζ 274 of their sisters, gossiping men.

Io οιστρήσασα (Aesch. Pr. 836) is plainly in the condition of a κύων σκυζήσασα.

Enough has been said to show that the notion of gender in the verb is not inconsistent with the distribution of *áw*-verbs in Greek to *o/e*-stems. It remains to inquire if gender is exhibited by verbs not denominative. To this query I answer: As gender, no. But if the identification of noun-cases and verb-persons is correct, then the distinction of gender ought to subsist in the verb.

Now, if gender developed in the noun-verb stage, what became of it when the verb was dissociated from the noun? It persisted in form, and subsequently came to be regarded as mode. Sk. *rām*,<sup>2</sup> Lat. *rēm* from *\*rē-m*, are in point of formation precisely the same as *ῥ-βλη-ν*; and so abl.-gen. *rē* from *\*rēd* is of like formation with *\*ῥ-βλη-(τ)*. Sk. *vayo-dhā-m* is the same as *a-dhā-m* in point of formation. In *ῥ-βλη-ν* we do not have the conversion into mode, but it is interpreted as a passive. The relation of Sk. subj. *as-as* to Lat. *er-ās* is that of a thematic masc. to a dithematic fem.; thus *er-ās* belongs to a fem. *ā*-stem, functioning in Latin as indic., while *reg-ā-s*, the same formation precisely, functions as subj. In Grk. *φερ-ε(τ)* : Lat. *fer-ē-t* we have a thematic abl. masc. and its corresponding dithematic form. Lat. *fer-ā-t*, subj., is a fem. to *fer-ē-t*, fut. indic. In *paterfamiliās* we have the same ending as in *fer-ās*.

The feminine forms are what we have in the Lat. 1st conjugation, into which the denominatives do not so easily fall by the Latin laws of contraction. The only vowel contraction in Latin, of those that can be said to be beyond doubt (cf. Brug., Gr.

<sup>1</sup> The Aryan woman seems to have done both.

<sup>2</sup> In Sk. *rāyam*, i. e. *\*rāyam*, the *y* does not belong to the stem, but is merely a passing sound, as it is in *dhīyam* : *dhī-s*.



I, §604), is that of *cie* to *ee* to *ē* in *tres* from *\*treyes*, and thus *moneyete* gives *monēte*. The difficulties involved in the contractions of *ā+ē* and *ā+ō* are very great. The supposed law that *ā+ō* gives *ō* is based on the denominatives solely, but many, very many, 1st conj. verbs wear the look of root-verbs, and very few retain the nouns on which they were based. And not only in Latin, but in all branches of the family, numerous violations of the inviolable laws of contraction take place (Brug., Gr. II, §769). The question presents itself whether in *-ē-yo* verbs the *y* is not a mere passing sound which has extended itself partially to the *ā-yo*-class. Brugmann (l. c.) himself refers *plantāmus* to his Xth class (Gr. II, §578), and in this class, consisting of weak root+accented *ā*, I see dithematic feminines; and so where the vowel is *ē/ō* I see dithematic masculines.

I would extend this explanation to Greek also, and in the aorists in *-σα* see, not analogical extensions from a 1st person *sm̃* whence *σα*, 3d pers. plur. *sñ* whence *σα*, but a fem. to the aor. masc. (i. e. fut.) in *-σω*.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE PROBLEM may now be stated in a few words. To non-thematic indicatives there were thematic subjunctives, and to thematic indicatives there were dithematic subjunctives, while dithematic indicatives functioned also as subjunctives.

THE OPTATIVE.—I have given above (p. 424) a theory for the dat. 1st sg. middle. Dat. and opt. by their intrinsic nature suggest identification. Personal interest, exclamation are the notes of both. In the Sk. subj.-impv. 1st sg. middle in *-āi* I recognize a dithematic correspondent to 1st sg. ind. mid. = dat.-inf.-impv.<sup>1</sup> *-e* (*āi*). An intrinsic difference between impv. (1st pers.) and opt. or subj. never existed, of course. We can confidently construct for the Aryan languages an opt. paradigm 1st pers. *bharai*, 2d *bharais*, 3d *bharait*, etc.; the 1st pers. was extended in Sk. to *bhare-yam* (for *bharāy-am*) by a 1st pers. suffix *-am* with passing vowel *-y-*, and in Grk. to *φίποι-μι* by 1st pers. *-μι*.

For the opt. suffix *-yē/-ī-*, of non-thematic inflexion, we are to see, I believe, an extension from the form *bharayam*, whence *-ya-* was abstracted as opt. sign, and applied to consonant stems; thus *-yām*, *-yās*, etc., dithematic forms, came into being. Or more

<sup>1</sup> Wh.<sup>2</sup>, §982 *d*; Delbr., SF. V, §230, 3; cf. §228, 2. The infinitive in *-adhyāi* (Delbr., l. c.) is specially used as a form of wish in the 1st person. This was doubtless true also of the Aryan infin.; the falling away of the last usage in Sk. is doubtless due to the 1st middle in *-e* (*ai*).

simply, verb-roots with suffix *-ya-* used that suffix dithematically to express mode. The grade *-i-* was reduced from *-yā* in the subsequent development of the middle, with accent following the suffix. The length of the opt. *-i-*<sup>1</sup> had perhaps a dithematic intention. The forms *-yā-m*, etc., may thus be called subjunctives, if one chooses, subsequently treated as opts. because of *bhārayam*, as set forth above.<sup>2</sup>

I present here a combination to show another way in which the *-ya-* suffix may have been got: *bharata adaya* 'he (*hic*) bears, he (*ille*) eats' = 'one bears that the other may eat.'<sup>3</sup>

HEBREW PARALLELS.—The study of agglutinative groups has brought us to this point: inflexion has developed in the Aryan speech from primitive action-nouns + demonstrative stems, finally lost to consciousness as inflective endings; verbs and nouns proceed from a common stem-background, and case and person and mode-signs from common agglutinative groups of stems + demonstratives. The categories of verb- and noun-inflexion ought then to coincide: so for the verb the category of gender has been set up. The participial inflexion of gender does not really differ from verb-inflexion for gender. Hebrew has also been brought in evidence for the gender-inflexion in verbs. The agglutinative theory has also brought us to the concept of person in the noun. Now, in Hebrew the noun is also inflected for person, for this is the meaning of the pronominal suffixes in Hebrew (cf. Bickell's Outlines, §§103, 104; Harper's Elements, §§124, 125).

I venture upon some remarks touching Hebrew forms, based upon Bickell, which seem to fall in line with the Aryan development, acknowledging in advance my entire ignorance of Hebrew. Thus, in declension in Hebrew the nom. affix was *-va* (Bickell, §85), with a grade *-u*. In this we can see the 2d pers. suffix Aryan *-va-* made nom. So in Aryan the nom. suffix was the 2d

<sup>1</sup> The *i* in *velim*, etc., may come from a primitive 1st sg. *vel-i* from *\*vel-as*.

<sup>2</sup> This opt. suffix is doubtless morphologically the same as the noun suffix *-yē-[-i-]*. I note that the difficulties arising from the appearance of *-yā-* where we should expect *-yē-* in this class, vanish when we recognize that originally gender-distinction doubtless held, and *-yā-* was dithem. fem. to *-yē-*, dithem. masc. Finally all dithem. forms of this stem became fem. I shall presently make another suggestion for these stems. I remark here that the Greek nouns in *-iā* may chance to preserve in the *ā* an original undifferentiated thematic *ā*.

<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that case may have developed here; thus, 'one bears for the other's eating'; but I think the explanation of the dat. as 1st personal and exclamatory far more cogent (*supra*, p. 424).

pers. -s. There was a genitive suffix *-ya/-i*, which is<sup>1</sup> comparable with the *-ya* in the Aryan suffix *-sya* (supra, p. 415). In the so-called indefinite suffix *-ma* we may perhaps see Aryan 1st pers. acc. *-a-m*, which actually became the neuter<sub>i</sub> (i. e. indefinite) case-sign (supra, p. 428).<sup>1</sup> Hebrew retains besides only *-ta*, a feminine affix. In this one might see Aryan 3d pers. *-ta*, retained only in the vb.<sup>2</sup> One is reminded at this place to compare the Sk. fem. suffix for abstract nouns in *-tā* (cf. Wh.<sup>2</sup>, §1237).

The nom. *\*sūsa* || *sūs* is comparable with the Greek nom.-voc. like *νεφεληγερέτα*, etc. This form is preserved as *sūsā* (ib., §86) and used like a locative, a usage that agrees very well with the assumed origin of the thematic vowel (supra, p. 413).

The plural of the Hebrew noun is formed by doubling the termination of the gen. sg. (ib., §90). I compare Sk. *dev-ās-as*, doubtless first *\*devās-as*. Of like formation was the feminine plur. (ib., §93), unless in *-āθ* we are to see a dithematic form.

It is worth noting that in the Hebrew dual ending *-ayim*, e. g. *sūs-a-yim* (ib., §91), we seem close on the Greek duals in *-οιυ*, *-ου*.

In the verb-inflexion the 3d sg. masc. ends in *-a* (ib., §110), and this we may compare with the Aryan form *ḡhar-a* (supra, p. 413). The 3d sg. fem. ended in *\*-a-t* || *-ā*. In the 2d sg. masc. the ending is *\*-tā* || *-tā*, and 2d sg. fem. ends in non-thematic *-t*. In the masc. plur. the 2d person ends in *\*-tum* || *-tēm*, and one thinks of the dual ending *-τοϋ* in Greek. Bickell expressly interprets these endings as belonging to the personal pronoun, but we must look for a demonstrative back of the personal pronoun.

For 1st sg. *tī* confusion with *kī* has been accepted (infra n. 2).

In 3d plur. *ū* for *u-u* we seem to have a dithematic treatment of the masc. affix *-va* || *-u*.

In 1st plur. *-nu* some relation with Lat. *nos* may obtain, as I shall presently suggest.

The Hebrew verb also employs pronoun prefixes. Thus, for the 3d masc. sg. and plur. *yi-*, 3d fem. sg. and plur. *ti-*, 2d sg. and plur. masc. and fem. *ti-*, 1st sg. *e-* and 1st plur. *ni-*. The form in *e-* it is hard not to connect with Grk. *ε-* in *ε-θελω*, etc., and the augment *e-*.

<sup>1</sup> Note in *sūsam* 'equum aliquem' the external agreement with *equum*.

<sup>2</sup> That the affix *-ta* should be 2d pers., while it is 3d in Aryan, does not signify, as the demonstrative was capable of either personal value; thus in Sk. the stem *ta-* is of any person at will (supra, p. 414). In Hebrew the demonstrative stems *ka* (1st pers.) and *ta* (2d pers.) are often interchanged (Bickell, §82, note).

We seem to have in Latin *ce-dō* (impv.) this reversed order. The impv. *ce-dō* differs in no respect save the order from *fa-ce* (cf. *supra*, p. 435).

The developed personal pronouns in Hebrew lend themselves to interpretation as demonstratives. In 1st pers. *'ānōxī* Bickell (§82, note) interprets *ān-* as prefix, and there is a briefer form *'ānī*. I would find *an-* (cf. Lat. *nos*) a variant of *am-* (*supra*, p. 419), and *-ōxī* reminds, in its guttural part, of Sk. *ahām*. Of the 2d pers. pron. Bickell (l. c.) says: "The true root of the 2d person is certainly *ta* to which *an* is prefixed." I would see here a syncretic form, as Bickell does, warranted by the previous syncretism in the 1st person.

There is known to be a considerable quantity of apparently common stem-material between the Semitic and Aryan families. They seem likewise to have some common methods of inflexion derived from agglutinative groups. My own ignorance of any Semitic language denies me the right to an opinion in regard to their ultimate kinship. That possibility seems to me not to be excluded.

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## II.—CRITICAL NOTES ON PLATO'S LAWS, IV-VI.

### PREFATORY NOTE.

The following notes on Plato's Laws, IV-VI, were prompted by my friend Mr. Conybeare's study of the Armenian version, the results of which he communicated to this Journal (XIV 335 foll.; XV 31 foll.). Mr. Conybeare, when he has completed and published the collation of the last six books of the Laws, will deal with the general question of the relative value of Gregory Magister's translation, Ficino's translation, the Paris MS and the Apographa. It was my object to try to strengthen from internal evidence his confidence in the value of the Armenian text, and in pursuing this object I have often been led to disagree with him as to details, and I have also been led to offer somewhat too many conjectures of my own. No other material but Schanz's text and Conybeare's collations has been accessible to me.

### BOOK IV.

P. 98, 1 *καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς*. This is probably right. Badham's suggestion, *κατ' οἰκισμὸν αὐτῆς*, is certainly wrong. A city may be named after local gods, rivers, wells, etc., or it may get its name from the circumstances of its foundation. If any change is necessary, owing to the construction, I would suggest *καινοίη ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς*. It is highly improbable that the words *τὴν αὐτῶν φήμην* are an interpolation, as Schanz thinks.

P. 98, 10. I do not think that Ficino's rendering implies *κατ' αὐτῆς*, the reading of Arm. and Eusebius, for why should he then have added *prope*? He cannot have referred *αὐτῆς* to the city. His rendering gives the sense of the Paris MS: *κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς* (*κατὰ ταῦτα* = *prope*, *αὐτῆς* = *mare illud*).

P. 99, 3 *θαλάττης, σχεδὸν ὅσον*. The divergence in the Armenian is doubtless due to a difference in punctuation, as Mr. Conybeare points out, and this punctuation is right, for *σχεδὸν* goes with *ἐγγύτερον* rather than with *εὐλιμενωτέραν*. It would be better if there were no comma at all. The received punctuation in Plato, and especially in the Laws, is often most trying to the reader.

P. 100, 32. For *ρήματα* read *εὐρήματα*.

P. 101, 19. The *πολεων καὶ δυνάμεις* of the Armenian suggests that we should restore *αἱ διὰ τὰ ναυτικά πολέμου νίκαι καὶ δυνάμεις* (cp. the phrase *νίκη καὶ κράτος πολέμου*). If *νίκαι ἀποδιδόσιν* is objectionable (as I do not think it is), the text as it stands is more so.

P. 102, 29. There should be no stop after *εἰσίν*. Below, in line 34, should not *γίγνηται* be bracketed?

P. 104, 1. Here the *σεισμῶν* of the Armenian must be regarded as a corruption, but it rightly omits *καὶ*. We should read *λοιμῶν τε ἐμπίπτοντων χρόνον ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐναυτῶν πολλῶν πολλάκις ἀκληρίαι*. The last word only occurs in late Greek, but I see no reason why Plato should not have used it. I question if *ἀκαιρίαι* can mean 'bad harvests,' as Mr. Conybeare renders it.

P. 104, 14. Are there any other instances of this construction of *συλλαβέσθαι* with a dative? I should suggest here *καὶ οὐρου γὰρ <καὶ> χεიმῶνος συλλαβέσθαι κυβερνητικὴν ἢ μὴ*.

P. 105, 1. In this passage, as given by Schanz, *ὁρθῶς* surely goes with *τι παρὸν αὐτῷ διὰ τύχης*. The Armenian, *ὁρθῶσαι τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ τύχης τῇ τέχνῃ*, can scarcely be right (but cp. L. and S., s. v. *ὁρθόω*), but it suggests that Plato wrote *ὁρθῶς τι παρὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ τύχης τῇ τέχνῃ*, and that some one who took *ὁρθῶς* wrongly with *εἵλασθαι* wrote *τί*, and for *τῇ τέχνῃ* interpolated *τῆς τέχνης ἃν μόνον ἐπιδέοι*. The active *ἐπιδέειν* seems to occur nowhere else in Plato or his contemporaries, if I may trust L. and S.

P. 105, 11-13. Ficino's rendering does not seem to me to support, as Mr. Conybeare claims, the Armenian, but rather Schanz's text. I must say I should prefer to read *τί μετὰ τοῦτο εἴποι ἂν ὁρθῶς ἔχειν*; *τὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου ἄρα φράζωμεν τοῦτο*;

P. 105, 19. Surely the *ψυχὴ τοιαύτη* of Arm. is an interpolated reading introduced to escape from the difficulty of *τῇ τυραννουμένῃ ψυχῇ*. I suspect that *τῇ τυραννουμένῃ* was originally an adscript to *ὄφελος εἶναι τι*, and that it found its way into the text where it now stands, *ψυχῇ* being afterwards added. In this case we should read simply *καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ξυνεπέσθω*; but, of course, *καὶ νῦν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ψυχῇ ξυνεπέσθω* would give a good sense.

P. 107, 33. As an alternative to Mr. Conybeare's *ἐπανανέωσται* I would suggest *εἰάν ποτε γῇ πάλιν ἐνέγκῃ φύσιν*.

P. 108, 12. *πῶς*; certainly seems a 'nasty one' for the Athenian, and can only be vindicated by the exclusion of *εἵπερ γένοιτο ὁ λέγομεν*. It is probable that we should read on after *μακρῷ, πειρώμεθα δέ πως*.

P. 108, 27. *γ' ἐτι που* would perhaps be an improvement.

P. 109, 2-3. I question if *τις* can be used as Mr. Conybeare suggests. We should require *τινι*. Perhaps we should read *τισιν* = 'in some things.' *τυραννουμένη* is an interpolated reading.

P. 109, 17 we should seemingly read *τοῦ τοιούτου*, and p. 110, 11 *θειοτέρου του*.

P. 110, 12-13. The punctuation seems at fault here. Read *ποιμνίοις, καὶ ὅσων ἡμεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγέλαι οὐ κτλ.*

P. 110, 16. If we read *τοῦ γένους*, as I think we should, *τοῦ γένους ἀμεινον ἡμῶν* goes together, and we understand *γένος τὸ before τῶν δαιμόνων*.

P. 111, 2. Instead of excluding *νοσήματι*, I should for *κακῷ* write *καὶ ἀγρίῳ*.

P. 111, 15. The Armenian and Ficino prove beyond doubt that *ταύτη δεῖν* is an interpolation; but if the Armenian translator *did* read *ὁ τι ἄν* for *ἦτις ἄν*, his text was to this extent interpolated also. The passage is perfectly intelligible if we simply exclude *ταύτη δεῖν*, and Ficino renders it so. *ταύτη δεῖν* was interpolated by some one who did not understand the construction, which is perfectly normal, and = *ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἦτις ἄν ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἐνυμέρον, ὅπως κτλ.*

P. 111, 26. Perhaps it would be better to adhere to the view that the Armenian translator *never* paraphrases, but here, as elsewhere, reproduces an interpolated reading of his Greek text, i. e. *ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς*.

P. 112, 8-9. There is nothing wrong here, as Badham suggests, but p. 82, 16 we should read *καὶ <δικαίαν> κατὰ φύσιν*. There, if *δε* had fallen out in an uncial text, as it well may have done, *καὶ ἄν* would certainly have been banished afterwards.

P. 112, 18. It would be more correct perhaps to say that *μήτε αὐτοῖς* was missing both in Ficino's text and in that of the Armenian translator.

P. 112, 30. *νόμων*, Schultheis' correction for *θεῶν*, is not likely to be right. The preceding *καὶ* shows that we require an adjective or participle opposed to *τοῖς θεοῖσι*, e. g. *τῶν θετέων* or *τῶν καινῶν* (sc. *νόμων*).

P. 114, 31-115, 2 *βέλη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἶον ἢ τοῖς βέλεσιν ἔφεςις τὰ ποῖα ἂν λεγόμενα ὀρθότατα φέροιτ' ἄν*; For *αὐτοῦ* the Arm. has *αὐτὰ*; but *αὐτοῦ* (= *τοῦ σκοποῦ*) is right, and was read by Ficino. For *ὀρθότατα φέροιτ' ἄν* we should read either *εὐθύτατα φέροιτ' ἄν* or *ὀρθότατα ἐφικνοῖτο ἄν*—probably the latter, as it cannot be said that an *ἔφεςις* *φέρεται*. Schanz's *φερόμενα* for *λεγόμενα* is a move in the wrong direction.

P. 115, 27–28 τελευτησάντων δὲ κτλ. One cannot digest the grammar of this sentence even with τῶν εἰδισμένων ὄγκον, and καλλίστη is weak after a series of imperatives (δεῖ—χρή). The whole long sentence from γονέων δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμαὶ ζώντων (l. 10) to διαφερόντως (l. 27) is a statement of the τιμαὶ ζώντων γονέων. We require καλλίστη τιμὴ after τελευτησάντων δὲ γονέων, to keep us awake to this word τιμὴ, which is taken up again, so keenly and with direct reference to this passage, at the beginning of book V. In the present passage τιμὴ may have fallen out very easily between καλλίστη and μήτε, and in this loss lies the secret of the unsatisfactory grammar. The sentence perhaps stood ταφῇ μὲν τῇ σωφρονεστάτῃ θάπτειν καλλίστη τιμὴ, and if τιμὴ fell out we can understand how ἡ σωφρονεστάτῃ καλλίστη was written for τῇ σωφρονεστάτῃ θάπτειν καλλίστη. Below, l. 30, it is worthy of remark that the false reading τοὺς γεννητὰς was deliberately introduced by some one who understood ἐτίθεσαν as = ἔθαπτον, a sense which came to be almost the exclusive sense of τίθημι in later Greek. It may be well for me to state for the sake of clearness that I understand Schanz's text μήτε ὑπεραίροντα—ἐτίθεσαν as equalling ὄγκον μέτριον, and I do not see how it helps the grammar. Possibly it might be better to exclude ταφῇ μὲν ἡ σωφρονεστάτῃ (we would expect rather ἡ μετριωτάτῃ; cp. p. 118) as an interpolation due to the loss of τιμὴ, and to read τελευτησάντων δὲ γονέων καλλίστη τιμὴ μήτε ὑπεραίροντα τὸν εἰδισμένον ὄγκον <θάπτειν> μίτ' ἔλλείποντα ὧν οἱ προπάτορες τοῖς αὐτῶν γεννηταῖς ἐτίθεσαν.

P. 116, 3. If the Armenian is here to be trusted, παρεχόμενον is either an interpolation or represents τῶν οἰχομένων, which a translator might have rendered by αὐτῶν, as we have τῶν τέλος ἐχόντων and τοῖς κεκηκόσιν just above and below.

P. 116, 4. For τε, banished by Ast, some particle is required, and εἴτε would give good sense.

P. 116, 8 ἀ δὲ κτλ. Cp. pp. 127–8. There can be no doubt about πρὸς θεῶν. Perhaps we should read ὁμιλήματα and exclude ξυμπάντων τούτων. Then ὅσα usque ad ὁμιλήματα would be simply a second thought for ξένους. In line 12 there is no lacuna. It is surely good Greek to say ἀ δὲ πρὸς φίλους δεῖ πράττειν ὁ νόμος πείθων τοὺς πολίτας τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα ἀποτελεῖ.

P. 116, 18. Mr. Conybeare's note requires explanation. Does not δέγμα mean a pattern, and how could Ficino have rendered it otherwise than by 'exemplum'? For διεξεληθόντα, in line 20, I would rather read διασαφήςαντα, or some similar word.

P. 116, 30–117, 2. The omission of εἰς τὸ by the Armenian may help to restore the context here. One can get no sequence



out of the passage as it stands in Schanz. The sense required is as follows: τὰ τοίνυν δὴ λεχθέντα ἔδοξέν τί μοι προύργου δρᾶν αὐτῶ. περὶ ὧν γὰρ ἂν παραινῇ μὴ παντάπασιν ὁμαῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμερώτερον φαίη ἂν ἀκούειν τὴν εὐμενεστέραν. This is, of course, only *verbi gratia*, and a paraphrase in English will be more instructive. "What precedes is of some service to the νομοθέτης in making the citizens εὐπειθέστεροι; for in order that the citizens may be εὐπειθέεις, they must be well disposed to the νομοθέτης; so that (ὥστε κτλ., l. 2) if he has made them better disposed towards him by what precedes, he has gained a great advantage." In p. 117, l. 3 I would read ἀπειργασταί. In the text as it stands ὅπερ φησὶν (φημί Vermehren) has no point. Plato then goes on to demonstrate that as the doctor will have more chance of making his patient adopt his treatment and be cured, if he first makes him his friend (p. 119, 24) by taking him into his confidence and showing him something of his theory; so the lawgiver will not be able to tame the citizens to listen to and obey his laws unless he makes them well disposed by expounding his theory. Cp. p. 122, 23.

P. 118, 13. αὐτὴν is, according to Schanz, the reading of the Paris MS. As Mr. Conybeare says, it is absurd to suspect ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, which responds to ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (l. 7). To take διακελεύοιτο as passive does not, I think, improve matters. αὐτὴν is necessary. After αὐδ I should insert εἰ, i. e. φειδωλὸς δ' αὐδ εἴ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ (sc. θάπτειν αὐτὸν διακελεύοιτο) τὸν καταδεῖα (ἂν ἐπαινοῖν).

P. 118, 26, 27 ἢ καθάπερ ἱατρός τις? and line 29 ἐκατέρων?

P. 119, 6. δὲ must be wrong; perhaps οἶδε.

P. 120, 2. We should probably cut out the περί after πόλεων, reading κ. φ. τὴν περὶ γεν. ἀρχὴν πόλεων πρώτην κ. τ. τ. This position of πρώτην, given by the Arm., is certainly the right one.

P. 121, 6. I do not see why τῷ μήκει τὸ σμικρότατον should be banished. The sense is 'double in length at the least.'

Surely from καλῶς (18) to βία (line 30) belongs to Clinias (cp. ὑπὸ τοῦδε (fort. ὑπὸ σου?), p. 122, 22). καλῶς ὦ M. λέγεις is quite inadequate as an answer to Megillus.

## BOOK V.

P. 124, 15. ὀρθῶς should be excluded. The substitution of ψυχὴ for τιμὴ in the next line vindicates the grammar at the expense of the sense. If the Armenian represents θεῖον γὰρ τι (sc. ἢ ψυχῇ) ἢ τίμον, it may suggest something, e. g. θεῖον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν τὸ τίμον. Anyhow, τίμον is probably right, and by this means we

may be enabled to get rid of the difficulty about ἀτὴν below, which grammatically means τὴν τιμὴν.

P. 126, 4. It would be difficult for a translator to avoid expressing *ab eis* before ἀποσχίζεσθαι, even if he did not find it in his text. It would require stronger evidence to compel us to adopt a reading on the face of it so unidiomatic as Stobaeus' τῶν μὲν.

P. 129, 8. If we read ἐκτῆσθαι δύναται, then μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν κτλ. must be explanatory of ἐπαινον, or rather of the imperative or protreptic sense implicit in the ἐπαινος of the lawgiver. Is this, however, possible? The words cannot depend on χρή, as this dislocates the sentence at καὶ οὖσα. The μὴ δυνάμενον, two lines below, is also against the Armenian Version. I should suggest ἐκτῆται, <τὰ> δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν <θεῖν> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι. Here, of course, τὰ δυνατὰ = τὰ δυνατὰ ἄλλοις μετιδίδοσθαι.

P. 131, 3-12. Following in this passage the Armenian, which, obviously, is from an uninterpolated text, I should write the whole as follows: παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ ὄλην <πόλιν> (ita Badham) περιχάρειαν πᾶσαν ἀποκρυπτόμενον καὶ περιωδυνίαν εὐσχημονεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας ἰσταμένου τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκάστω καὶ κατ' ἀτυχίας, οἷον πρὸς ὕψηλα καὶ ἀνάντη ἀνθιστάμενον τισὶν <έν> παρατάξει· ἐλπίζειν δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς γ' ἀγαθοῖσι τὸν θεὸν <δμοι>α θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ πόνων μὲν ἐμπίπτοντων ἀντὶ μειζόνων ἐλάττους ποιήσεων, τῶν τ' αὖ νῦν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς, τὰ <δὲ> ἐναντία (i. e. τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ βελτίονα) τούτων αἰεὶ πάντων (i. e. τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀτυχημάτων) περιγενήσεσθαι μετ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης. ὅπως cannot stand where Mr. Conybeare puts it.

P. 131, 7. I replace ἀνθιστάμενον. The sense I understand is: "Every single citizen and the city as a whole should bid each man carry himself nobly, suppressing his feelings of exultation or dejection, whether his luck be good or ill, as if he were standing in the ranks and facing enemies who held a steep hill."

P. 132, 2. παρὰ φύσιν is an interpolation.

P. 132, 12. If the Armenian is right in omitting πρὸς, we should read βουλήσεων, but its position seems awkward. However, it improves the sense.

P. 132, 19-26. I cannot understand exactly from Schanz how Badham dealt with this passage. I should suggest ἐν ᾧ δ' αὖ βίῃ ἰσορροπεῖ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν δεῖ ἰδίᾳ νομίζεσθαι, τῶν ἀνισορρόπων βίῳ ὡς τῶν μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῖν [βουλόμεθα] τῶν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς [οὐ βουλόμεθα]· πάντας δὲ (ita Badham) τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ὡς

ἐν τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένοι πεφύκασιν [καὶ] δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁπόσους (ita Badham) φύσει βουλόμεθα.

P. 132, 27. Perhaps *τίνας δὴ καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ βίοι*, ὥνπερ δεῖ προελόμενον <ἔνα>, τὸ βουλευτὸν τε καὶ ἐκούσιον ἀβουλητὸν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον εἰδὸτα (vel κατιδόντα) καὶ εἰς νόμον ἑαυτῷ ταξάμενον, τὸν φίλον ἄμα καὶ ἡδὺν κτλ. Cp. p. 155, 2 ff.

P. 133, 25. We should probably read *εἰ δὴ ὁ σώφρων τοῦ ἀκολάστου* (sc. ἔχει ἐλάττονα ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ὑπερβάλλει τῇ ἡδονῇ). The looseness of this whole passage is owing to the fact that the *ὑγιεινὸς βίος* was introduced as an after-thought. The only alternative is to exclude *ὁ δὴ σώφρων τοῦ ἀκ.*, with Cornarius; but it is difficult to see why it should have been interpolated.

P. 134, 12. *ἐν τοῖς τρόποις* is right. It means 'in their behavior,' and is not a technical word. Ast's *ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς* is out of the question. *βεβαιότῃ ἐν τοῖς τρόποις* corresponds to *ἐπιεικεία τιλὶ δικαίᾳ*, and if *στροφαὶ* means 'the turns of the shuttle,' what is the point of saying that the upright threads (*στήμονες*) are *βέβαιαι ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς*. The point of the contrast is that they are *fixed*. The similitude of warp and woof suggests itself to Plato as regards laws and the administration of laws. The context is very difficult to follow as the passage stands in Schanz, for we are led to suppose that Plato had transferred his similitude of the warp and woof to the *μεγάλαι ἀρχαὶ* and *σμικραὶ*—a quite unjustifiable transition in thought, and indeed impossible. Cp. p. 159. The evidence of the texts, however (Stobaeus and the Paris MS), tends to show that from *ᾧθεν* (l. 13) onwards the passage originally stood thus: *ᾧθεν δὴ τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξοντας δεῖ διακρίνεσθαι τινα τρόπον ταύτη καὶ τοὺς <μεγάλας καὶ τοὺς> σμικρὰς κτλ.* The loss of *μεγάλας καὶ τοὺς* would certainly have caused *σμικρὰς* to be changed to *σμικρᾶ*. We must regard the *σμικρᾶ* of the Paris MS as an error of its copyist, since its *μεγάλας* for *τὰς* is an interpolation prompted by *σμικρὰς*. *ᾧθεν* hangs on to *ἐπιεικεία δικαία*. Has the Armenian *μεγάλας* or *τὰς*? This should have been noted.

P. 135, 20 *τούτους ὡς νόσημί τι πόλεως ἐμπεφυκός, τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ δι' εὐφημίας ὄνομα κτλ.*?

P. 136, 12-14 *ἥς δεῖ . . . ὑπάρχειν?* and below, in line 16, the Armenian *δεομένους* suggests *δαιομένους*, on which *νεμομένους* may be a gloss; but no exception can be taken to *νεμομένους*. Cp. p. 140, 13; 142, 3.

P. 137, 18-23 *γῆς μὲν κτλ.* This sentence is very unsatisfactory as it stands in Schanz, as the opposition of *γῆς μὲν* and *πλήθους δὲ*

is disturbing to the logic. I should suggest γῇ μὲν ὀπόση . . . προσδεῖ πλήθους, ὅποσοι <δ' αὖ> τοὺς προσχώρους κτλ.

P. 137, 25. For ἵνα περαίνηται I should suggest διαπερανθήτω, καί.

P. 138, 4. The omission of πᾶς by the Armenian perhaps implies that we should read οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδ' εἰς εἰς πάντα, which would be more sensible.

P. 138, 19, 20. The first πείσαντες, rightly excluded by Hermann, probably represents a marginal correction, πεισθέντες. πεισθέντες δὲ θυσίας κτλ. is certainly required, as the subject of what follows is τινες, not λόγοι.

P. 139, 11 δευτέρως ἂν. Unless Badham's correction is accepted, it is absolutely necessary to write δευτέρως ἂν <ὧδε>.

P. 140, 8. There can be little doubt but that the Armenian is interpolated here, but its interpolations point to an old dislocation of the passage. I should suggest ἦν δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, ἡ τιμῇ | δευτέρα οὐσα, εἴη γε ἂν, γενομένη πως, ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα, τρίτην δὲ κτλ. From ἡ τιμῇ δευτέρα οὐσα the Armenian makes ἡ τε μία καὶ ἡ δευτέρα εἶρηται; from the same words the Paris MS makes καὶ ἡ μία δευτέρως. As the words are differently placed in the two sources, we must suppose that in their common source they were written in the margin in a corrupt form, e. g. ἡ τε μία δευτέρως with an additional marginal conjecture of καὶ ἡ for ἡ τε. This καὶ ἡ was substituted for ἡ τε in the Paris text and inserted after μία in the Armenian, thus causing the interpolations of the latter. Among these I reckon the transposition of τρίτην δὲ κτλ. It is perhaps improper to form such elaborate hypotheses in matters of textual criticism, but they may at least suggest something simpler and better, but beyond my wits.

P. 140, 19 ff. We should read τῷ καὶ δέσποιναν καὶ θεόν. The first καὶ at least, omitted by the Armenian, is urgently required. Mr. C.'s νομίζεσθαι is admirable in the sense of 'is supposed to be the property of,' but some word nearer to γεγόναι is required. If one had only γεγόναι to deal with, I should suggest θνητὸν ὄντα γεωργεῖν. The Armenian clearly shows that ταῦτα δ' ἔχειν διανοήματα is an interpolation, and a plausible compromise would be to read θνητὸν ὄντα γεωργεῖν καὶ νομίζειν τὰ περὶ κτλ. The passage from πατρίδος onwards would then be thus rendered: "And as the land is his fatherland, he must cherish it more than children cherish their mother, because he is a mortal, and the land which he tills is a goddess and his mistress, and to the gods and demons who dwell in it he pays divine honors." The goddess

Ge (= χώρα) is distinguished from the ἐγχώριοι θεοί. The remedy of this passage depends upon one's grasping this. Both together make the πάντες θεοί of p. 142, 9.

P. 140, 29 ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἔχη φίλον?

P. 140, 30 καὶ θεραπειτὴν θεῶν καὶ γένους καὶ πόλεως. The Armenian and Ficino transfer καὶ πόλεως, and it is intolerable where it stands in Schanz's text. I should regard καὶ πόλεως as a marginal suggestion in the archetype due to a καὶ twice written, i. e. θεῶν καὶ καὶ γένους. Certainly we are better without it.

P. 141, 15. Schanz's ἀπαντας is surely wrong. It is better to suppose a lacuna after νουθετήσεσι, e. g. <καὶ παιδία> πρεσβυτῶν περὶ νέους διὰ λόγων νουθετητικῶν ἀπαντῶσαι δύνανται κτλ.

P. 141, 23. The Armenian seems to be derived from κύμα μετὰ κατακλυσμοῦ φέρον νόσους ἢ πολέμων φθοράς, which is possible. Certainly there is an awkwardness about the Paris reading, and φθοράς would be an improvement for φθορά. It is a matter of taste how we restore the passage.

P. 141, 25 παρεμβάλλειν. This is, of course, the official word, but there is no reason why Plato should not have written ὑπεμβάλλειν here. The ἐμβολή is an alternative to the ἐκπομπή, and ὑπεκπέμπειν at least is a familiar word.

P. 143, 1 πᾶσιν ὁπόσοις ἐνδεῖα οἰκετῶν?

P. 143, 33. The Armenian seems to point to τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ καὶ εἰ βούλοιο ματαίαις βουλήσεσιν οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειροῖ. If καὶ εἰ were added in the margin of the original MS, it may have been in the one case lost, in the other misplaced and corrupted to καὶ ἐν. Its omission in the one case would account for the reconstruction of the sentence with οὐτ' ἂν—οὐτ' ἂν.

P. 144, 17. Read, following the Armenian, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ὅταν ᾖ φειδωλός, <ὅταν δὲ μὴ φειδωλός> τότε ποτὲ καὶ πάγκακος. ἀγαθὸς δὲ κτλ.

P. 145, 31 ff. We should possibly write ἐν ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς καὶ διανομαῖς τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἕκαστοι τιμὴν, excluding τὰς τιμάς τε καὶ ἀρχάς (p. 146, 3).

P. 147, 21 τῇ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας κτήσεται ἴσα?

P. 148, 11. The correction χρὴ δ' ἐπαναλαμβάνειν seems almost certain.

P. 149, 33. For οὐκ εἰσὶν we should probably write φύσει εἰσὶν or φύσεσιν εἰσὶν.

P. 150, 4. Plato probably wrote δι' αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τροφήν ἀναδιδούσαν. The loss of γῆν would have caused the insertion of ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

## BOOK VI.

As Mr. C. says, by some chance the Armenian is here of less apparent value.

P. 151, 1 ff. I should write *ἔργου, τῷ πόλιν εὐ παρεσκευασμένῳ* (ita Badham), *ἀρχὰς ἀνεπιτηδείους <εἰ> ἐπιστήσαι* (ita Ast). It is possible, but unlikely, that the words the Armenian omits (*τοῖς—πλέον*) are an interpolation. If so, we must read *ἐπιστήσαι, <τῶν> εὐ τεθέντων οὐχ ὅτι γέλως κτλ.*, and suppose that the interpolation was caused by the false reading *παρεσκευασμένην* on the one hand, and by the loss of *τῶν* on the other.

P. 155, 31. Here, following the Armenian and Hermann, we should write *ὁπόσ' ἂν τις πλέον ὑπερβὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ζῆ, μηκέτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ὥς συνάρξων διανοηθῆτω.*

P. 158, 26. I should write *ἐκάστοτε* for *ἐκατέροις* (cp. p. 147, 15). Then it is not necessary to suppose a lacuna. Cp. p. 159, 2.

P. 160, 24. I cannot see the difficulty in *οἷς μὴ καθεστήκοι*. We must construe *τοῖς θεοῖς, οἷς*.

P. 161, 12. We should possibly write *τρίς δὲ τρεῖς*, which would make the process clearer. The genuine text in this case is *τρίς δὲ* with *τρεῖς* added in the margin. Into the Armenian text, the Paris text and Stobaeus *τρεῖς* was wrongly introduced as a correction of *τρίς* in line 11. It was also substituted for *τρίς* in line 12 by the Paris text and Stobaeus. The Armenian avoided this last error.

P. 163, 3. Possibly *ποτίζουσαι* for *ποιούσαι*. The difficulty below lies in the conjunctives *ποιῶσιν, κοσμῶσι*, which depend on nothing, as they cannot possibly depend on *ὅπως ἂν* (l. 1). We want *ποιείτωσαν, κοσμεῖωσαν*. The sentence is much helped by the insertion of *§* between *ῥας* and *εἰ* (l. 9).

P. 164, 24–27 *μὴ ἐπεξιδὼν <δέ> ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω [νόμοις] καὶ πλείονι τῶν ν. ζ. <πρὸς τῷ> περὶ τὰς τῶν νέων ἀρχὰς ἡτιμῶσθαι?*

P. 166, 1 *δυνατοὺς [τε] εἶναι [καὶ] σχολάζοντας.*

P. 166, 5. Perhaps *λῆξιν* is more likely to have fallen out here than *κρίσιν*; but cp. p. 167, 29, where, however, I should be inclined to substitute *λῆξιν* for *κρίσιν*.

P. 166, 11. Perhaps *δέκα τῶν πρώτων χειροτονηθέντων*.

P. 167, 2 *ἀσκήσεων*. The MS has *οἰκήσεων*. I have no doubt but that Plato wrote *οἰκουρήσεων*.

P. 167, 5. *ἀγωνίαν* is scarcely possible. Read *τὰ γυμνικά*.

P. 167, 13. For *γίγνομένη μουσικῇ* read *γίγνομένην μουσικῆς. μουσικῆς* goes with *τοὺς ἄρχοντας*.

P. 167, 17 *εἰσαγωγεύς τε εἶναι—ἀποδιδούς*. This I do not under-

stand. I should write εἰσαγωγεύς γε εἶναι τοῖς ἀμεινωμένοις τὴν διάκρισιν εἰς ἄλλους ἀποδιδούς. Cp. line 30 εἰς τοὺς κριτὰς—τὴν κρίσιν, words for the exclusion of which I see no reason.

P. 168, 19. For ἡμερον one should surely read ἀνήμερον.

P. 168, 27. I doubt ἐπιμεληθῆναι, as κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα goes with καθιστάντα and refers to the efforts of the νομοθέτης to find the best man. If the Armenian translator *really* renders καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι for αἰρεθῆναι, this suggests the substitution for καλῶς αἰρεθῆναι of λῆστα καὶ ἄριστα. I understand τὸν μέλλοντα as the object of καθιστάντα. The νομοθέτης is, of course, the subject of ἀρξασθαι. Cp. p. 170, 13.

P. 171, 19. νομοθέτησις should certainly be written for νόμων θέσις. I cannot understand the conjecture ἥδ' ὄλων for the Armenian ἡδονῶν. In lines 20-21 the Paris reading seems to me to be right. If we read ταῦτα—εἰρησθαι, we should want περιμενέτω. Plato is very reserved in this passage.

P. 173, 28 ff. I should prefer to exclude ἔχων in line 30 and σπουδῇ in line 34. In line 36 there should be no comma after πόλεως, and ἡ (p. 174, line 1) should be retained. πόλεως ἀνάστατον γίγνεσθαι and λείπειν φυγῇ τὴν πόλιν are two different things.

P. 179, 9 ff. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις (l. 11) is certainly wrong. We should begin a new sentence with ἀμα δέ (l. 9); the words σχεδὸν—θεοῦ are a parenthesis. Then for καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις read πρὸς τοῦτο. The Armenian may have had καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο.

P. 179, 26. The Armenian seems to point to θεὸς ὡς as the right reading.

P. 179, 29 οἶον <νεοττίαν εἰς> νεοττῶν ἐγγέννησιν κτλ.?

P. 181, 16 ff. δηλὸν ὡς ἐπειδὴ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ θρέμμα ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τὸ ἐθέλειν εἶναί τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν διόρισιν, τὸ δούλόν τε ἔργῳ διορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην οὐδαμῶς εὐχερίς. On this supposition the Armenian τὸ εἰθίσθαι is an interpolation which took the place of the transposed words.

P. 182, 3 πλέον δὲ αὐτὸν προτιμῶντα· ὁρθὴ δὲ τροφή κτλ.?

P. 183, 8. I cannot understand how ἰδρύματα is to be construed. Possibly <θεωροῦντες> θεῶν ἰδρύματα. The other law-courts are to be *next* the temples; *in* the temples (ἐν τοῦτοις) are to be the courts which try for murder and other capital offences.

P. 183, 16. For ἐκπέμπειν I should write εἰ ἐκπέμπομεν.

P. 185, 10. The Paris MS seems here to derive from a text which had πολλῆς ἀνθρώποις ἀπορίας.

P. 188, 31. It is more probable that *oi* dropped out before ἡνίκα than that *eis* dropped out after ἀφικόμεθα.

### III.—THE VERSIFICATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH POEM PHOENIX.

The following investigation is based on the researches of Sievers, Paul-Braune's *Beiträge*, vols. X and XII. The text of the Phoenix used is that edited by Bright in his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*.

#### I.—THE STRUCTURE OF THE SECOND HEMISTICH.

##### A.—*Normal type* $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$ (*Beitr.* X 222).

1.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  foldan stencum 8; wealdas grēne 13; twelfum herra 28; 45, 50, 64, 73, 74, 78, 87, 90, 94, 95, 101, 102, 103, 105, 115, 118, 119, 120, 126, 127, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 163, 165, 169, 172, 177, 183, 184, 186, 198, 200, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 224, 231, 233, 241, 243, 244, 249, 251, 254, 256, 264, 266, 271, 272, 275, 276, 286, 290, 293, 300, 306, 316, 320, 325, 326, 336, 338, 341, 349, 351, 353, 359, 361, 376, 378, 382, 388, 399, 407, 416, 422, 423, 429, 436, 438, 442, 444, 446, 449, 452, 453, 456, 469, 470, 476, 479, 482, 497, 498, 499, 507, 510, 511, 512, 515, 518, 519, 531, 535, 539, 540, 544, 546, 559, 564, 569, 575, 577, 582, 587, 589, 591, 595, 600, 602, 611, 618, 625, 628, 639, 643, 648, 657; with correction of quantity: 85, 232, and 307 (*fæger*, *Beitr.* X 499); syncopated forms: 79, 521, and 592 (*hælges*, *mōngum*, *hrēmge*, *Beitr.* X 459); total, 142.

2. In the Phoenix the second part of a compound is rare in the thesis, but is more frequent than in the Beowulf. Examples are: *æghwylc wille* 164; *forweard hiwe* 291; *eardwic niwe* 431; *nēobēd cēose* 553; with *-lic*: *sellic glēngeð* 606; with the second part of a compound in the second thesis: *ēce weorðmynd* 636; total, 6.

3.  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *æpelast lōnda* 2; 93, 187, 190, 215, 352, 384, 387, 406, 464, 471, 493, 500, 586, 604, 626, 631, 649, 660; with correction of quantity: 182 (*fæger*, *Beitr.* X 499); compound in the first foot: *mēreflōd þeahte* 42; syncopated form: 170 (*mōngum*); total, 22.

4.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times \times$  *sōnge lofiað* 337; 474, 478, 481, 596, 641. All these weak verbs are of the second class, excepting 596, which belongs to the first class; total, 6.



5. Resolution of both arses does not occur in the Phoenix.

6.  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *a.* *mōngum gefēre* 4<sup>1</sup>; 7,<sup>1</sup> 11,<sup>1</sup> 27,<sup>1</sup> 63, 109, 122, 124, 125,<sup>1</sup> 133, 140,<sup>1</sup> 146, 152, 162,<sup>1</sup> 176, 188, 227, 230,<sup>1</sup> 269,<sup>1</sup> 273,<sup>1</sup> 284,<sup>1</sup> 294,<sup>1</sup> 295, 302, 310,<sup>1</sup> 318, 322, 334,<sup>1</sup> 339, 392, 419, 421,<sup>1</sup> 428,<sup>1</sup> 473, 486,<sup>1</sup> 490,<sup>1</sup> 495, 527,<sup>1</sup> 538, 552,<sup>1</sup> 555, 562, 576, 580,<sup>1</sup> 585, 601,<sup>1</sup> 609, 624, 653<sup>1</sup>; with possible elision: 143, 566; syncopated forms: 71,<sup>1</sup> 155<sup>1</sup> (*gehōngne, geblōwne*, Beitr. X 459);

*a.* *wæstmas nē drēosað* 34<sup>1</sup>; 60,<sup>1</sup> 134,<sup>1</sup> 191,<sup>1</sup> 193, 278, 297,<sup>1</sup> 324, 345,<sup>1</sup> 364, 367,<sup>1</sup> 386, 430, 475, 494,<sup>1</sup> 523,<sup>1</sup> 542,<sup>1</sup> 584, 608; with possible elision: 123, 467;

*a.* *lond beoð gefrætwað* 116<sup>1</sup>; 228, 279,<sup>1</sup> 368; with two enclitics in the thesis: *lif bið on siðe* 220; *fȳr bið on tihte* 525; total, 80.

*b.* Twice a compound is found in the first foot: *sunbearo lixeð* 33; *willsele stȳmeð* 213 (both may belong to  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$ , Beitr. X 250, n. 1);

*c.* *worn æfter oðrum* 343; 434, 651; total, 5.

7.  $\text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *æpele sē Wyrhta* 9; 37,<sup>1</sup> 145,<sup>1</sup> 331, 340; total, 5.

8.  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  *lucan tōgædere* 225<sup>1</sup>; *telgan gehladene* 76<sup>1</sup>; 488,<sup>1</sup> 593<sup>1</sup>; *georne bewitigan* 92, 650; with probable elision: 132; total, 7.

11.  $\text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *beorgas þær nē muntas* 21; 96, 265; total, 3.

12.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  *edgeong weseð* 373; *lig eal pigeð* 505; *hēahseld Godes* 619; total, 3.

13 and 14. Shortening of the first foot, and dissyllabic final thesis do not occur.

15.  $\times | \text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  *sum blācum splottum* 296; 372;

$\times | \text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *æt baða gehwylcum* 110;

$\times | \text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *sē fugel is on hiwe* 311; total, 4.

An hypermetrical type:  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  *sē þā moldan gesette* 10 (Beitr. XII 463, 7 *b*).

Total number of verses of A (including 10), 283.

#### B.—Normal type $\times \text{—} | \times \text{—}$ (Beitr. X 236).

1. In the Phoenix, as in the Beowulf, this type is rarer than A, and dissyllabic initial thesis is the most usual form.

2.  $\times \text{—} | \times \text{—}$  *nē fȳres blæst* 15; *nē winterscūr* 18; *swā hēr mid ūs* 23; 77, 100, 112, 238, 261, 317, 323, 375, 385, 513, 549, 572, 583, 622, 652, 662, 588 (*byrg*, Beitr. X 478, n. 1); total, 20.

<sup>1</sup> The second syllable is long.



12.  $\times \times \times \prec | \times \times \prec$  *sē hit on frympe gescēop* 84; *þæt hē bið wæstmum gelic* 237; *þæt him gefylgan ne mæg* 347; total, 3.

13 and 14. A thesis of four or five syllables in the first foot does not occur in the Phoenix.

15. A middle thesis of three syllables does not occur.

16. The second part of a compound is not found in the thesis.

Total number of verses of B, 199.

C.—*Normal type*  $\times \prec | \prec \times$  (Beitr. X 243).

1. A peculiarity of this type in the Phoenix, as well as in the Beowulf, is to shorten the second foot to  $\prec \times$ . Dissyllabic thesis in the first foot is also here the most frequent.

2.  $\times \prec | \prec \times$  *nē sincaldu* 17; *þæt tīrfæste* 69; *on mearmstāne* 333; *onfōn mōte* 433; *tō frēan geardum* 578; total, 5.

3.  $\times \prec \times | \prec \times$  *onhliden weorþað* 49; *nē swanes feðre* 137; and *welan nēotan* 149; and *wudublēda* 194; *bisēted weorðeð* 304; 314, 315, 412, 425, 461, 502, 530, 545, 573, 597, 610, 665; with correction of quantity: 218 (Fenix, Beitr. X 499), 646 (ibid.); total, 19.

$\times \prec \times | \prec \times$  and *Heofoncynnes* 616.

Resolution of the second arsis alone does not occur.

4.  $\times \times \prec | \prec \times$ , as in Beowulf much more frequent than monosyllabic initial thesis: *ær þon edwēnden* 40; *ac þær wrætlice* 75; *æt þām æspringe* 104; 157, 201, 240, 287, 298, 299, 350, 357, 371, 402, 435, 441, 459, 491, 567, 637, 661, 663; 393 (*ælmihgtā*, syncope, Beitr. X 459); total, 22.

5.  $\times \times \prec \times | \prec \times$  *on gewritum cȳpað* 30; *under heofontunglum* 32; *ne þær wæter seallep* 61; 62, 65, 80, 89, 181, 204, 210, 229, 247, 257, 260, 313, 332, 344, 358, 408, 409, 437, 458, 492, 520; with correction of quantity: 86 (Fenix); total, 25.

6.  $\times \times \times \prec | \prec \times$  *on þone sēlestan* 395; *mid hyra weldædum* 543; total, 2.

7.  $\times \times \times \prec \times | \prec \times$  *swā us gefreogum glēawe* 29; *þæt hē in scade weardað* 168; *swā him æt fruman sette* 328; *swā us gewritu secgað* 655; with possible elision: 214, 234, 568; 410 (*gyfl*, Beitr. X 481); total, 8.

8.  $\times \times \times \times \prec \times | \prec \times$  *þonne æfre byre mōnnes* 128 (elision?).

Initial thesis of five syllables, as in type B, is also wanting here.

9.  $\times \prec | \prec \times$  *nē stānc lifu* 22; *nē duns crafu* 24; *wið yð fare* 44; *purh ēst Godes* 46; *nē sār w racu* 54; *nē swār leger* 56; *on ēastwegum* 113; 141, 171, 414, 483, 570; total, 12.

10.  $\times \times \prec | \surd \times$  ac sē wŋng seomað 19; nē him lig scēðeð 39; þonne dēaðræced 48; æfter sundplegan 111; siððan Hēahcýning 129; bið him nēod micel 189; 199, 216, 219, 270, 292, 308, 403, 415, 432, 485, 501, 504, 563, 612; with possible elision: 285, 365, 366; correction of quantity: 86 (Fenix); types that may belong to B: nǣfre brosniað 38; ær þon ęndige 83 (Beitr. X 247, 254); total, 26.

11.  $\times \times \times \prec | \surd \times$  nǣfre him dēað scēðeð 88; hwǣðre him eft cymeð 222; sē þe him ēad gifeð 319; oð þæt sē ānhoga 346; 380, 424, 554, 664; with possible elision: 1, 303, 508; total, 11.

12 and 13 are rare in the Beowulf and are entirely wanting in the Phoenix.

14. No member of a compound is found in the thesis.

Total number of verses of C, 132.

D.—*Normal type*  $\prec | \prec \times \times$  (Beitr. X 249).

I.  $\prec | \prec \succ \times$ .

a. The syllable bearing the secondary stress is long.

1. A compound in the second foot: feorh edniwe 223, 558; geong edniwe 258; lif edniwe 370; with resolution of the first arsis: sumes onlice 242; Cýning þrymlíce 514; Fæder ælmihtig 627; total, 7.

2. Uncertain examples with *un-* do not occur.

3. A simple word in the second foot: present participle in *-end-*: mǣnfremendum 6; ūplædendra 178; þrymsittendum 623; ryhtfremmende 632; with resolution of the first arsis: hige weallende 477; pronominal adjective in *-ig-*: cnýseð ænigne 59.

Other examples are: hrēoh ðnetteð 217; forð ðnetteð 455; with resolution: Godes cŋndelle 91; Bregu sēlestan 620; total, 10.

b. The syllable bearing the secondary stress is short. There is only once a certain example: Godes spelboda 571; other doubtful examples are: with weak verbs in the second foot: Gode lician 517; lēoð sŋmnige 547; beald reordade 550; with resolution in both feet: woruld staðelode 130; the last four may belong to the type  $\prec | \prec \times \succ$  (Beitr. X 254); total, 5.

7. Anacrusis and expansion of the thesis, very rare in the Beowulf, are not found at all in the Phoenix.

II.  $\prec | \prec \times \succ$ .

8.  $\prec | \succ \times \succ$  God āna wāt 355; lif eft onfēhð 533; lif eft onfēng 645; these verses may belong to E  $\prec \succ \times | \prec$  (Beitr. X 258, 259); with resolution of the secondary stress: twelf siðum hine 106 (may belong to E  $\prec \succ \times | \prec$ , Beitr. X 257); total, 4.

14.  $\prec | \prec \times \times \succ$  weorc ānra gehwæs 598; but *ānra* may have monosyllabic value (Beitr. X 480).

15. Shortening of stress does not occur.

An hypermetrical type:  $\prec \times | \prec \times \succ$  þu eart Fæder ælmihtig 630 (Beitr. XII 467, 2 a).

Total number of verses of D (including 630), 28.

E.—Normal type  $\prec \times \times | \prec$  (Beitr. X 262).

2. The verse begins with a compound of three syllables, of which the second is long: wēatācen nān 51; westdælas on 97; onlicost pēan 312; Godbearnas meaht 647; wynsumne stēnc 659; total, 5.

3. Resolution of the first arsis: lagufloða wynn 70; wuduhol-tum in 362; efenhlēoðre þus 621; total, 3.

Resolution of the second arsis: tirmeahtig Cyning 175; mon-cynnes Fruma 377; resolution of both: 12; total, 3.

4. The same form with the second syllable of the compound short: syrwarā lōnd 166.

5. A simple word of three syllables in the first foot: Hælende Crīst 590; resolution of the first arsis does not occur; resolution of the second arsis: Scyppendes giefe 327; a short syllable bearing the secondary stress is rare: æppelde gold 506; Cāseres lof 634; total, 4.

6. The second foot composed of two independent words, rare in the Beowulf, is not found at all in the Phoenix.

7. Those uncertain cases which may belong to D or E have been given above under D 8.

8. Expansion of the first thesis is rare: sēllicran gecynd 329; ēadigra gehwylc 381; ēadigra gehwām 603; sōðfæstra gedryht 635; resolution of both arses: bearo ealne geondfarað 67; æpelstēnca gehwone 195; total, 6.

10.  $\prec \times | \times \times \prec$  Rare in the Beowulf; in the Phoenix once: wel bið þām þe mōt 516 (Beitr. X 267).

Total number of verses of E, 23.

## II.—THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST HEMISTICH.

A.—*Normal type*  $\acute{\times} \times | \acute{\times} \times$  (Beitr. X 271).

1.  $\acute{\times} \times | \acute{\times} \times$  beorhte blēde 35; grēne stōndað 36<sup>1</sup>; Dryhtnes dōmes 48; lōnd geondlāce 70; beorhtast bearwa 80; holt on hīwe 81; wōn gewīteð 99; sið bihealdan 114<sup>1</sup>; 116, 128,<sup>1</sup> 130, 142,<sup>1</sup> 157,<sup>1</sup> 158, 161, 162, 167,<sup>1</sup> 180, 185, 212, 214, 227,<sup>1</sup> 234, 238, 240, 253, 257, 261,<sup>1</sup> 263, 270, 272,<sup>1</sup> 277, 283, 302,<sup>1</sup> 306, 308, 311, 315, 323, 344, 352, 354, 355, 358,<sup>1</sup> 362,<sup>1</sup> 364,<sup>1</sup> 365,<sup>1</sup> 373, 379, 396,<sup>1</sup> 402, 412,<sup>1</sup> 414, 420,<sup>1</sup> 425,<sup>1</sup> 427, 432,<sup>1</sup> 438, 450,<sup>1</sup> 456, 458, 461, 466,<sup>1</sup> 472,<sup>1</sup> 485,<sup>1</sup> 488, 492,<sup>1</sup> 496, 501, 504, 508,<sup>1</sup> 509,<sup>1</sup> 525, 599, 603,<sup>1</sup> 610, 612, 616, 626, 647, 665<sup>1</sup>; with correction of quantity: 92, 289, 303 (glædum, glādest, glādum, Beitr. X 501); 330 (fæg(er)ran, Beitr. X 499); total, 85.

2.  $\acute{\times} \times | \acute{\times} \times$  wlitigum wæstmum 72; heofon and eorðan 131<sup>1</sup>; gumum tō gliwe 139; dægēs and nihtes 147<sup>1</sup>; wunað and weardað 172; wlitig and wynsum 203; woruld geondwiteð 211, 318; dugeða lēasum 454<sup>1</sup>; 455, 478,<sup>1</sup> 483, 494, 578, 625, 664; with possible elision: 260, 332; 174 (Fenix, Beitr. X 499); total, 19.

3.  $\acute{\times} \times | \acute{\times} \times$  hēah tō heofonum 521; lēofne lofiað 561; geongra gyfēna 624; total, 3.

4. Resolution of both arses: woruld gewlitigad 117.

5.  $\acute{\times} \times \times | \acute{\times} \times$  Dissyllabic middle thesis with the first syllable short: wihite gewyrdan 19; stēape ne stōndað 22; æfre tō ealdre 40; yldu nē yrmðu 52; lyfte gebysgad 62<sup>1</sup>; 83, 124, 136, 150, 216,<sup>1</sup> 237, 242, 259, 274, 301, 325,<sup>1</sup> 340,<sup>1</sup> 389, 418, 463,<sup>1</sup> 479, 484, 507, 528,<sup>1</sup> 535, 550, 551, 562, 563, 576, 585, 590, 594, 605, 614, 621, 627, 629, 635, 666, 672, 677; with possible elision: 121, 410, 471, 477, 545, 601, 607, 659; total, 50.

The same form with the first syllable of the thesis long: fīrum gefræge 3; blōstmum geblōwen 21; hlæwas nē hlinas 25; blēdum gehōngen 38<sup>1</sup>; lēaf under lyfte 39; beorht of pæs bearwes 122; wōnges mid willum 149; 179, 239, 285, 294, 309, 310, 313, 341, 371, 380, 440, 459,<sup>1</sup> 500, 523, 537, 560, 565, 579, 613, 637<sup>1</sup>; 250 (*winter* may have monosyllabic value, Beitr. X 480); with syncope of the middle vowel: 350 (Beitr. X 459); total, 29.

6.  $\acute{\times} \times \times | \acute{\times} \times$  worulde geweorðe 41; wunað ungewyrded 181; gōmel æfter gēarum 258; æðelne tō earde 346; 363, 460, 543; 598 (elision?); 542 (stefn, Beitr. X 480); total, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Signifies alliteration in the first foot; ^, crossed alliteration.

b.  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  wintres and sumeres 37<sup>1</sup>; hrēoh under heofonum 58; sylf in þām solere 204; byrgdon forbodene 404; mānes āmeṛede 633; hēah ofer heofonum 641; total, 6.

c.  $\text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  nioðoweard and ufeweard 299<sup>1</sup>; wunian in worulde 386; wlitig ofer weoredum 588; total, 3.

7.  $\text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  wrīdað under wolcnum 27; bīdeð swā geblōwen 47; Sē sceal þære sunnan 90; 111, 120, 140, 199, 405, 467, 538, 604, 671; with possible elision: 1, 328, 619; total, 15.

8. Resolution of the first arsis does not occur.

$\text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  healdað under heofonum 391; with possible elision: 14, 73, 129, 164, 319, 541; total, 7.

Resolution of both arses is not found.

9. A thesis of more than three syllables is wanting.

10. In this type in the Phoenix, as well as in the Beowulf, anacrusis is rare:

a.  $\times | \text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  nē sunnan hāetu 17<sup>1</sup>; nē windig wolcen 61; on rōde trēowe 643<sup>1</sup>;

$\times \times | \text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  on þām trēowum symle 76<sup>1</sup>; total, 4.

b.  $\times | \text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  gepungen on þeode 160; 226, 408, 568;

$\times | \text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  bibaðað in þām burnan 107; 186;

$\times | \text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  gewiten under waðeman 97; total, 7.

c.  $\times | \text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  nē feallað þær on foldan 74; 532, 247 (elision?);

$\times | \text{—} \times \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$  biholene and bihȳdde 170 (elision?);

$\times | \text{—} \times \times \times | \text{—} \times \times$  gehȳrdun under heofonum 444; total, 5.

11.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  brimcald brecað 67; 112, 435;

$\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  wlitigfæst wunað 105; total, 4.

Total, 247.

## 2.

12. The thesis with secondary stress is relatively more rare than in the Beowulf.

13. a.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  dēormōd drohtað 88; brimcald beorgeð 110; adlġg æleð 222; sārlic symbol 406; 462, 574, 644<sup>1</sup>; total, 7.

b.  $\text{—} \times \times | \text{—} \times$  fealo lig feormað 218; sigorfæst sētte 282; egeslic æled 522; 634; total, 4.

14. Resolution of the secondary stress does not occur.

15.  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times$  eorðan ymbhwyrft 43; fāges feorhhord 221; ēades onsȳn 398; ealles edgiong 581; ēades ongyn 638; ār and onwald 663; total, 6.

16. Resolution of the same form: wunað geond wynlōnd 82.

17.  $\acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x}$  *eadig* and *onsund* 20; *witgan þurh wiðdōm* 30; *ænlic* and *edgeong* 536; *gieddade glēawmōd* 571; *sib sī þē, sōð* *God* 622; 608 (elision?); total, 6.

18. The same form with resolutions: *wlitig is sē wŕong eall* 7; *smylte is sē sigewŕong* 33 (elision?); *beorhte gebrēdade* 592; total, 3.

Another form, which is wanting in the *Beowulf*:  $\acute{x} \times \times \times | \acute{x}$  *ænlic* is *þæt iglōnd* 9; with resolution: *wrætlic* is *sēo wŕomb neoðan* 307; with correction of quantity: 510 (*fæger*, *Beitr. X* 499); total, 3.

19.  $\acute{x} \acute{x} | \acute{x}$  *æghwæs onsund* 44; *æghwæs ænlic* 312; with resolution: *wuduholt wynlic* 34; total, 3.

20. One form with anacrusis:  $\times | \acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x}$  *bedēglad on dægrēd* 98.

All these verses, with the exception of verse 644,<sup>1</sup> have double alliteration.

Total, 34.

### 3. Alliteration in the second foot.

25. Also in the Phoenix monosyllabic middle thesis is very rare; dissyllabic thesis and thesis of three syllables are the most frequent.

26.  $\acute{x} \times | \acute{x} \times$  *þonne sŕmnað* 324; 670; total, 2.

27.  $\acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  *sindon þā bearwas* 71; *oð þæt sēo sunne* 141; *þæt hē þā ylðu* 190; *siððan þā ŕslan* 224; *is him þæt hēafod* 293; *bī þām gecornum* 388; *is þon gelicast* 424; *þæt wē þŕ geornor* 573; total, 8.

$\acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x}$  *þæt is sē hēa bēam* 447;

$\acute{x} \times \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  *hafað us alŕfed* 667; total, 2.

28.  $\acute{x} \times \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  *nis þær on þām lōnde* 50; *þonne bið gehēfgad* 153; *oð þæt hē gesēceð* 166; *swylce hē of æge* 233; *þonne bið aweaxen* 265; *is ymb þone swēoran* 305; *þonne hē gewiteð* 320; *habbað wē geāscad* 393; *in þām hē getimbred* 430; *wæron hwæðre mōnge* 443; *swā nū in þām wicum* 470; 474, 476, 552, 583, 648; with possible elision: 188, 230, 295; with correction of quantity: 125 (*fæger*, *Beitr. X* 499); with resolution: *beoð þonne amērede* 544; total, 21.

29. A middle thesis of four syllables is wanting.

30.  $\acute{x} \times \times \times \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  *þonne ænig þara beorga* 31 (elision?).

31. *a.*  $\times | \acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  *ne magon þām breahthme* 134;

*b.*  $\times | \acute{x} \times \times | \acute{x} \times$  and *þonne gesēceð* 156; and *þonne gebringeð* 271; and *swā þone hālgan* 339; *forgeaf him sē meahta* 377; and



hi þā gesette 395; ne wēne þæs ænig 546; with secondary stress in the second foot: and þonne þæt wælrēaf 273; total, 7.

c.  $\times | \times \times \times | \times$  nē ænig þara drēama 138; þæt ic on mīnum neste 553; ne bið him on þam wīcum 611; with possible elision: 533, 557; total, 5.

31 *d* and 32 are not found in the Phoenix.

**Total, 47.**

Hypermetrical types:  $\times \times | \times \times | \times \times$  mōdig, meahtum spēdig  
 10 (Beitr. XII 459, 1);  $\times | \underline{\times \times \times} | \times \times | \times \times$  Gefreoða usic,  
 frymða Scyppend 630 (Beitr. X 461).

Total number of verses of A (including 10 and 630), 330.

B.—*Normal type*  $\times \perp | \times \perp$  (Beitr. X 291).

1.  $\times \div \times \div$  nē forstes fnæst 15; gehealden stōd 45<sup>1</sup>; nē sorg  
nē slæp 56; geond middangeard 119<sup>1</sup>; 135; 143<sup>1</sup>; 215, 321, 366,<sup>1</sup>  
372,<sup>1</sup> 383, 413, 415, 434,<sup>1</sup> 441, 482, 530,<sup>1</sup> 555,<sup>1</sup> 636, 639,<sup>1</sup> 640,<sup>1</sup> 649,  
658; 475<sup>1</sup> (byr(i)g, Beitr. X 478, n. 1); 262<sup>1</sup> (niht, Beitr. X 485);  
total, 25.

total. 2.  $\times \times | \times \times$  purh Meotudes meah 6; on sumeres tid 209;

× - | × ×    nē hægles hryre 16; nē wōp nē wracu 51; 53, 54, 296, 419,<sup>1</sup> 490<sup>1</sup>; total, 7.

$\times \times \mid \times \times$  nē dene nē dalu 24.

2.  $\times \times \times | \times \times$  In the Phoenix also this is the most frequent form of the B-type: ofer middangeard 4<sup>1</sup>; þæt is wynsum wong 13; is þæt torhte lond 28<sup>1</sup>; ealne middangeard 42<sup>1</sup>; 103, 113,<sup>1</sup> 171,<sup>1</sup> 177, 191, 202,<sup>1</sup> 232, 235,<sup>1</sup> 314,<sup>1</sup> 359,<sup>1</sup> 361,<sup>1</sup> 374,<sup>1</sup> 381,<sup>1</sup> 394, 411,<sup>1</sup> 423,<sup>1</sup> 429, 433,<sup>1</sup> 491,<sup>1</sup> 498,<sup>1</sup> 499, 514, 517,<sup>1</sup> 596,<sup>1</sup> 602, 628, 650,<sup>1</sup> 661, 668<sup>1</sup>; 511 (elision?); with correction of quantity: 593<sup>1</sup> (gladan, Beitr. X 501); total, 35.

× × 4 | × × pær sē wilda fugel 201<sup>1</sup>; pære sunnan segn 288; -  
æfter lices hryre 645<sup>1</sup>; tō þām mildan Gode 657<sup>1</sup>; total, 4.

XX|X|X<sup>2</sup> þær nē hægl nē hrīm 60; ofer geofones gong  
 118; wesan þegn and þeow 165; þā þe late þurh lyft 316; pone  
 wlitigan wong 439; total, 5.

XXUX | UX swā sē æðela fugel 104.<sup>1</sup>

3.  $\times \times \times \times | \times$  on þære ascan bið 231<sup>1</sup>; ac hē is snel and swift 317; þæt hȳ þis læne lif 481; with possible elision: 281<sup>1</sup>, 349<sup>1</sup>; total, 5.

××× 4 | × 5 ×    hafað þam trēow forgiefen 175.

4.  $\times \times \times \times \times \mid \times$  is wanting.

5. *a.*  $\times \prec | \times \times \prec$  *nē wædle gewin* 55; *pā mōnþa gehwām* 66<sup>1</sup>; 206, 252, 256,<sup>^</sup> 300, 336, 469,<sup>1</sup> 57 (*winter* may have the value of a monosyllable); with alliteration in the second foot: 137, 655; total, 11.

$\times \prec | \times \times \prec$  *bēoð wolcen tōwegen* 184; in *sīða gehwane* 464<sup>1</sup>; total, 2.

5. *b.*  $\times \times \prec | \times \times \prec$  *þonne fōtum ymbfēhð* 276; *þisses fugles gecynd* 387<sup>1</sup>; on *þām nīwan gefēan* 400<sup>1</sup>; 426, 651,<sup>1</sup> 660<sup>1</sup>; total, 6.

$\times \times \prec | \times \times \prec$  *under lyft ofer lagu* 101; and in *wuldor aweceð* 567; total, 2.

5. *c.* *hwonne sē dæg and sēo tid* 334.<sup>1</sup>

Other forms do not occur.

Total number of verses of B, 108.

C.—*Normal type*  $\times \prec | \prec \times$  (Beitr. X 295).

1.  $\times \prec | \prec \times$  *tō indryhtum* 198<sup>1</sup>; on *hærfeste* 244<sup>1</sup>; his *eald-cyððe* 351<sup>1</sup>; on *sindreamum* 385<sup>1</sup>; on *moldærne* 564<sup>1</sup>; and *þe þonc sý* 623; with a syllable bearing a secondary accent in the second arsis: and *wynsumra* 133<sup>1</sup>; *pā swētestan* 193<sup>1</sup>; on *lēnc-tenne* 254<sup>^</sup>; in *hēannesse* 631<sup>1</sup>; total, 10.

$\times \prec | \prec \times$  on *wudubearwe* 169<sup>1</sup>; on *rypes tīman* 246<sup>1</sup>; mid *ofermægne* 249<sup>1</sup>; *þurh Fæder fultum* 390; 575, 646; with a syllable bearing a secondary accent in the second arsis: *þām æðelestum* 431; total, 7.

$\times \prec | \prec \times$  *þurh woruld worulda* 662.

2.  $\times \times \prec | \prec \times$  on *þām græswōnge* 78<sup>1</sup>; on *þām willwōnge* 89; *þær sē tīrēadga* 106<sup>1</sup>; *eallum sōngcræftum* 132<sup>1</sup>; 223<sup>1</sup>; 287,<sup>1</sup> 392,<sup>1</sup> 468,<sup>1</sup> 495,<sup>1</sup> 515,<sup>^</sup> 527,<sup>1</sup> 559<sup>1</sup>; 566,<sup>1</sup> 587,<sup>1</sup> 589,<sup>1</sup> 676<sup>1</sup>; 600 (elision?); all these with compounds; with a syllable bearing a secondary accent in the second arsis: mid *þām fægrestum* 8<sup>1</sup>; *þæt hit færinga* 531<sup>1</sup>; with a simple word forming the second foot: *þætte twelf sīpum* 69<sup>1</sup>; in *þæt trēow innan* 200<sup>1</sup>; *þær him nest wyrceð* 451<sup>1</sup>; total, 22.

$\times \times \prec | \prec \times$  *pone wudu weardað* 85; *ofer sceadu scīneð* 210; *swā sē fugel fleogeð* 322; *swā sē fugel swētum* 652<sup>1</sup>; twice with compounds: *under heofonhrōfe* 173; *þæt ic lygewordum* 547<sup>1</sup>; further with *-estum* 207<sup>1</sup>; with correction of quantity: 291 (*fæger*, Beitr. X 499); total, 8.

3.  $\times \times \times \prec | \prec \times$  *symle hē twelf sīðum* 146<sup>1</sup>; *swā mōn tō andleafne* 243<sup>1</sup>; with a syllable bearing a secondary accent in the

second arsis: *oð þæt hē pāsende* 151<sup>1</sup>; for *þon hē drāsende* 368<sup>1</sup>; *þæt hē swa wrætlīce* 378<sup>1</sup>; *þonne hē ælmessan* 453<sup>1</sup>; total, 6.

$\times \times \times \times | \times \times$  *ac hȳ in wlite wuniað* 609.

Resolution of the second arsis fails in the *Beowulf*.

The shortened type is relatively more frequent in the *Phoenix* than in the *Beowulf*.

5.  $\times \times | \times \times$  *nē wearm weder* 18; on *eorðwege* 178<sup>1</sup>; on *beorhstēde* 284<sup>1</sup>; in *bānfatu* 520<sup>1</sup>; frōm *moldgrafum* 524<sup>1</sup>; þus *frōd guma* 570<sup>1</sup>; in *ēadwelum* 586<sup>1</sup>; with a syllable bearing a secondary accent in the second arsis: on *byrgenum* 512<sup>1</sup>; and *wynsumum* 653<sup>1</sup>; him *folgiað* 591<sup>1</sup>; þus *reordiað* 632<sup>1</sup>; the last two may belong to type B  $\times \times | \times \times$  (*Beitr.* X 254); total, 11.

6.  $\times \times \times | \times \times$  *þær bið oft open* 11; *þær sē ānhaga* 87<sup>1</sup>; and *ongēan cuman* 91<sup>1</sup>; *hwonne up cyme* 93<sup>1</sup>; *ofer yðmēre* 94<sup>1</sup>; 102,<sup>1</sup> 109,<sup>1</sup> 115,<sup>1</sup> 182<sup>1</sup>; 195<sup>1</sup>; 205,<sup>1</sup> 225,<sup>1</sup> 353,<sup>1</sup> 370,<sup>1</sup> 382,<sup>1</sup> 384,<sup>1</sup> 416, 437,<sup>1</sup> 518,<sup>1</sup> 577,<sup>1</sup> 582<sup>1</sup>; 327,<sup>1</sup> 331,<sup>1</sup> 539<sup>1</sup>; the last three may belong to type B (*Beitr.* X 254); total, 24.

$\times \times \times | \times \times$  *þurh his hidercyme* 421<sup>1</sup>; *ofer woruldwelan* 480; with correction of quantity: 558, 597 (*Fenix*, *Beitr.* X 499); total, 4.

Total number of verses of C, 94.

#### D.—Normal type $\times | \times \times \times$ (*Beitr.* X 299).

##### I. a. $\times | \times \times \times$ .

1.  $\times | \times \times \times$  *eal ednīwe* 241; with the secondary stress on a syllable bearing a secondary accent—here, as in the *Beowulf*, more frequent: with *-end-*: *foldāgendra* 5<sup>1</sup>; *scyldwyrcente* 502<sup>1</sup>; with *-inga*: *ednīwinga* 534<sup>1</sup>; with correction of quantity: *dōm unbryce* 642<sup>1</sup> (*unbrȳce*, *Beitr.* X 251; see *brȳce*); total, 5.

$\times \times | \times \times \times$  *ofett ednīwe* 77; *Meotud mōncynnes* 176; *smiða orþōncum* 304<sup>1</sup>; *Cyning ælmihtig* 356<sup>1</sup>; *wiga wælgifre* 486; *hæle hrāwērig* 554; with the secondary stress on a syllable bearing a secondary accent: *swegelcōndelle* 108<sup>1</sup>; *Iobes gieddinga* 549<sup>1</sup>; total, 8.

$\times | \times \times \times$  *lic leoðucræftig* 268.

Double resolution occurs only three times in the *Beowulf*; in the *Phoenix* it is not found at all.

2.  $\times | \times \times \times$  occurs only with resolution of the first arsis: *wæter wynsumu* 65; *leomu lic sōmod* 513; total, 2.

<sup>1</sup>Signifies alliteration in the second foot.

I.  $\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$ .

3.  $\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  frōd fyrngeweorc 84; prīst þonces glēaw 144; blēobrygdum fāg 292; hwit hindanweard 298; eft yrfēweard 376; fāh fēond gemāh 595; with the secondary stress on a syllable bearing a secondary accent: hēah hlīfiað 23, 32; nest gearwian 189<sup>1</sup>; wic weardiað 448; total, 10.

$\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  fugel feðrum strōng 86; Fæder fyrngeweorc 95; fugel feðrum wlōnc 100; 123, 154, 208, 266, 516; with the secondary stress on a syllable bearing a secondary accent: sōmod sīðiað 584; total, 9.

$\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  geong geofona ful 267.

$\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  wunað wintra fela 580, a form which is wanting in the Beowulf.

$\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  torht tācen Godes 96 (see Beitr. X 301; Beowulf, l. 570, beorht bēacen godes).

5.  $\acute{\text{X}} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  Rare in the Phoenix, as in the Beowulf: Fæder frymða gehwæs 197; farað feorran and nēan 326; total, 2.

6. Anacrusis is relatively more frequent than in the Beowulf:

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  aweaht wrætlice 367;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  onfēhð foremihtig 159;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  gehroden hyhtlice 79;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  aflyhð fugla [wynn] 155;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  gesēon sigora Frēan 675;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  onhliden hlēopra wyn 12;

$\text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  forgifeð gōða gehwylc 615; total, 7.

II.  $\acute{\text{X}} \text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$ .

7.  $\acute{\text{X}} \text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  ēadig unwēmme 46; sægrum flōdwyllum 64; wrixleð wōðcræfte 127; bearwes biḡenga 148; æppel unrædum 403; earme āglæcan 442; 457, 519, 526, 540, 548, 556, 572, 654; with the secondary stress on a syllable bearing a secondary accent: with *-ig*: mærað mōdigne 338; hlēoðor hāligra 656; with *-inga*: āgan eardinga 673; with *-sumra*: 196; five forms in *lic*-.: 63, 68, 407,<sup>2</sup> 445, 452; with possible elision: 473, 503; total, 25.

$\acute{\text{X}} \text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  sōmnað swoles lāfe 269; bittre bealosorge 409; 497, 29 (læðm); with correction of quantity (fæger); total, 4.

The same form with resolution of the last stress:  $\acute{\text{X}} \text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  caldum cylegicelum 59.

8.  $\acute{\text{X}} \text{X} | \acute{\text{X}} \text{X}$  feðre flyhthwate 145; lænne lichōman 220; eorla ēadwela 251; 335, 337, 345, 369, 489, 505, 674; with *-sum*-.: 194, 245, 529; total, 13.

Resolution of the second arsis: feorh and feðerhoma 280.

$\underline{\times} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  sigora Söðcyning 329, 493; heofona Hēahcyning 446; weoruda Wilgiefa 465; sunu and swæs fæder 375 (elision?); total, 5.

9. A thesis of two syllables is very rare in the Beowulf, and does not occur at all in the Phoenix.

10. Anacrusis:  $\times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  oðscufēð scearplice 168;

$\times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times | \text{ } \underline{\times} \times$  bebyrgeð beaducræftig 286;

$\times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  onbryrðed brēostsefa 126; total, 3.

11. There are few exceptions to this rule.

12.  $^{\circ} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  flēogan feðrum snel 163; ēadig ēðellond 279; nemnað neorxnawong 397; 506, 618; 360 (fæger); verses which probably belong here, but which may belong to D 8 (Beitr. X 254): 213, 333, 342, 343, 617, 620; total, 12.

13.  $^{\circ} \times | \text{ } \underline{\times} \times$  hluttur heofones gim 183; wēcceð woruld-gestrēon 255; total, 2.

$^{\circ} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  hālgas hlēoðorcwide 399.

$\underline{\times} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times \text{ } ^{\circ} \times$  hālepa heolstorcofan 49, a form which does not occur in the Beowulf.

14. Anacrusis: oðflēogeð feðrum snel 347; gewiteð wērigmōd 428; total, 2.

15.  $^{\circ} \times | \text{ } ^{\circ} \times \times$  ealdor ānra gehwæs 487.

Total number of verses of D, 118.

E.—*Normal type*  $^{\circ} \times \times | \text{ } ^{\circ}$  (Beitr. X 308).

I.  $^{\circ} \times \times | \text{ } ^{\circ}$ .

1.  $^{\circ} \times \times | \text{ } ^{\circ}$  ēastdælum on 2; unsmēpes wiht 26<sup>1</sup>; feorh geong onfōn 192; fyrngēarum frōd 219; āgenne eard 264, 275; ealdfēonda nān 449<sup>1</sup>; total, 7.

2.  $\underline{\times} \times \times | \text{ } ^{\circ}$  wudubearwes weard 152; wedercōndel wearm 187; heorodrēorges hūs 217; heaðorōfes hūs 228; æðeltungla wyn 290<sup>1</sup>; total, 5.

3.  $^{\circ} \times \times | \text{ } \underline{\times}$  bānfæt gebrocen 229; sunbeorht gesētu 278, 436; ealdfēondes æfest 401; total, 4.

4.  $\underline{\times} \times \times | \text{ } \underline{\times}$  wudubēama wite 75.

5 is rare in the Beowulf and is entirely wanting in the Phoenix. Expansion of the thesis in the first foot is relatively much more frequent in the Phoenix than in the Beowulf:

6.  $^{\circ} \times \times \times | \text{ } ^{\circ}$  drȳmendra gedryht 348; mōnncynnes gefēa 422<sup>1</sup>; forðweardne gefēan 569; total, 3.

⁂ X X | ⁂ wifhādes þe weres 357; sorgfulran gesetu 417;  
 soðfæstra gehwone 606<sup>1</sup>; gōddædum begietan 669; total, 4.

Resolution of both arses: searolice besetted 297.

7. ⁂ X ⁂ X | ⁂ fōdorþege gefēan 248.

8 and 9. Expansion of the second thesis does not occur in the Phoenix.

Total number of verses of E, 26.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *JUNE 21, 1894.*

MARGARET R. BRADSHAW.

#### IV.—NEW SUGGESTIONS ON THE *CIRIS*.

In preparing a new text of the *Ciris* for Prof. Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*,<sup>1</sup> many new views have occurred to me, which it seems worth while to state more at length as a sequel to my two previous articles on the poem in vol. VIII of this Journal.

10:

In quo iure meas utinam requiescere Musas  
Et leuiter blandum liceat deponere *morem*.

So MSS. But *morem* was very early corrected by Nic. Loensis to *amorem*, and though I would not deny that writing a poem like the *Ciris* might be called by the poet 'my pleasing way,' the epithet *blandum* is certainly better suited to *amorem* 'my delight,' a word peculiarly applicable to a pursuit which, like poetry, has in it nothing severe and is here contrasted with the sterner pursuits of philosophy and astronomical science. Moreover, as has been often observed, there seems to be a reminiscence of Cat. LXXVI 13 *Difficile est longum subito deponere amorem*.

*Iure* is no less doubtful. Heinsius' conjecture, *rure*, has not a little to recommend it. Propertius, III 3, 33 *Diuersaeque nouem sortitae rura puellae*, is explained by most editors and Hertzberg of the different *fields* or provinces assigned to the Muses; and so χώρα, e. g. Philostratus, Vit. Apollon. 200, Kayser σοὶ δὲ ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα, σοὶ δὲ εἶναι μουσικῶ, σοὶ δὲ ἡρφῶν ποιητῇ μέτρον, σοὶ δὲ λαμβεῖον. The use of *rure*, however, would hardly be so definitely a prose use in the verse of the *Ciris*: like *rura* in Propertius (if the MS reading there is right, and not as Scaliger thought, *iura*), it would seem to recall such passages as Pindar's P. VI 1, 2 ἡ γὰρ ἐλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας | ἀρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων | ἀναπολίζομεν, or O. IX 27 ἐξαιρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κῆπον.

15. For *est data* I would suggest *indila* inserted or introduced as partner.

21, 22:

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo  
Qualis Erechtheis olim portatur Athenis.

<sup>1</sup> My text of this and the other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana forms the concluding portion of Mr. Haigh's duodecimo Vergil, recently published by the Clarendon Press.

compared with

30 Magna Giganteis ornantur pepla tropaeis.

makes it clear that the author of the *Ciris* used *peplum* neuter. Hence write *Qualiter Actaeis* o. p. Athenis.

46 sqq.:

Accipe dona meo multum uigilata labore  
Promissa atque diu iam tandem exordia . . .  
Impia prodigiis ut quondam exterruit templis  
Scylla nouos auium sublimis in aere coetus  
Viderit.

Of the words proposed to complete 47 I prefer *musae*; but it is not impossible that it might be a word in immediate connexion with *Impia* in 48, e. g. *quamuis* 'however profane,' i. e. on however profane a subject, the sacrilege and unnatural guilt of Scylla in loving her country's enemy. On this view *amplis* might be a corruption of *AMOLIS*; that is to say, the last *a* of *exterrita* cohering with *mo(I)lis*. The poet speaks of Scylla's snow-white limbs in 399, and calls her tender (*teneram*) in 485. At any rate, Scaliger's *amoris* is unsatisfactory: for what are the *prodigia amoris*? No one, I suppose, will be contented with Scaliger's explanation, 'amore prodigioso,' a sense which *prodigiis amoris* can hardly bear. On the other hand, prodigies or portents attending her passion ought to find an explanation in the sequent part of the poem, which it does not.

Among other suggestions which occur to me, I will mention one: *exterrita* (so Schrader) templi. In 141 sqq. Scylla is said to have unwittingly desecrated the temple of Juno by an accidental exposure of her limbs. The portents of the temple might thus be supernatural signs by which Juno manifested her anger. This, indeed, is not stated, but it seems implied by the strong word *piasses* in 155.

56, 57:

Longe alia perhibent mutatam membra figura  
Scyllaeum saxo monstra infectata uocari†.

Haupt corrected this to *Scyllaeum monstro saxum infestare uoraci*: Scylla is called *uorax* in Ib. 385. But several MSS give *uocari*, and, I think, rightly: *infectata*, palaeographically, is more likely to be a corruption of *infestata* than of *infestare*. Hence I would write

Scyllaeum monstro saxum infestante uocari.



66-68:

Ipsæ Crataeïn ait matrem, sed siue Crataeïs  
 Siue illam monstro genuit †grauena biformi,  
 Siue est neutra parens.

*grauena* R, *gräuena* A, *cranaa* a Roman MS excerpted by me in 1887.

Haupt's correction of 67:

Siue illam monstrum genuit graue Echidna biformis,

which is based on Hyg. praef. fab. *fin.*: ex Typhone et Echidna . . . Scylla quae superiorem partem feminae, inferiorem canis habuit, is open to objection: (1) it changes *monstro* into *monstrum*, *biformi* into *biformis*; (2) *grauæ* is somewhat indeterminate in meaning; (3) surely it is not the parents who are here described as biform, but the offspring, Scylla, Lycophron's *μιξόθηρ* (Alex. 650). If we consider the great number of Greek animal, especially fish, names in *-aina*—*φώκaina*, *σφύραινα*, *τούρπaina*, *τράγaina*, *ζύγaina*, *μύραινα*, *ῥaina*, *φάλλαιναι*—and the palpable fondness for Greek words which the writer of the *Ciris* exhibits (sc. Ganzenmüller's excellent *Beiträge zur Ciris*, pp. 639, 640), it will seem more than probable that some word of the kind is concealed in *grauena* of the Rehdtiger MS, *gräuena* of the Arundel.

This word can scarcely be *balaena* or *phalaena*, though the Schol. on Lycophr. 650 states that Scylla had six heads: *μίαν κάμπης, ἑτέραν λέοντος, ἄλλην κυνός, καὶ ἄλλην Γοργόνος, καὶ ἑτέραν φαλαίνης, καὶ ἑκτην ἀνθρώπου*; and so Tzetzes in loc. Nor does Unger's *atra dracaena*<sup>1</sup> seem to be likely, *dracaena* being hardly a classical word.

I offer the following suggestion with diffidence, but not without a hope that it may conduce to a farther examination of the question.

Aristotle, in his History of Animals, speaking of *wolves* (VIII 5), which, according to Vergil, Aen. III 428 Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum, formed the central or womb-portion of Scylla's body, goes on to describe, seemingly as a kind of wolf, the hyaena. οἱ δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν γλάνον, οἱ δ' ῥαῖναν, ἐστὶ μὲν τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐλάττων λύκου, χαίτην δ' ἔχει ὥσπερ ἵππος . . . ἐπιβουλεύει<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ θηρεύει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. According to Hesych., γάνος was Phrygian and Bithy-

<sup>1</sup> Siue illam monstro genit atra dracaena biformi (Electa ex Ciris commentariis, p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> A trait common to Scylla and the hyaena.

nian for hyaena. I conjecture that the two words may have been united into a compound *γλανύαινα glanyaena*, and that this has assumed in the much-corrupted MSS of the *Ciris* the form *grauena*. *monstro biformi* would then be a descriptive ablative: 'or whether it was a hyaena that brought her to birth, a monster growth of mixed form.'

72:

Ipsē pater "scaeuam" nudā complexit harena.

This is the reading of R; A gives *I. p. nudam seu complexit h.* *Complexit* seems a mere mistake for *complexus*, which is printed in the Paris edition of 1507, containing a preface and notes of some value by Iodocus Badius Ascensius. Editors vary greatly in the rest of the v., fluctuating between *nudam* and *timidam*, and changing *s(c)aeua* to *sola*, *flaua*, *fulua* or *sicca*. I think it may be *Sicula*, Scylla being close to the strait which divides Italy from Sicily.

75:

Vt cum cura suae ueheretur coniugis alto  
Ipsa truem multo misceret sanguine pontum.

*suae* U, a MS in the Urbino collection of the Vatican, and so Bährens' L. *tuae* R and A. I do not see why the feminine should not be right, 'when Neptune, the darling of his consort (Amphitrite), was riding on the deep.' Nicolaus Loensis changed *suae* to *sui*, explaining *cura* of Scylla, the darling of Jupiter, whom he had violated on the beach, and on whom Amphitrite took a jealous revenge by poisoning the water.

*Cura*, on my view, explains *why* Amphitrite took this cruel revenge. She had a true wife's fondness for her husband; he was her *μῆλημα*, the object of her tender and jealous care.

83 sqq.:

Ausa quod est mulier numen fraudare deorum  
Et dictam Veneri uotorum uertere poenam,

- 85 Quam mala multiplici inuenum quod saepta ceterua  
Dixerat atque animo meretrix iactata ferarum,  
Infamem tali merito rumore fuisse  
Docta Palaepaphiae testatur uoce Pachinus.

84. *uoto interuertere* Sillig. 87. *meritorum more* MSS, corrected in cent. XVI by Leopardus, Emend. X 24. 88. *Palaephatia—papyrus* Janus Parrhasius, Claudian, p. 259, ed. 1539.

The first two vv. of this disputed passage have been discussed in vol. VIII, p. 2: vv. 85–88 are much more doubtful and call

for a complete re-examination. The MSS give them as above, except that for *merito rumore* is written *meritorum more*. There is a curious parallel to this in Catull. LXVIII 137 Ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti; but there no one will prefer the emendation *stulto rumore*.

The prevailing version of 85-88 is as Ribbeck gives it, after Haupt:

Quam, mala multiplici inuenum quod saepta caterua  
Vixit eratque animo meretrix iactata ferarum,  
Infamem tali merito rumore fuisse  
Docta Palaephathia testatur uoce papyrus.

*Vixit eratque* is Haupt's correction of Scaliger's emendation, *Vixerat atque*. It is, like many of Haupt's conjectures, neat and plausible, but not convincing. On the other hand, the changes *Palaephathia* and *papyrus* have been universally adopted till, in the last ten years, Unger (1885), Diels (in Schrader's *Palaephatea*, p. 12, 1894) and Ganzenmüller (Beiträge, p. 570) called it in question.<sup>1</sup>

I will translate the passage as it stands in the MSS, according to what seems to me the least violent interpretation. *Quam* I suppose to be *poenam*. *Dixerat* is used in the same sense as *dictum* in 84, a repetition with numerous parallels in Latin poetry, e. g. Grattius Cyneg. 491, 2 Lustralis de more sacri, quo tota iuuentus Lustraturque deo. *atque* couples *saepta* and *iactata*: the construction is *Quam quod dixerat, mala saepta multiplici caterua inuenum atque iactata meretrix animo ferarum, docta Pachinus testatur uoce Palaepaphiae merito infamem (hanc) fuisse tali rumore* 'for levying which fine, when in her infamy she was beset with youths crowding from every quarter and, like a true harlot, was swayed to and fro by the very temper of the wild beast, she (i. e. Scylla) was rightly branded with such ill-report, as learned Pachynus attests by the voice of the woman of Palaepaphos.'

*animo ferarum*, the emotions which belong to animals, represented by the wolves, dogs, etc., which formed part of her mythological presentment.

<sup>1</sup> Unger would write

Docta pales Paphiae t. u. papyrus.

Ganzenmüller:

Docta palam Paphiae t. u. papyrus.

Diels:

D. Palaepaphiae t. u. Pachynus.

*Palaeaphiae uoce.* Some literary woman of Palaepaphos in Cyprus, the seat of the cultus of Aphrodite, had, I suppose, written a treatise of the rationalizing kind, exhibiting a pragmatical or matter-of-fact explanation of the Scylla-legend, and connecting it with the goddess of her native town, and the passion (lust) over which she presided. This work may have been written by her at Pachynus, the S. E. promontory of Sicily, if we may suppose she had settled there; or some Sicilian of that neighbourhood may have quoted it; or the explanation of the Scylla-legend may have passed by tradition to a temple of Aphrodite near Pachynus, and been brought to the knowledge of the author of the *Ciris*.

This is different from the view of Diels. He explains *Palaeaphiae* as a piece of Alexandrian antiquarianism = *Paphiae*, the Paphian goddess Aphrodite. The writer whom the poet quotes as rationalizing the legend of Scylla wished to give his view credit by the alleged attestation of the tutelary goddess of harlots, who would naturally be worshipped at Pachynus as on other promontories.

It would be very rash, in the loss of so much Alexandrian literature, to assert that Callimachus or some other antiquarianizing versifier may not have spoken of Aphrodite in this connexion (with the Scylla-legend) as *the Palaepaphian*: it is certain that Callimachus mentioned the view of Scylla's being an *ἐταίρα* in the v. *Σκύλλα γυνή κατάκασσα καὶ οὐ ψύθος οὐνομ' ἔχουσα* (fr. 184 Schneider), possibly, as Unger suggests, p. 20, in the work called *τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ θαυμάσια καὶ παράδοξα*, possibly in the *Αἴτια* or *Ἑρωτικά*. Still, in the verse of the Latin poet, I must join my voice with Unger's and Ganzenmüller's<sup>1</sup> in denying the probability of its being so used. If *Palaeaphiae* is authentic, it would, I conceive, naturally mean *a woman* of Palaepaphos.

There is no real violation of language, i. e. the language of Latin poetry, in the interpretation I have suggested above: the words have a natural meaning, though partially ambiguous. Only the *data* for such an interpretation are wanting; unless, indeed, the existence of a temple of Longatis (Hecate) and cenotaph of

<sup>1</sup> Ganzenmüller, however, at first held the same view as Diels, that *Palaeaphiae* is Venus. "*Παλαίπαφος* wird ja ausdrücklich als der Venus Sitz und heilige Stätte hervorgehoben, und es wäre ja denkbar, dass unser Dichter in seiner gelehrt-pedantischen Art statt *Paphia* das genauere *Palaeaphia* gebraucht hätte" (p. 570).

Hecuba, built by Ulysses, as recorded by Lycophron, Alex. 1032, near the mouth of the Helorus, and of a temple of Apollo Libystinus (Macrob. Saturn. I 17, 24; Freeman, Hist. Sicily, I, p. 65, note) at Pachynus, can be thought to make the existence of a temple to Aphrodite more than a guess.

But though the MS reading is explicable, I am very far from saying that it is right. All the MSS of the *Ciris*, except the XIIth cent. codex at Brussels, which only contains the last 87 verses (454-541), are of advanced XVth century, and very few of them without interpolation. The case would be different if we possessed the Bruxellensis entire; for its readings in the fragment of it which remains enable us in several instances to correct the later MSS with certainty. As it is, the text of the *Ciris* teems with corruptions; and though the change of *papyrus* to *pachinus* is, as Heyne observed, unusual, it is not more shocking to the palaeographical sense than *senis hipolisoda uiro* for *se Nisi Polyidos auilo* (112), *cognita—sic omnia* for *coccina—Sicyonia* (169), *calcheius* for *haliaetus* (204), *corona* for *crocota* (252).

As to *palephatia*, *palepaphie*, it cannot be called a violent alteration; on the contrary, it is one of the easiest, a conjecture which, once broached, has ever since been accepted universally. The real question at issue, then, is how to account for the fact that the extant treatise *περὶ ἀπίστων*, ascribed to Palaephatus, gives a perfectly *different* explanation of the Scylla-legend (c. XXI). Scylla was a pirate ship which cruised about the Sicilian waters and nearly overpowered Ulysses. Heyne thought our poet had confused Palaephatus with Heraclitus, the author of a similar *περὶ ἀπίστων*, in which the venereal explanation is given, though in a very succinct form, c. II ἦν δὲ αὕτη νησιῶτις καλὴ ἑταῖρα, καὶ εἶχε παρασίτους λοιμούς τε καὶ κυνώδεις, μεθ' ὧν τοὺς ξένους κατήσθειεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοὺς Ὀδυσσεύς ἑταίρους· αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς φρόνιμον οὐκ ἤδυνήθη. But the Palaephatean *περὶ ἀπίστων* as we have it is a mere abridgment of a larger work in five books (Suidas, s. v., cited in Schrader's Palaephatea, p. 40), and the explanation given in it may be only one of those mentioned in the larger work, perhaps that one to which Palaephatus himself inclined. It is true that Probus of Berytus, in his commentary on Geor. III 113, says: ut Palaephatus in libro ἀπίστων ait, and Theon the Sophist (vol. II of the Teubner Rhetores Graeci, p. 96) states that there was extant in his time *δλον βιβλίον περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων ἐπιγραφόμενον*, both referring, it would seem, to a single volume. But this does not much affect

the philosophical poet of the *Ciris*, who in his studious sojourn at Athens must have had access to the original *περὶ ἀπίστων* in its unabridged form. Nor is it quite certain that the *περὶ ἀπίστων* is the treatise meant in the v. of the *Ciris*: Palaephatus wrote other works, as recorded by Suidas (Birt, Buchwesen, p. 167): it might be one of these.<sup>1</sup>

We must be content, then, to suspend judgment till we obtain fuller information, which, however, may come from very diverse directions, whether from wider palaeographical knowledge, under which head a better MS of the *Ciris* should be our first aspiration, or new mythological investigation.

98, 99:

nunc <sup>†</sup>agite diuæ  
Praecipue nostro nunc aspirate labori.

*agite* R, *agite* A, *age* the Paris edition of 1507.

Nettleship (Contributions to Latin Lexicography, p. 105) says: "*Age* is followed by the pl. Plaut. Mil. 923 Rib. *age abile*; ib. 1347 *age ite*; Cic. Man. 40 *age, considerate*, and so elsewhere in Cic." There is one in the Philippii, VII 8, 21 *age uos ille solum et uos illum (oderitis)?* But Valla seems right in denying that such a use is at all congruous to the lofty style of the *Ciris*, and specially of the invocation to the Muses. MSS too give the plural *agile*. I suppose *diuæ* to be corrupt; possibly from *almae* 'ye gracious powers.' Hor. C. III 4, 41, 2 *Vos lene consilium et datis et dato Gaudetis, almae*. The change from *almae* to *diuæ* would go back to a period when minuscule had set in, *a* and *d*, perhaps also *l* and *i*, being mistaken for each other.

120-22:

<sup>ab</sup>  
Nam capite in summo regis, mirabile dictu,  
Candida cesarie frondebant tempora lauro,  
Et roseus medio surgebat uertice crinis.

It is difficult to believe these vv. can be right as they stand. The marvellous thing about Nisus was the appearance of a single purple lock on a head of otherwise gray or white hair, and this is inadequately expressed in the above reading of A and R. It would be intelligible if for *frondebant*,<sup>2</sup> *frondent qua* or *ubi*,

<sup>1</sup> E. g. the Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἐρωτος φωναὶ καὶ λόγοι. Palaephatus may have treated the word *κατάκασσα*, and in quoting the v. of Callimachus, discussed the *γυνὴ κατάκασσα καὶ οὐ ψίδος ὄνομα* ἔχουσα, and given an explanation of the Scylla-legend from this point of view.

<sup>2</sup> *frondebant* R, *florabant* A.

for *Et, Hic* were substituted. *Candida cesarie tempora* seems unobjectionable: 'where the white-haired temples sprout with leaves of bay, there, at the centre of the crown, a rose-hued lock sprang.' Statius grotesquely, I had almost said absurdly, calls Nisus *purpureo seni*, Theb. I 334.

128. Is it possible that the corrupt *Corpsele* or *Corselle* of MSS is a miswriting of *Morsilis et*? Mai, Class. Auct. VIII 362 Morsatilis ad mordendum habilis, quod et morsilis dicitur; p. 338 hic et haec morsilis et hoc le .i. quod aptum est ad mordendum. Scaliger conj. *Tortilis et*; but this would not suit the *fibula* so well. Claud. in Eutrop. II 184 mordebat fibula uestes. I observe that Unger has conj. before me *Morsu habilem*.

139-41. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I read in Ganzenmüller's Beiträge zur Ciris, p. 578, "Am besten gefällt mir noch der Vorschlag von Ellis." I may refer my readers to the Classical Review for October, 1894, for a notice of this very important contribution to the history of the Vergilian opuscula.

162:

Virginis †interea defixerat omnia mente.

*defixerat omnia* is, I am convinced, right. Love had emptied his quiver and spent all his shafts on Scylla. Nonn. XIII 192 εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ Διόνυσον ἔρως ἐκίνωσε φαρίτρην.

171, 2:

Saepe redit patrios ascendere perdita muros  
Aerisque facit causam se uisere turris.

Strab. I 3, 20 (p. 79 in Tozer's Selections) περὶ δὲ Ἀλπῶν Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρθένους ἀναδραμούσας εἰς πύργον τῶν ἑλλιμενίων κατὰ θέαν, πεσόντος τοῦ πύργου πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.

174, 5:

Saepe etiam tristes uoluens in nocte querellas  
Sedibus ex altis †caeli speculatur amorem.

Hertzberg (Translation, p. 83) thought *caeli* was a corruption of *Celei*. Celeus had entertained Ceres and built her a temple on Kerata, a name given to two mountain summits forming the boundary between the Megarid and Attica (Strab. 395). But Scylla being within the walls of Megara, could not make so distant an excursion to survey her love (Minos): and if *Celei* is right, some more plausible explanation of it must be proposed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. g. that some spot within the walls of Megara was called after Celeus, perhaps containing a ἡρώον.

The following view is offered tentatively. In the Ibis of Ovid (419) *Cereris* is written in some MSS, one as early as cent. XIII, *Celii*: Filius et Celii frustra tibi semper ametur. Possibly *caeli* in the *Ciris* represents the same word in a farther state of depravation. Scylla would ascend the roof of the temple of Ceres as a *specula* or point of observation from which the camp of Minos and Minos himself would be distinctly visible. So Propertius describes Tarpeia as surveying her lover Tattius and the Sabine camp from the high ground of the Tarpeian rock (IV 4). The change *Cereris* to *Celii* or *Celi* would be helped by the initial *s* of *speculatur*.

180:

Nullus in ore rubor; ubi enim rubor, obstat amori.

Perhaps

Nullus in ore rubor; ubi *non* rubor obstat amori?. *n.* (*enim*) would easily be confused with *n̄* (*non*).

188, 9:

quis non bonus omnia malit

Credere quam tanto *†*scelere damnare puellam?*scelere* A and R, perhaps from *scelere*, i. e. *sceleris*.*tanto sceleris* 'such an amount of crime,' a stronger combination than *tanto scelere*.

192:

Vix erit una super *sedes* in turribus altis.

*Sedes* in this technical sense of a bird's perching-place is found in Phaedr. I 3, 13 Contentus nostris si fuisses sedibus 'the places where we jackdaws perch,' i. e. to consort with your equals.

195 sqq.:

Gaudete o celeres, subnisae nubibus altis,

Quae mare, quae uirides siluas lucosque sonantes

195 Incolitis, gaudete, uagae *†*laudate uolucres

Vosque adeo humanos mutatae uirginis artus

Vos o crudeli fatorum lege puellae

Dauliades, *†*crudele uenit carissima uobis

Ciris et ipse pater.

*blandeque*

195. *laudate* R, *laudate* A, (perhaps) *exultate*. 197. *crudele* AR, *gaudete* Scaliger, which L. Schwabe, *Observv. in Cirin*, p. 16, aptly compares with Catull. LXIV 23, 24 Heroes saluete deum genus, o bona matrum Progenies, saluete iterum.



In 195 most editors accept what looks like a mere correction, and not a happy one, *blandaëque*. I can find little or no meaning in it, and offer for it *exultate*. The birds of the air should hail with triumph the accession to their company of Scylla and Nisus, now transformed into a ciris<sup>1</sup> and a sea-eagle.

217, 218:

Vestibulo in thalami paulum remoratur et talti  
Suspicit ad †caeli nutantia sidera mundi.

Perhaps

Suspicit ad *gelidi* nutantia s. m.

et alte

I question Scaliger's *nictantia*, since R gives *mutantia*, palaeographically the regular alternant with *nutantia*, which A and most MSS give: *nutantia* would refer to the wavering, unsteady look of the stars, 'bickering.'

219:

Non accepta piis promittens munera diuis.

Henry, Aeneidea, vol. I, p. 178, translates *piis* here 'tender, pitying,' much as the Manes on tombs are called *pii Manes*. I doubt this, and would interpret *piis* as referring to their abhorrence of Scylla's impious and unnatural attempt to secure her lover by cutting off the purple lock of Nisus' hair, on which the safety of her country depended.

224:

Et simul 'o nobis sacrum caput' inquit 'alumna.'

Näke, Dir., p. 123, preferred *alumnae*. Hyginus, Fab. 167 Iuno in Beroen nutricem Semeles se commutauit et ait, alumna, pete a Ioue, may perhaps be thought to confirm the MS reading *alumna* in the passage of the *Ciris*.

225 sqq.:

Non tibi nequiquam uiridis per uiscera pallor  
Aegrotas tenui suffudit sanguine uenas  
Nec leuis hoc faceret neque enim pote cura subegit  
Aut fallor quod . . . potius Ramnusia fallor.

227, 8 I have here written as they are in R. The Arundel MS A, with Vatican Urbin. 353 and a late codex in the Corsini Library, gives *quod te*, the Helmstadt<sup>2</sup> Codex *quoduta*, with the *u* changed

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Burt (Pref. to vol. III of his Translation of Vergil) with the sea-hawk.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the very few cases where the Helmstadt Codex really helps us.

to *i*. None of the MSS give *fallar*, which, however, must be right. Ribbeck accepts Schrader's *quod ut o*; Bährens prints *quod ut a*. Of the two possibilities I much prefer the former, which is found in Aen. X 631 *quod ut o potius formidine falsa Ludar*; and so Ganzenmüller, p. 589.

In the former part of the v. Ribbeck and Bährens both print *Haut*—wrongly, as I think, and against MSS. The poet, like Vergil in Aen. X 630, which passage is here imitated:

Nunc manet insontem grauis exitus: aut ego ueri  
Vana feror. Quod ut o potius formidine falsa  
Ludar!

inverts the prose order: *Aut fallor aut non tibi nequiquam pallor . . . suffudit uenas—nec leuis cura subegit*, and places *Aut fallor* 'or else I am deceived' after the asseverative clause *Non tibi nequiquam* etc. The close resemblance of the whole passage with Aen. X 630, 1, may be thought to make *quod ut o* all but certain.

The two vv., then, changing *faceret* to *faceres*, are now perfectly intelligible:

Nec leuis hoc faceres (neque enim pote) cura subegit,  
Aut fallor: quod ut o potius Rannusia fallar!

234-36. ARU give as follows:

Dic age nunc miserae saltem quod saepe petenti  
Iurabas nihil esse mihi, cum maesta parentis  
Formosos circum uirgo morerere capillos.

Here, I believe, every word is right: 'Quick, explain to your poor nurse now, if not before, what you swore to have no significance, in answer to my many questionings, at the time when you hung woefully about your father's beauteous hair, consumed with girlish longing.'

*morerere* is here the graphic word which nothing should induce us to alter. It expresses the longing which consumed Scylla to pry into the mystery of the beautiful purple lock. The triple *re* is extraordinarily effective; for the use cf. Propert. I 20, 5 *Complexa morientem, Galle, puella*. So: 'I am dying to know'; 'colours flying set me dying,' etc. *Rapture* at something exquisite or ravishing is the ground idea; possibly a notion of curiosity is here combined with it.

## 242. MSS give

*Nec te iactari non est Amathusia nostri  
Tam rudis ut nullo passim cognoscere signo.*

The triple negative might be thought to suit the garrulous and self-repeating style natural to an old nurse, like the broken sentences of Cilissa in the Choephoroi. Generally, however, *Nec* is changed to *Nam*. A different possibility would be to change *non* into *nunc*, constructed with *nullo p. c. signo*.

## 245-49:

Per tibi Dictynnae praesentia numina iuro  
Prima deum quae dulce mihi te donat alumnam  
Omnia me potius digna atque indigna laborum  
Milia uisuram quam te tam tristibus istis  
Sordibus et fscoria patiar tabescere tali.

Schrader's conj., *decus* for *deum* in 246, though adopted by Ribbeck, Bährens and Thilo, does not seem to me to be right. The verse is very like one quoted by Nic. Loensis from Charisius, IV 254, and similarly addressed to Dictynna: Luna, deum quae sola uidēs periuria uulgi, Seu Cretaē magis seu tu Dictynna uocaris. It was perhaps originally written

Prima deum quae te dulcem mihi donat alumnam.<sup>1</sup>

247 has a variant in A, <sup>laturam</sup> *laborum*. This looks as if *digna atque indigna relatu*, Aen. IX 595, were the original whence it was fathered (so Domitius Calderinus). *Milia* must then be wrong, but it is hard to say what it supplanted: was it *Filia*?<sup>2</sup> There is, of course, the other possibility that *laturam* either glossed or was a v. l. of *uisuram*. In any case, *omnia milia laborum* is odd, and requires a better support than such passages as *Multa milia Iudei* in Catullus LXI.

Coming to the much-controverted *scoria*, for which *scabie*, *foria*,<sup>3</sup> *carie*, *senio*, have been conjectured, it might have been

<sup>1</sup> Britomart, now become Dictynna, is the first heavenly power that interferes to compensate Carme for the loss of herself by finding her a foster-daughter, Scylla.

<sup>2</sup> Omnia me potius digna atque indigna relatu,  
Filia, uisuram.

<sup>3</sup> A conj. of Reines, Epist. ad Daumium, p. 332; he gives us the choice between *foria* and *forica*, but seems to prefer the latter. It is, however, too coarse to be likely, though Reines plumes himself upon his discovery.



*nec* is right, as in *νῦν οὖν ὅπως σώσεις μ', ἐπεὶ καὶ πώλεσας*, Arist. Nub. 1179, 'if you have the power to save me, you should not destroy me either.' *Seruare potui: perdere an possime, rogas?*

287, 8, 9 are thus given in R:

O iterum nostrae Minos inimice senectae,  
Semper taut olim natae te propter eundem  
Aut Amor insanæ fletum portauit alumnae.

288. *Semper & aut (sic) A.* 289. *lectum A, luctum U* and Helmst.; perhaps<sup>1</sup> *lessum* or *fletum*.

Schrader's *ut* (interjection) seems indubitably right: an interjection is wanted here, and *ut* would easily fall out before *aut*. It is not equally clear that *letum* or *lectum* is a corruption of *luctum*. It may represent the old and rare word *lessum* 'a funeral dirge' (see Key's Dictionary, s. v.), or again (as Key's article suggests) *fletum* 'tears.' In Culex 140 *fleta cupressus* seems to be right for *laeta* of MSS.

293, 4. MSS give thus:

Iam iam nec nobis tæa que senioribus ullum  
†Viuenti copiam uiuit genus.

293. *aequo* Haupt. 294. *Viuerē uti cupiam* Sillig.

The passage is generally printed with the combined emendations of the two German scholars. It might be urged that *aequo senioribus* is slightly prosaic, and that *uiuerē uti* is a good deal to get out of *uiuenti*. Possibly the poet wrote

Iam iam nec nobis æui (or æuei) senioribus ullum  
Visere si cupiam uiuit genus.

*Carme* has lived too long for any of her kin to be still surviving, if she wished to visit them. This involves a change of *re* to *n*, of *s* to *d*.

301-4:

Numquam tam obnixe fugiens Minois amores  
Praeceptis ærei specula de †montibus isse  
Vnde alii fugisse ferunt, et numina †phoece  
Virginis assignant.

302. *specula de montis abisses* Scaliger, *obisses* Sillig, *iisses* Haupt; perhaps *ibi isse*. 303. *phoece A* and R, *Aphaeae* Nic.

<sup>1</sup> *Lessus* should perhaps be restored to the doubtful v. Aegritud. Perdicae 26 *Quem Phebi solus dafne diffusa tenebat*, where Bährens prints *luctus*, Mähly *molnus*

Loensis, VIII 26; Leopardus, Emendat. X 24; Ianus Parrhasius, Epistol., p. 50, ed. 1567, who also proposed *numina Rhoccae*, from Ael. H. A. XII 22.

Neither *abisses*, *obisses*, nor *iisses* is unobjectionable. *Obisses* would be wrong as diction, *iisses* as a form which the Latin poets carefully shun. *P. aerei specula de montis* is a mere repetition of Ecl. VIII 59; *isses*, too, looks right. I suspect some confusion of *montis ibi* with *montibus*; for *ibi* would have a clear meaning in close connexion with *unde*: 'never would you, in the attempt to avoid Minos' love, have thrown yourself headlong into the nets, from which on another account of the legend you escaped.' It seems to be a double etymology of 'Αφαία, as (1) sent headlong (from the rock), (2) set free or discharged (ἀφίημι).

308:

Hyrkanos inter comites agmenque ferarum.

Perhaps with an allusion to the fact mentioned by Grattius, Cyn. 161 sqq., that the breed of dogs known as Hyrcanian sometimes copulated with tigers. But some objection has been taken to *Hyrkanos*, and it is not impossible that the poet wrote *Hyrtacios*. Hyrtacus was a city of *Crete*, the country of Britomart. An inscription at Gortyna, published in 1889 by Halbherr and Comparetti, mentions together 'Ελύριοι 'Υρτακίριοι. Coins of Hyrtacus have a fawn: Britomart is called *ελλοφόνος* Callim. H. Dian. 190.

310-14 are thus written in A:

	Verum haec tunc nobis graua atque indigna fuere
	Tum mea alumna tui cum spes integra maneret
	Nec <span style="margin-left: 100px;">tibi</span>
312	Et uox ista meas nondum uiolauerat aures.
	Tene etiam fortuna mihi crudelis ademit
	Tene sola meae uiuendi causa senectae?

310. *Tunc* R also, *Tum* U, and *Tum mea* in 311 makes this necessary; *nobis* ARU, *non sic* Sillig, *haut nobis* Bährens. 311. *tibi* R. 312. *Nec* R also, *Et* U; perhaps *Nam*. 313. *Te* R; perhaps *Ten*. 314. Perhaps *Ten quae*, most editions give *Tene o*.

The beginning v. of this passage appears to be sound, as it stands, with *nobis*. Old Carme, after recalling the pangs which the loss of Britomart had brought her, goes on to contrast her position at that time as happy in comparison with her present misery in learning of her foster-daughter's passion for Minos. 'But still this loss of Britomart, miserable as it was, came alone,

and at a time when my hopes of a prosperous future for my foster-daughter, Scylla, were still unclouded by this shameful confession. *Now* I must look forward to losing her also.' *Nec*, however, in 312 cannot be right; *Et* looks like an interpolation, and only suits the logical sequence of thought, if *violauerat* is made to depend upon *cum*, like *maneret*, an unexplained combination of subjunctive and indicative, which is hardly probable. I would write *Nam*. *Ten* seems to me to be pointed to by R's *Te*, and would of course recur in 314, where *o* may have fallen out, but is not so certain as to put *quae* out of court. *Ten* recurs twice, 428, 429, and *Men* in 443, 444. Ribbeck was the first to make this change.

318:

Quo nunc me infelix aut quo me fata reseruant?

Read

Quae nunc me infelix, aut quo me fata reseruant?

319-21:

An nescis qua lege patris de uertice summo  
Edita candentes praetexat purpura canos  
Quae tenuis patrio pressit suspensa capillo.

For *pressit* it is usual to write *spes sit*; but why should it not be *praes sit*: 'Know you not what is the condition under which a purple strip borders the white hairs of age on Nisus' crown, the purple strip that depends as a slender surety from your father's hair?' i. e. *Quae (purpura) suspensa sit patrio capillo tamquam tenuis praes*. The preservation in its entirety of the purple lock (*suspensa* implies that it was conspicuous) was the *praes* or guarantee of the safety of Megara. The subj. *sit suspensa* is part of the oratio obliqua.

333 sqq. are thus written in R:

Quod si non alia poteris ratione parentem  
Flectere sed poteris, quid enim non unica possis?  
335 Tu potius tamen ipsa, pio cum iure licebit,  
Cum facti causam tempusque doloris habebis,  
Tunc potius conata tua atque incerta referto  
Meque deosque tibi comites, mea alumna, ficturos  
Polliceor: nihil est quod texuit ordine longum.

335. *Tu* A as R, *Tunc* U, *Tum* Haupt; *ipsa* AU with R, *ista* Jortin; *tuo* Jortin. 336. *tempus causamque* A; perhaps *facti tempus causamque doloris*. 337. *Tunc* AU with R, *Tum* Haupt; *incerta* AU with R, *incepta* ed. Pr. 338. *deos* A; *futuros* AU;

perhaps *Meque deos tibi tum comites, m. a., daturam.* 339. <sup>textat in</sup> *texuit* A, *textat in* U, *texitur* two Paris codices of excerpts (7647, 17903).

The above passage is a fair sample of the extent to which the best MSS of the *Ciris* are vitiated. *ipsa* for *ista*, *incerta* for *incepta* are obvious errors, and obviously to be so corrected; *texuit* is doubtful, and the omission in A m. pr. of *que* after *deos* in 338 perhaps is more than accidental; *facturos* is an error in R for *futuros*.

But *Tu* in 335 seems to me to be sound, the emphasized *Tu* by which an admonition is enforced, as in Geor. II 241, III 163, IV 106. Greater doubt attaches to *facti causam tempusque doloris*, which is explained 'when you have a plea for your act and a (proper) occasion for resentment,' namely, in some renewed and more peremptory refusal by your father to permit your marrying Minos. I think the m. pr. of A may be right: *cum facti tempus causamque doloris habebis* 'an occasion for the act and a just ground for resentment.'

As to *texuit*, the excerptor may be right in his *texitur*. Yet in 29 we have had *texuntur in ordine*, following which *texis in ordine*, a pres. indic. that would imply Carme's complete knowledge of Scylla's determination to carry out, piece by piece, her design, may be suggested. I have noticed a curious parallel, though on a slightly different subject, in the comic writer Antiphanes (Mein. III, p. 149): οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν λεγόμενον μακρῶς, ὅτε | ὁ λέγων ὑποτάττει τοῖς λόγοις τὰ πράγματα. \*

The first two vv. have been imitated by Statius in a fine passage of the *Silvae*, II 1, 226:

nil flecteris istis?

Sed flectere libens. ades huc emissus ab atro

Limine, cui soli cuncta impetrare facultas,

Glaucia.

349-52 are so in R:

Postera lux ubi laeta diem mortalibus alnum

350 Et gelida ueniente mihi quatiebat ab Oeta

Quem puidae alternis fugitant abstantque puellae

Hesperium uitant optant ardescere . . .

350. <sup>mane</sup> *mihi* A, *mane* U, *ueniens mani* ed. Paris, 1507, *ueniens flammam* Wakefield, *uenientem ignem* Haupt. 351. <sup>optant</sup> *obstantque* A, *optant* uulgo. 352. *ardescere solem* A and U, *Eoum* Heinsius and Bentley.



In emending this passage I follow a palaeographical hint: *ueniente mihi* may be *uenientis enim*. One of the abbreviations of *is* is a large *e*; *mihi* would be a misreading of some sign for *enim*, perhaps confused with *m*. The word would be a parenthetical explanation of *gelida*, and the *v.* should be written *Et gelida (uenientis enim) quatiebat ab Oeta Quem* etc. The construction would be *lux enim fuit uenientis, non abeuntis diei*, the light of morning not yet having the power of warming the heights of Mt. Oeta, as they would be warmed by the sunset glow of evening. *quatiebat* is either a zeugma, or applied in a slightly different sense, with *diem* and<sup>1</sup> the star described as alternately Hesperian and Eoan. Cul. 42 *Candidaque aurato quatiebat (sol) lumina curru*, has been quoted as a parallel to *lux quatiebat diem*, but the idea seems to be rather of the sun shaking his light in the sky (like a torch), and so producing day; in the second clause the idea is of course of the vibrating, tremulous light of the morning-star. 'Soon as the joyous light of morn shed abroad the cheerful day for mankind and on the height of frosty Oeta (frosty, for the light was of coming, not departing day) shook the planet, that fearful maidens by turns fly from and long for, avoid as a star of evening, but long for his morning glow.'

For the parenthetic *enim* I may cite G. II 508 *hunc plausus hiantem Per cuneos (geminatus enim plebisque patrumque) Corripuit* 'for it comes as the redoubled applause of the people and the senators'; Ov. F. IV 358 *cum dea (sensit enim) Illa deos, inquit, peperit*.

The *v. l. abstans* for *optans* is uncommon, but seems to have grown out of *obstant*, which is given by A.

355-57:

Temptantur patriae submissis uocibus aures,  
Laudanturque bonae pacis bona: multus ineptae  
Virginis insolito sermo nouus errat in ore.

So Ribbeck, Bährens, Thilo; but, in spite of MSS and the *ineptitude* of Scylla, I cannot believe in *bonae pacis bona*. Write *nouae* for *bonae*, and *sermunculus* for *sermo nouus*. Cicero uses *sermunculus* in the sing. in his letters to Atticus, XIII 10, 2 *sermunculum enim omnem aut restinxerit aut sedarit*.

<sup>1</sup> It seems safer to make *Postera lux* the subject in both clauses, than to elicit from *Quem pasidae*, etc., a new subj. (*is, quem pasidae p. alternis fugitant optantque*).

361 :

Cum Ioue communes qui mittat auere nepotes.

With this (Bährens') correction cf. a passage in S. Augustin's Confessions, II 6 pater quasi iam ex hoc in nepotes gestiret.

367, 8. *Esset* rather than *Essent* should be written in 367, in consequence of *suaderet* (A and R, *suaderent* the inferior U) in 368.

374. *Frigidula* may well have been *furialia* (Bothe), just as *furiis* is written *frugiis* in a MS of Ovid's *Ibis* in the library of the Naples Museum (IV F 12).

376, 7 are thus written in R :

Perdit amicleos pergens altaria talo  
Regis iolchiacis animum defugere uotis.

376. *Perdit* A with R, *Pergit* U, *Tergit* a Roman MS examined by me in 1887; *amicleo spargens* U, *amicleo pergens* A; perhaps *Tergit* A. *spargens altaria thallo*. 377. *defugere* A, *defigere* U.

The v. l. *Tergit* is interesting, and may be right, as an infinitive of purpose<sup>1</sup> (*defigere*) after *Tergit* would not be alien from our poet's style (see 150 *Saepe redit patrios ascendere perdita muros*), and the same bough (*thallus*) would be used for sprinkling and sweeping. Just so Pausanias, X 31, 6, says of the birds which came every year to the tomb of Memnon, that they swept and moistened, by dipping their wings in the water of the Aesepus, any part of the tomb where no trees or grass grew, i. e. alternately used their wings for sweeping and watering.

384. To the instances of the Cretan town Rhaucus mentioned vol. VIII, p. 10, add from Halbherr and Comparetti's *Relazione sugli scavi del tempio d' Apollo Pitio in Gortyna*, p. 32: *Κρηταίων Γορτύνιοι Κνώσιοι Φαίστιοι Λύττιοι Ραύκιοι*.

385 :

cineri patria est iucunda sepulto.

Anth. Graec., vol. III, p. 173, ed. Cougny: γλυκὺ καὶ μετὰ μοῖραν  
οὐχὶ μόνον ζωῆς πάτριόν ἐστ' ἔδαφος.

397 sqq.:

Illi etiam alternas sortiti uiuere lucas  
Cara Iouis suboles magnum Iouis incrementum  
Tyndaridae niueos mirantur uirginis artus.

Heinsius wished to alter *Illi* to *Illam*, to make a fitting balance to *Illam etiam* 394. This is adopted by Ribbeck, but it appears

<sup>1</sup> See the numerous examples collected by Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* II, p. 351.

to me more than doubtful whether such an epexegetic second accus. as this introduces (against all MSS), *Illam . . . niueos u. artus*, would have been admitted by the poet.

404 :

Supprimite o paulum turbati flamina uenti.

*turbati* AR, *turbata* Helmstadt, *turbantia* Mähly.

Mähly's *turbantia* seems more than probable. So in the Aegrit. Perdicae, first edited by Bährens in 1877, 164 *iaculata saepe doloris* seems to be an error for *iaculantia*. I may here call attention to Mähly's excellent disputation on this curious poem in his 'Satura,' Basel, 1886, pp. 29-38.

426, 7 :

quam te mihi talia ꝑcaptae  
Facturum metui.

Possibly *pactae* 'thy affianced bride.' Aen. X 79 Quid, soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas?

431, 2 :

Non equidem ex isto speraui corpore posse  
Tale malum nasci ꝑforma uel sydere fallor.

So R and U, *forma uel sydera fallor* A. Jortin conj. *formae uel sidere falli* (sc. *speraui*) 'to be deluded by your star-like beauty'; E. Burnaby Greene (who has translated the *Ciris* into English heroics in his Apollonius Rhodius), *formaque et sidere fallor* 'I am the victim alike of beauty and an evil star': following in this double wake, I suggest *formae quae sidere fallor* 'since I am blinded by thy starry beauty.' Or is *uel* a relic of *leue*, *fallor* an error for *falli*? 'it is an easy thing to be deceived by divine beauty.' Ov. Her. II 63 Fallere credentem non est operosa puellam Gloria.

433-36 :

Me non deliciis commouit regia diues  
Coralio fragili et lacrimoso electro.

Some edd. add *Diues* before *Coralio*: perhaps it should be inserted *after* it.

436 :

Non metus incendens potuit retinere deorum.

*incendens* may be right, in the sense of *distracting*. It is so used in Aen. IV 360 Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis. So Catullus speaks of the grief which *distracted* Aegaeus as Nostros

luctus, nostraeque incendia mentis, LXIV 226. Similarly *fear* seems to be the distracting passion in Callim. Del. 201 ἐπεὶ περικαίειο κῆρι Τλήμων' ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι βαρυνομένην ὀρώσα.

A gives *incendens*, and *incensam* has invaded all edd.—wrongly, I think.

As I am discussing this word, I take the occasion to suggest that *incendere*, *incessere* seem sometimes confounded. Stat. Theb. VI 159 nec uos incessere luctu Orba aueo (MSS *habeo* or *abeo*, wrongly), where *incendere luctu* would recall Euryalus' mother, *incendentem luctus*, Aen. IX 500.

439:

Pronuba nec †dascos accendet pinus honores.

So R; <sup>castos</sup> *dascos* A. It is true that *d* and *c* are at times interchanged, e. g. *sedula*, *secula*; *castos* may therefore be right here. Yet there are other possibilities; for instance, *faustos* 'lucky, well-omened.' In connexion with pine-wood, *odores* (so Helmst.) would seem a better word than the somewhat vague *honores*. The same doubt in Stat. S. I 3, 11 Permultisq. comis blandumque reliquit honorem. Leopardus' *spinus*, which his friend and contemporary, Nicolaus of Loens in Flanders, mentions, is unnecessary, and less probable.

451, 2:

pristes, immania corpora ponti

Vndique conueniunt.

This is well illustrated by the engravings (from coins) of sea-monsters in Imhoof-Blumer's Tier- und Pflanzmünzen.

470-72:

Iam procul e fluctu Salamina respicit arua

Florentesque uidet iam Cycladas: hinc †uenus illi

†Sinus, hinc statio longe patet Hermionea.

In a former vol. of A. J. P. (XI 357) I supported the view that *uenus* is an error for *Ceus* or *Ceos*. It now appears to me more probable that the poet has here translated Herodotus' words τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, in the sense of *genu* 'knee' or 'projection' of the Attic coast at Sunium. Another explanation of γουνὸς as 'angle' would suit *sinus*, which Haupt conj. and which is now generally adopted. But *uenus* and *sinus* are not so near each other as *uenus* and *genus*. The masc. was used by Lucilius. Non. 207 Genu neutri est generis. Virg. lib. V . . . Masculini

Lucilius Satyrarum lib. IIII *haeret uerticulis adfixum in posteriore Parte atque articulis: nam ut nobis talus genusque est.*

*Sinius* of the *Bruxellensis* (B), *summus* of A and R, find a satisfactory meeting-point in *sunius*.

477:

*Aeginamque simul †salutiferamque Seriphon.*

Scaliger conj. *serpentiferamque*, thinking *Seriphos* might be called *Ophiussa*, as supposed to produce not only the stones which mythological legend ascribed to *Perseus*, using the *Gorgon's* petrifying head, but the serpents in which she delighted and which formed her hair. It is remarkable that *Ovid*, M. V 241, 2, in two consecutive vv. mentions *Medusa* as *colubriferi monstri*, and *Seriphos*, whose king, *Polydectes*, figures so prominently in the legend of *Perseus* and *Medusa*.

If this was the word corrupted into *salutiferam*, the v. of the *Ciris* might have been

*Aeginamque }  
Aegiliamque } Syrumque colubriferamque Seriphon.*

H. F. Tozer suggests

*Aegiliam Sicinumque*

explaining *salutiferam* of *absinth* or other medicinal herbs.

484-86:

*Sed tamen †aeternam squamis uestire puellam  
Infidosque inter teneram committere pisces  
Non statuit.*

*eternam* B, *externam* AR; possibly *hesternam* 'her that yesterday was a mortal maiden.' But *Kreunen's aeternum* is simpler, and suits the feeling of the passage.

490, 1:

*Hic uelut in niueo †tenere cum primitus ouo  
Effigies animantis.*

*tenere* B, *tener est* AR, *tenera est* Haupt.

*tenerest*, I think, is *tenerae'st*, i. e. *tenerae est*, as in *Manil. IV 586 summa est* seems to be *summae'st* (*Hermathena, XIX, p. 278*).

511, 512:

*Non thalamus tyrio flagrans accepit amomo.  
Nullae illam sedes quid enim iam sedibus illi?*

511. *tyrio* or *tirio* all MSS, *syrio* *Badius Ascensius*, quoting *Ecl. IV 25 Assyrium uulgo nascetur amomum*. 512. *iam* all MSS, *cum* *Heinsius*.

It does not seem certain that *iam* is wrong. Ribbeck retains it; it has its full meaning 'any longer'; and the abl. *sedibus* might, I think, be brought under the same use as *quid hoc homine facias, quid illo myoparone factum sit, quid me fiet, quid illa fiet fidicina, quid te futurumst*, and numerous other instances cited by Dräger, I 519, 520. 'What use has she to make of palaces any more?' a slightly different idea from *cum sedibus* 'what had she to do with palaces?'

*flagrans* perhaps represents not *fragrans*, but *fraglans*.

517:

Infelix uirgo nequiquam morte recepta.

Ascensius (ed. Paris., 1507), after giving the usual explanation of *recepta* 'recovered from,' adds, as a second thought, 'aut morte recepta .i. suscepta.' This seems more likely than that *a* should have fallen out before *morte*. Scylla could be properly described as taking her death *in vain*, because instead of ending her sorrows by it, she was condemned to a new and harassing existence as a bird. So *recipere ferrum, gladium, telum* etc.

524:

Illi pro pietate sua, nam saepe uidemus  
Sanguine taurorum supplex resperserat aras.

Ascensius gives *nilentum* for *uidemus*, and this has been generally adopted. But the *d* would more easily be a corruption of *g*; I suggest, therefore, *uigentum* 'strong.'

530, 1:

Hinc uero miserae quoniam damnata deorum  
Iudicio fnatique et coniugis ante fuisset.

E. Burnaby Greene (1780) conj. *fatigue*, and so Bährens. The combination is perhaps a little odd: Scylla had been condemned by the judgment of the gods, *fate*, and her lover; *now* she is to be pursued by the unrelenting hate of her *father*. There seems to be little force in combining the personal gods and personal lover with an abstraction like Fate: *pactique* 'her plighted bridegroom as well' (*et*) would remove the difficulty.

As regards the date of the poem, it appears to me not improbable that the conception of it is attributable to the period of the maritime war between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs, 38-36 B. C.<sup>1</sup> This war was carried on about the coast of Sicily and the

<sup>1</sup> The sea-fight at Naulochus, which crushed the hopes of Sex. Pompeius, was on Sept. 3, B. C. 36.

Sicilian strait, the locale of Scylla and the Scyllæan rock. Many of Sex. Pompeius' coins bear a figure of Scylla, as described by the poet 79, 80 *Piscibus haec canibusque malis uallata*.

This would form a not improbable *terminus a quo* in fixing the period of composition.

On the other hand, the repeated imitation and actual embodiment of whole lines and passages not only from the Eclogues and Georgics, but from the Aeneid, makes it nearly certain that it cannot have been finished before 19 B. C., the year in which Vergil died: probably not till some years later.

But when Ovid wrote the VIIIth book of his Metamorphoses, in which he gives an account of Scylla's passion for Minos and its punishment (1-151), and later when he composed his Ibis, in which the Scylla-legend is alluded to (362), the poem was well known and, as I believe, minutely copied.

So far as I have noticed, none of the critics who have treated the *Ciris* on the point of rhythm and metre have called attention to what appears to me its most marked feature: I mean the recurrence of the rhythm with which the three last feet are constructed in the following vv.:

- Cir. 100: *Atque nouum aeterno praetexite ho | nore uo | lumen.*  
 324: *Sin est quod metuo, per te, mea al | umna, tu | umque.*  
 331: *Atque aliquos tamen esse uelis tibi, a | lumna, pe | nates.*  
 336: *Cum facti causam tempusque do | loris ha | bebis.*  
 338: *Meque deosque tibi comites, mea a | lumna, fu | tuos.*  
 348: *Frigidulos cubito subnixa pe | pendit o | cellos.*

Not only in each case is the 4th and 5th foot a dactyl, but in each dactyl the last syllable begins a trisyllabic word, giving to the rhythm a peculiar effect which impresses itself on the ear and becomes associated with the legend. This peculiarity has been retained by Ovid in his version of the story, *M. VIII 86 prae-  
 daque potita nefanda, 91 patriaeque meosque penates, 124 nullius  
 amore iuuencae, 150, 1 uocatur Ciris et a tonso est hoc nomen  
 adepta capillo*. That the rhythm in this last line of Ovid's account of Scylla is not an intentional reminiscence of the *Ciris* seems to me improbable: he has selected the salient point (metrically speaking) of the poem. Similarly in Ibis 361, 2:

*Neue magis pia sit capitique parentis amica  
 Quam sua uel Pterelae, uel tibi, Nise, fuit.*

he has intimated his recollection of the *Ciris* by reproducing the same form of the hexameter.

I should fix the publication of the *Ciris*, then, between 19/18 B. C. and the (unknown) period when M. VIII was composed. The *Ibis* seems to have been written not earlier than 9 A. D.

This view is in opposition to Ganzenmüller, who believes that the *Ciris* contains imitations of Ovid.

T. Warton has well criticized the *Ciris*, Hist. of English Poetry, III, pp. 406-9. He considers its digressions and descriptions, which are often prolix, to be the marks not only of a young poet, but of early poetry. It is alluded to, he thinks, by Tibullus, I 4, 63 *Carminē purpurea est Nisi coma*. He calls attention to the fact, which has probably escaped most readers of Spenser, that it is closely paraphrased in the third book of the *Fairy Queen*, 'in a long passage which forms the first part of the legend of Britomart' (Canto IV, St. 31, 32, 33, 35 sqq.).

August, 1894.

ROBINSON ELLIS.



## NOTES.

### CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO SCHMALZ'S LATEINISCHE SYNTAX.

The following corrections and additions are suggested to Schmalz's Lateinische Syntax (Müller's Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft, II, 2. Aufl.):

P. 439, §110, and p. 583. Add *præter* to the list of prepositions which Cicero uses with a substantive and participle; Cluent. 23, 62 *præter venenum quaesitum*.

At the end of §110 add *inter agendum*, Verg., B. 9, 24, as a classical use of *inter* with the gerund.

P. 466, §197. For the position of *nam* in interrogative sentences Verg., G. IV 445 might be mentioned; *Nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras iussit adire domos?* 'Why, who told you?' etc. It is hard to see how *nam* is here 'explicativ' (Draeger, Hist. Synt. II<sup>1</sup> 160), or how *Nam quis . . . iussit?* differs in meaning from *Quisnam . . . iussit?*

P. 473, §211. For the construction *metuo ut* add Hor., S. II 1, 60 *ut sis vitalis metuo*.

P. 499, §249. For the construction *adde quod* compare Lucr. I 847; III 829; IV 1121, 1122; VI 330 (Munro).

P. 500, §250. There is at least one line in Plautus where *quod* seems to be causal; Capt. 350 *fretus ingenio eius, quod me esse scit sese erga beniuolum*. Of the passages cited by Zimmermann, Gebrauch der Conjunctionen *quod* und *quia* im älteren Latein, p. 7, Poen. 1077 and Most. 16-17 have been emended.

In the same section add *hac mente* to the list of demonstrative correlatives found with *quod*; Hor., S. II 2, 90 *non quia . . . sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes . . . consumeret*.

P. 506, §262. For *antequam* in early Latin add Ter., Hec. 146 *seque ante quam eam uxorem duxisset domum sperasse eas tolerare posse nuptias*.

P. 508, §265. Lucretius has *quamvis* with the indicative; III 403, 705; IV 426.

P. 515, §277. Lucretius has *donec* = 'so long as'; V 178 *natus enim debet quicumque est velle manere in vita, donec retinebit blanda voluptas*.

P. 526, §303. For *nisi si* in Tacitus add G. 2, 2 *nisi si patria sit*; Agr. 32, 2 *nisi si* (= *nisi forte*) *Gallos . . . fide et adfectu teneri putatis*. For *nisi si* in Cicero add Ph. II 28, 70 *nisi si tu es solus Antonius*; De Orat. II 62, 254 *nisi si quando incidit in aliud quoque genus ridiculi*; ib. II 81, 330 *nisi si refellemus*.

P. 529, §308. For *quin* with the imperative in Cicero add Rosc. Com. 9, 25 *Quin tu hoc crimen aut obice, ubi licet agere, aut iacere noli, ubi non oportet*.

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#### ETYMOLOGY OF *even* (*evening*).

Since Schade's attractive etymology of *ebb* (<AS. *ebba*, gen. *ebban* = \**af-yan*, the 'off-ing,' going off or receding of the sea, <AS. *af* 'off,' Goth. *af*), the suspicion has been growing stronger and stronger (*pace* Kluge) that *even*, *eve*, *even-ing* is an associated word, and means the time of the *ebbing*, waning, receding light. Koch, doubtfully followed by Skeat (Principles, I 251), regards the word as a pres. part. (of what?) with Aryan suffix *-ont* (*-ent*, *-nt*), on the score of its German termination *-end* (*ab-end*). All the Low-German dialects contain a *t* or a *d* at the end of the word except Gothic, in which the word does not occur: OSax. *āband*, Du. *avond*, etc.; cf. MHG. *ābent*, *ābunt*, OHG. *āband*. Icelandic, etc., alone presents the form *aplann*, which, on account of its *t*, is probably from another source. In AS. the word is *ǣfen* > *ǣfning* (of rare occurrence), which might be accounted for as a pres. part. that has dropped its final *d*. If AS. *bb* (as in *ebba*) stands for *ff* < *fi*, not only could *ebba* be accounted for as coming < *af* (off), but possibly also *even* < *ǣfen* for \**af-iend*, pres. part. of \**af-ian*, to ebb, recede (of water), extended to apply to 'ebbing' or receding light. The Century Dictionary merely repeats the etymologies of Kluge for both *ebb* and *even-ing*.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects. Ionic.** By HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Ph. D. University of Göttingen, Professor of Greek in Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894. xxviii + 668 pp.

In spite of the fact that the Ionic dialect is surpassed in literary importance by the Attic only, no comprehensive work on it has appeared since the last edition of Maittaire's '*Graecae linguae dialecti*' in 1807. The peculiar difficulties attending a satisfactory and scientific treatment of the Ionic, and perhaps also the greater interest, from a comparative point of view, of some of the other dialects, have apparently induced the three successors of Maittaire to make the Ionic the subject of the as yet unpublished concluding volumes of their respective series. For deviating from this habit of his predecessors and for thus giving us what may be properly called the first scientific Ionic grammar, the author is entitled to the hearty thanks not only of those who are engaged in the comparative study of Greek dialects, but also of the larger number of those whose work is in the text-criticism of the various Ionic writers, and to whom he has given a firm basis on which to stand.

Those who are familiar with the author's former contributions to Greek dialectology (in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* and in this *JOURNAL*) need not be told that conscientious care and painstaking accuracy, extensive knowledge and clear presentation characterize this last and, in size and importance, greatest work, as they did its smaller precursors.

For a book embodying, as this one does, the results of long-extended collections, use is the only thorough and fair test. In the short time that has elapsed since its publication, only he could successfully attempt an exhaustive review who should happen to have gone over the same ground. All that I can now do is to give a brief summary of the whole, set forth its general structure, and finally discuss somewhat more in detail a point here and there in the part on phonology.

The Preface on twenty-seven pages gives, after a general introduction, an enumeration of the chief works cited and referred to (20 pp.). In the very full list we miss Prellwitz's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (1892),<sup>1</sup> which would have offered a number of valuable etymological and phonological suggestions. The remainder of the Preface is taken up with a list of the editions used and of the MSS which are of importance in constituting the text of the Ionic authors.

The Introduction (about one-fourth of the whole) deals with the three sources of our knowledge of the dialect, viz. the literary monuments, the

<sup>1</sup> Flick's detailed review in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894, No. III, pp. 237-48, appeared too late for use in the present volume.

inscriptions, and the grammarians; the main geographical divisions of the Ionic, together with the statements of the ancients on this point; the determination of subdialects; the chronological divisions; the Ionic element in Homer; the relation of Old to New Ionic; the Ionic element in the iambic, trochaic, elegiac and melic poetry; the relation of Old Attic to Ionic; the Ionisms of Attic tragedy and comedy; the pure and mixed Ionic; the dialect of the Ionic philosophers, of Herodotus, and of Hippocrates; finally, Pseudo-Ionism and its writers.

A little less than a fourth of the work is given to phonology, somewhat less than half to morphology. Additions and corrections fill twenty pages, and about thirty pages of indexes conclude the book.

The method of treatment has several characteristic features, all of which deserve special notice and commendation; viz. (1) the clear line of division which is drawn and maintained throughout between the material yielded by the inscriptions and that offered by the texts; (2) regarding the latter, the careful consideration of the MS authority for any given reading—a task much more difficult than it may seem, on account of the lack of suitable editions for not a few of the texts, of which the author complains (p. viii): "Much of Ionic literature is still inadequately edited. Of Hippokrates, Aretaios, the philosophers (except Herakleitos) and the logographers there are no editions which record fully and faithfully the readings of the MSS. In the case of the philosophers only was I able in part to reconstruct my own texts, thanks to such books as Diels' *Simplicius* and Wachsmuth's *Stobaeus*"; (3) the constant endeavor to emphasize local differentiations, and thereby to establish sub-dialectic boundary lines; (4) the regard paid to chronology in the various dialectic and subdialectic developments, which is especially apparent in the carefully tabulated synopses of cases and verb-forms in the morphological part; (5) the exhaustive use made of whatever material may be gleaned from the grammarians, to which are due some very interesting and acute observations, such as (§413) a list of nouns of which the gender in Ionic differs from that in the Attic, or (p. 32) a collection of words peculiar to the Ionic vocabulary.

The method which he has followed in the treatment of the phonetic phenomena, the author has stated with commendable clearness in two passages of the Preface: "The present work attempts to combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied, the philological and the linguistic [i. e. the descriptive and the comparative]. Primary importance has been attached to the point of view of Philology, which seeks among other things to determine on the basis of tradition the forms proper to the dialect of each author, the place occupied by him in the history of development of the dialect, the interrelation of the various connected styles of literary composition, and the connection between the language of artistic construction and the language of the public and private documents preserved in the inscriptions" (p. viii). And again: "As it has not been my purpose to write a Comparative Grammar from the point of view of the Ionic, I have rarely endeavoured to trace the forms to the prehellénic stage. Ionic has been compared throughout with other dialects, especially Attic. Because of its *μετρίότης* and *κοινότης* Attic is, and will continue to be, the standard by which

all philologists measure the manifold 'aberrations' of dialects less highly developed, or less adapted than itself to serve as vehicles for the expression of Hellenic thought" (p. ix). Now, while there can be no doubt regarding the absolute necessity of a most minute and (to use the terminology of the author) 'philological' investigation of the facts of each dialect, entirely independent of any comparison whatever, without which as a firm basis—we need not look far for ample proofs—any attempt at a comparative treatment must necessarily fail, it may be reasonably questioned, on the other hand, whether, by refusing to look at these phenomena from the comparative point of view, the investigator does not voluntarily handicap himself, and whether the grouping of his facts will not thereby become more superficial than if he had availed himself of the help of the comparative method. For, if there are cases in which the two kinds of treatment conflict, they are certainly rare, and in general only advantage can be derived from a comparative treatment, which is really nothing but the historical method in its last consequences, while the failure to make the comparative element sufficiently important leads to a number of more or less serious inconveniences. Of these the following two deserve especial mention.

In the comparison of two or more dialects we may distinguish two classes of phonetic differences, viz. (1) where *one* parental form, *A*, develops in two different directions, giving in two dialects two phonetically different reflexes, *A'* and *A''*. Here belong also those cases in which one dialect has retained the parental form, while others have changed it. An example is the treatment of Parent Greek  $-ov + \sigma$ , which appears now as  $-ov\sigma$ , now as  $-ov\sigma$ , now as  $-ov\sigma$ , and again is retained as  $-ov\sigma$ . (2) Where the form of a given word in one dialect differs from that in another dialect, because the two are to be referred back to *two different* parental forms; as, for instance, the one may be the reflex of a strong, the other that of a weak parental form. Of this description is, e. g., the relation of  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in one dialect to  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in another, the former going back to the strong, the latter to the weak parental stem-form. Consequently, we cannot compare the  $\epsilon$  of the one with the  $\alpha$  of the other, as we compare the  $\eta$  of Ionic  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  with the  $\bar{a}$  of Doric  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ . The former class of dialectic changes are always and necessarily *phonetic* characteristics of the dialect in which they appear; this is not the case in the dialectic differences of the second group; so, in the example given, the representation of a Parent Greek  $\tau$  (r) by  $\rho$  is no *phonetic* peculiarity of the Ionic, but common to almost all Greek dialects. The Ionic peculiarity here is purely *morphological*, in that it chose the weak stem-form where other dialects preferred the strong one. Now, if it is granted that the two should be kept apart, it is at the same time apparent that this can be done only by tracing dialectic forms at least to the Parent Greek stage.

The second inconvenience is that the disregard of comparative treatment will often bring together what has no organic connection, while it will separate what belongs closely together. So it is evidently not commendable to separate the discussion of  $\tau$  (r) reflected by  $op$ ,  $\rho o$  (§147) from that of the same sound reflected by  $ap$ ,  $\rho a$ ; and Ionic  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : Aeol.  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (§128) belongs with Ionic  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta\nu$ : Att.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\eta\nu$  (§134). Again, following §128, "Ionic  $\alpha$  in conjunction with  $\rho$ " (as in  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , etc., all weak forms of  $er$ -roots), we have in §129

"Other forms with *a* parallel to *ε*." In this come first two words with *a* from *η* (*η*), viz. *τάμνω* and *μέγαθος*. But these deserved a separate class, corresponding to the separate paragraph for *αφ* from *ηρ* (*η*), or both changes should be grouped together under the common head of weakenings of *ε* + liquid or nasal roots. They certainly should not be thrown together with cases like *Ἀγβάτανα* : *Ἐκβάτανα* and some others of more doubtful character. The chapters which deal with the vexed question of the Greek reflexes of labialized gutturals, on which light has only just begun to be cast by Bezenberger (BB. XVI 234), Bechtel (Hauptprobleme, 352), Fick (BB. XVI 279 and XVIII 132) and Buck (IF. IV 152), have also suffered by this self-imposed abstinence from introducing the comparative method. Here, if anywhere, it was desirable that forms like *Κυανοψιών* and *Πυανοψιών* (§344) should not simply be placed side by side, but the former was to be shown to be the regular one, while the latter calls for an explanation of its *π* before the *υ* (which Bechtel, l. c. 362, has attempted). The same is true for *Τελέθριον* and *Πελεθρόνιον* and others; cf. Bechtel, l. c. 357, note. Here too an arrangement which treats the sounds under the heads of gutturals, labials and dentals, irrespective of their origin, and in these separates the surds, sonants and aspirates as chief subdivisions, will necessarily complicate matters and obscure the true genetic relations of the sounds in question; at the best it would call for many unnecessary repetitions.

I close with a few minor points that I have noted in the part on phonology.

§129 (p. 134). After the discussions of Bechtel and Möller (Zt. f. deut. Philol. XXV (1893) 370), it would seem better, before vowels at least, to write *τῆμοντ-* rather than *τημοντ-*.

§128. Attention is very properly called to the fact that the weak forms of the stem *kert* (*κρέτος*) cannot have arisen in the genitive from a form *\*κρετς-ός*, because neither the Greek nor the Sanskrit *s*-stems accent the genitive ending. But the assumption that *κράτος* and *θάρος* are formed after the analogy of *κρατίς*, *θρασίς* fails to account for *πάθος* (: *πένθος*), Latin *vulnus* (Brugmann, Grundr. II 1, p. 387, end). An original variation of accent (preserved in Sanskrit, Whitney, Gr., §417) still seems the preferable explanation.

§128 (p. 133). The second *a* of *βάραθρον* (against *βέρεθρον*) finds its explanation by classing the stem with those discussed by Fick, Göt. Gel. Anz. 1881, p. 1425, viz. *βερε-* to *\*βερα* (whence the weak form *\*βαρα* < *βαρα-*) as *τεμε-* (*τέμενος*) to *τεμα-* (*τεμαχός*), *γελε-* (*γελέοντες*) to *γελα-* (*γελάσσαι*), etc.

§130. There is no reason to doubt that *ἀμφισβητέω* and *-βᾶτέω* stand in *ablaut* relation; cf. the instances given by Bechtel, l. c. 241, to which may be added *τίθημι* : *θαμά* and *λήμα* : *λῆοργός* (Hesych.).

In §132 (p. 138), where *κυλ-* and *καλ-* (in *κυλίνδω*, *καλυνδέω*) are correctly explained as weak forms of a stem *qel*, the loss of labialization before the *a* deserves a word of comment, in view of cases like *σπάτος* : *σκύτος*; *σπάζει* : *σκύζῃ*; *ἀσπιλον* : *σκύλος* (Fick, BB. VIII 134 ff.). Similar cases of loss are *σκάλυψ* : *σπάλας*; *κάπος* : Lith. *kuverpiú*; *καρπός* 'wrist' : *kuvarf* : *κύρβις*, etc.; cf. Bechtel, l. c. 353 ff.

§134 (p. 140). That *ἕτερος* (against *ἄτερος*) is morphologically considered the later form, its initial *ε* being due to the influence of the *ε* in the following syllable, is not so certain as it might appear from the statement in this

paragraph. Brugmann (Grundr. II 1, p. 181), Prellwitz (Etym. Wörterb., s. v.) and Persson (Stud. etym. 102) offer different explanations.

§164 (*μᾶλλον, ἐλάσσον, θᾶσσον*). The only phonetically clear form of this type is *ᾰσσον* from *\*ᾰγχιον* (an *a*-stem), with compensatory lengthening of the *ᾰ* after the loss of the nasal. As the loss of the nasal took place after the law by which *ā* passed into *η* had expired, the *ā* is retained (in Attic and Ionic), as in *πᾶσα* (§161). But even if, with J. Schmidt, we derive *θᾶσσον* and *ἐλάσσον* from the intermediate forms *\*θᾰγχιον* and *\*ἐλᾰγχιον*, assuming them to stand for *\*θέγχιον* and *\*ἐλέγχιον* by analogy to *ταχύς* and *ἐλαχύς*, there remains without satisfactory explanation not only *μᾶλλον*, but also *μᾶσσον* from *μᾰκ-ρός*, against *μήκιστος*.

§165. For *γλασσα* (nine times in Herondas) *ᾰ* is probably to be assumed; the relation of the *a* to the *ω*, however, is not quite clear; cf. H. Collitz, *The Aryan Name of the Tongue*, in *Orient. Stud. of the Orient. Club of Philadelphia* (1894), p. 200.

§245. For the (late) loss of the second member of the diphthong *av* before consonants compare the instances in Attic and Peloponnesian inscriptions and Latin parallels in the Rhein. Mus. XVII 303; XVIII 142 and 147; XXIII 668.

§§341-3. In the very detailed discussion of Ionic *κο- : πο-* (in the pronoun), the noteworthy attempt to explain the loss of labialization as due to enclitic position (cf. the similar relation of *τοι* and *σοι*) should have been mentioned.

Finally I would note the peculiarly narrow sense in which the author uses the term *ablaut*, restricting it—in the case of *ε*-stems—to the *ε*- and *ο*-grades only, and thus contrasting them with the weak grade; as when he says on p. 133, "in verbal inflection, whenever *op* occurs, it is the *ablaut* of *ep*, not equal to the Aiolic form of *ap*," and again on p. 153, "in *δέεθρορα op* is the *ablaut* of *ep*," as contrasted with the *op* = *ap pa* as reflex of *er* (*γ*). Surely there seems to be no good ground for not calling the relation of *er* (*γ*) to *er* by the same name as that of *er* to *or*.

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Le Odi di Pindaro, dichiarate e tradotte da GIUSEPPE FRACCAROLI. Verona, G. Franchini, 1894.

Ueber die Wichtigkeit, die gegenwärtigen Richtungen und die Aufgaben der Pindar-Studien. Von HUGO JURENKA. (Verhandlungen der 42. Philologenversammlung.) Wien, 1893.

Novae lectiones Pindaricae. Scripsit HUGO JURENKA. Aus: Wiener Studien, Bd. IX. 1893.

It is not many years since Croiset's elaborate work on Pindar reached a well-deserved second edition, and the appearance in 1894 of a quarto of over seven hundred pages on the same little read though highly honored Greek poet is additional evidence, and welcome evidence, of the vitality of studies over which the funeral service has been read scores of times. The author of this remarkable contribution to Pindaric study is no novice in this line of work, and the name of Professor Fraccaroli is well known to those who have watched with sympathetic interest the labors of Italian scholars in the domain

of classical literature. He has tried his hand more than once as a translator of Pindar, he has done special work on the chronology of the Pindaric odes, he has written exegetical and critical notes on this ode and that, and has shown himself a formidable reviewer of current work on Pindar. The present book, therefore, crowns the labors of years, and commends itself alike to those who know and those who wish to know Pindar. Bornemann, to be sure, who has constituted himself inspector-general of things Pindaric, does not think very highly of Fraccaroli,<sup>1</sup> but Jurenka,<sup>2</sup> a younger Pindarist, is so much delighted with the book that, although it contravenes his own views on important points, he urges the translation of it into German by way of securing the 'citizenship of the literary world.' But German is not yet the language of the world, and while all scholars must know German, Italian is not a remote lingo, and is as indispensable as German to students of literature as literature.

On the merits of Fraccaroli's version of the Pindaric odes a non-Italian cannot undertake to pronounce, though it may be said that Italian is especially adapted to the reproduction of lyric poetry, and that Fraccaroli's rendering seems to have the fervor and the swing of true sympathy. Nor would it be possible to discuss, except in a series of articles, the elaborate introductions to the several odes. The critical notes are relegated to a limbo of fine print at the bottom of the page, where Fraccaroli defends his own text, which is stubbornly conservative, and impugns the readings of others, and shows not unfrequently that he is master of a lively style. But for all his vivacities, Professor Fraccaroli is such a 'verray parfit, gentil knyght' that one cannot be angry with him, and his love for Pindar makes him love all those who have toiled faithfully in the Pindaric 'field of the graces.' '*Ahi, Pindaro,*' he sighs as only an Italian can sigh, 'what a gap has been made in the ranks of thy valorous friends in these last years! After Bergk, there have disappeared, one after another, Eduard Lübbert, Eugen Abel, Leopold Schmidt, Friedrich Mezger. *Ahi, quanta malinconia.*' Translation, then, introductions, critical notes, must be passed by with this general tribute, and what space can be given here to this memorable book must be spent on a rapid summary of the *Prolegomeni*, which occupy 160 pages.

There are three chapters in these *Prolegomeni*. The first deals with the life of Pindar and gives a chronological table of the odes. In this chapter Fraccaroli does battle for the Aigeid origin of the poet, is not frightened by Wilamowitz into giving up the story of the contest with Corinna,<sup>3</sup> and has some sensible things to say about Pindar's attitude during the Persian war and after, with illustrations from Guelphs and Ghibellines, as was to be expected. The Medizers of Pindar's day were no less a Greek party than the Ghibellines of Dante's time were an Italian party, and we are not to judge in either case by the success of the cause that we have learned from the event to consider the good cause. We are to judge righteous judgment. Pindar was no repentant traitor to Greece. He was born an aristocrat and an aristocrat he died, and when he praised the victors in the struggle he praised liberty, he praised the triumph of the Greeks over the barbarians. He never cringed to the democ-

<sup>1</sup> Berliner Ph. W., Aug. 18, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Z. f. oesterr. Gymn., 1894, p. 724 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Homerische Untersuchungen, p. 321; A. J. P. VI 114 and 524.



racy, any more than he fawned on the King of Cyrene or the tyrants of Sicily. He treats Arkesilas and Theron as his peers, and 'deals with them as a knight of the Annunziata deals with his king,' and Fraccaroli echoes enthusiastically the parallel drawn by the author of Pindar's Odes of Victory<sup>1</sup>—an often-cited article from the *Quarterly Review*, 1888—between Pindar and Hieron on the one hand, and Dante and Can Grande on the other.

The chronological table of Pindar's odes reposes on earlier studies of Fraccaroli's, which he does not care to repeat, and which, though impugned by Christ, he does not in the least retract. According to him, the Pythians are to be computed from Ol. XLIX 3 instead of XLVIII 3, so that the earliest poem of Pindar, P. 10, was composed in Ol. LXX 3, when Pindar was twenty-four years old, not twenty, as is commonly assumed.

In the second chapter Fraccaroli discusses the tradition of the Dorian lyric and Pindar's technique. The history of Greek literature is, he says, the history of human consciousness. Objective intuition is succeeded by conscious reflexion. The absolute impersonality of the *Iliad* is followed by the *Odyssey*, which reveals the mood and the thought of the poet. The lays of the *Nostoi* represent the special interests of cities and cantons until Stesichoros stamps epic themes with individual characteristics. The Ionians took but a short step, as to the form, from the epopee to the elegy, and the political and gnomic elegy is but the commentary on the themes of the epos. It was reflexion pure and simple, so that it remained sterile and fixed in an immutable form, in a conventional style, a convenient and indifferent vehicle for rhetorical exercises. Iambic poetry had more true life; it combined with other elements to form tragedy and comedy, and exercised its legitimate and continuous influence during the bloom of Greek literature. Aiolic poetry was all personal and subjective, but universally human, because essentially spontaneous. Individual consciousness is prejudicial to the collective life of the species. The thinking monad withdraws itself from the unconscious law that guides the mass, and, as Fraccaroli says in the language of Gelon, the year loses its spring. Nothing can replace the loss of the primal force and of the first natural impulse. The civic constitutions of the eastern colonies broke up the unity of the life of the people, whereas the people still speaks in the *Iliad* and the impersonal singer is its own voice. Thenceforward the song individualizes itself more and more, and the collective voice of the species is heard no more among the Ionic and Aiolic tribes.

A sad state of things, from the point of view of Fraccaroli and Hartmann. 'Ahi, quanta malinconia.'

The Doric race, however, comes to the rescue. The voice of the people makes itself heard through the medium of the choral lyric of the Dorians, of which Stesichoros was the creator. Stesichoros took the myth in hand again, the myth that was formed by the people and transmitted by the people, and gave it a new life. But the life was a lyrical life, and the myth mirrored consciousness and revealed individual interests. It enters into closer relation with the present, and adapts itself to a preconceived idea. Still, the chorus is there to represent the people, at least, for form's sake. The people reigns if it does not govern. This is the difference between the lyric poetry of the

<sup>1</sup> It is an open secret that the author is Prof. Tyrrell of Dublin.

Dorians and the lyric poetry of the Aioliens. The Aiolic melos has passed into universal literature. In the lyric of the Dorians the poet speaks by the mouth of the chorus as a citizen, whether the sentiments be the sentiments of the people or his own, and with this statement of Fraccaroli's we may compare the famous passage of O 13, 49 *ἰδίως ἐν κοινῷ σταλεῖς*. Among these Doric poets there were not lacking men who made their potent individuality felt. Alcman does not forget that he is a Lydian, and by no means identifies himself with the chorus of virgins for whom his songs were composed. And Ibykos was an Aiolian in his passion, though a Dorian in his art, and 'the amplitude of his dactylic strophes must have formed a curious contrast to the passionate elegance of his amorous sentiments.' So, though no lyric poet of the Dorians made the chorus the mouthpiece of his own passions, the poet's personality was manifest, and he turns now to the chorus, now to himself, like any poor creature of our conscious modern world.

Stesichoros, as Fraccaroli emphasizes, was the true creator of the Dorian lyric, the author of the triad, and, strange to say, he who knows the literature so well has nothing to say of Crusius's interesting article on the *τρία Στρεσιχόρου*.<sup>1</sup> This triad is the reigning form in Pindar's odes, and the superb movement of the epitrites—an innovation with Stesichoros—prevails in half the *epinikia*. Simonides brought into the Dorian lyric the pliant and subtle spirit of the Ionian, and adapts it to the new conditions of life. The poetry of Simonides is to the older lyric as is the new plastic to the perfected art, as is the marvellous beauty of the sculptors to the rude effigies in which, for all that, the ancients saw so much that was divine. Such was a song of victory by Simonides as compared with the 'See, the conquering hero comes' of Archilochos. But while Fraccaroli admits that the poetry of Simonides is exquisitely elaborated, that he is great in epigram, great in dirge, and not to be reached by Pindar in cleverness and in tenderness, still he is too sententious, he is too much given to reflexion. The myth, it is true, holds a conspicuous place in his poetry, as it must needs do, but it does not dominate as it does in Stesichoros, and the majestic epitrite is not his favorite measure. In fact, it is very evident that the easy-going Ionian has no partisan in Fraccaroli.

Pindar, younger in years than Simonides, is older in art. He has the sententiousness of Simonides—what Greek is not sententious?—but it is a subdued sententiousness, and his fancy is under the dominion of a severer and, one might say, a hieratic rule. He has the objectivity of Stesichoros and his conception is synthetic, as is the conception of every supreme poet. For this Fraccaroli quotes Croiset. He might have quoted Goethe and Tourguenieff. The myth in Pindar is a traditional element. Dorian lyric and myth are convertible expressions. The myth is the idealized history of humanity. It is history stripped of its accidents. Its moral is a moral of sight, not of sermon. It is art without the norms of technicality. It is human nature, which the philosopher toils to dissect and to expound. There is no *fabula significat* tacked on to this myth. It is essentially objective. But while Stesichoros represented the myth as the main thing and subordinated to it his personal end and aim, Pindar gives the myth a greater moral value and makes

<sup>1</sup> In the *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*. See A. J. P. X 380.

it apparently accessory to his actual theme, with which he connects it more or less closely, according to circumstances. And so it may be said that the hymn is the temple and the myth the frieze. It may be said also that all these architectural parallels are dangerous in the extreme.

Thereupon follows a section on the part played by gymnastic contests in Greece, and the great games in particular; but this whole branch of the subject is so familiar that it is not necessary to summarize what Fraccaroli has to say on that score. More interesting are his remarks on the connection between the traditional element, the myth, and the occasional element, the victory, which he illustrates at considerable length by the plastic art of Pindar's time. The myth is not an *hors d'œuvre*, not an *emblem* to be transferred from one work to another at pleasure, and there must be a relation between the achievement and the myth; but, on the other hand, we must not make the connection too close. We must not demand more of Pindar than we demand of the plastic artist of his day, who did not deal in abstractions and whose thought was truly bodied forth. The nexus may be now closer, now looser. Sometimes it is merely external, as in the pediment of Paionios and in the myth of Herakles in O. 3; sometimes we have a more or less perfect idealization, as in P. 1 and in the decorations of the Parthenon. And not only does the analogy hold as to the conceptions and the subjects of Pindar's art and the plastic art of his time, but the spirit of both arts is the same. The same calmness and composure reign in the plastic of the century as in Pindar's odes. One recalls the ἀταρβεί νεῖκος ἀγεί κεφαλῇ of P. 9, 34.

After we pass beyond the Pindaric region, after we pass to the period when spontaneous intuition ceases to reign, Fraccaroli notes a sad decline. At the great games specimens of epideictic eloquence took the place of epinician odes, and Pindar and Simonides were succeeded by sophists who are well represented by the *Panegyricus* of Isokrates, that vain old rhetorician who called his babblings (*chiacchiere*) philosophy. They are assuredly not poetry.

All that Fraccaroli has to say in this chapter is interesting, is suggestive and profitable, despite his diffuseness, until he comes to the closing sections, and there the ways part. In these sections he expounds the doctrine of the Terpandrian νόμος after Westphal, Mezger and Lübbert. Down in the Tartarus of the notes grovel the rebels, 'il Gildersleeve,' who seems to be the arch-sinner, 'il Cerrato,' 'il Bury,' and that naughty Mephistopheles 'il von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.' This is not a theme to which it is a pleasure to recur, and I will only say here that Fraccaroli's devotion to the νόμος-theory has not warped his study of Pindar, and that he is generous enough to admit some excuse for 'il Gildersleeve e gli altri di quella scuola.'

The third chapter, 'L' Arte di Pindaro,' with its three sections 'della creazione artistica,' 'associazione delle idee singole,' 'gruppi di idee' and 'unità dell' epinicio pindarico,' is dominated by the author's peculiar metaphysics, and lacks the clearness and sobriety of Croiset, with whose views Fraccaroli is by no means in perfect accord; but it is undoubtedly an interesting and penetrating essay, which will repay the student of poetry as well as the student of Pindar. The key to his theory of art is given by the introductory section, in which he translates the famous passages of the Platonic Ion, Apology, Phaidros and Menon on the poetic art. The treatise is at once

a glorification of the *θελα μυνία* of the poet, of unconscious intuition over against conscious ratiocination, and an attempt to trace the way in which artistic creation handles its materials. Inspiration comes without any direct effort on our part, and yet we can prepare ourselves to receive it. The artistic sense can be sharpened, not by ratiocination but by observation, and inspiration can be called forth by suggestion and by association of ideas. The only way, therefore, to study a work of art is to transport ourselves into the material and moral conditions in which the artist found himself, so as to renew, if not the inspiration itself, the disposition to follow the natural process which guided that inspiration. By such a study we shall convey ourselves into another world than ours, into the conditions of an art that is much nearer nature than ours, and therefore perennial, therefore ever new. Cauer is right, he says, in insisting that Homer's thoughts are not as our thoughts, but Fraccaroli has a quarrel with him for calling Homer's way of looking at things *eine Schwäche der homerischen Denkart*.<sup>1</sup> Homer represents events not according to the laws of logic, but according to the evolution and succession of the images that rise before him. Our devotion to logic makes a beggarly thing of poetry, and 'verisimilitude, the child of logic, is another fetter' placed on the divine art. Verisimilitude would take all the heart out of Aristophanes, as it would out of Homer. Dante, the most devout follower of logic, himself shows us how reason must yield to art. This, then, is Fraccaroli's fundamental notion; this is the magic formula that solves all difficulties, all inconsistencies. And the Archimagus is Hartmann.

To summarize section by section this long chapter would be to write another Introduction to Pindar, and I will only say that as Fraccaroli's *vóμος*-theory has not seriously impaired his treatment of the Pindaric odes, so his metaphysical system has not lessened materially the value of his detailed observations in regard to Pindar's art. He is too diffuse and too eloquent in the exposition of his theoretical views, but when he comes to the practical application we find that we have to do with a man who knows his Pindar as well as the things that have been written about Pindar, and, in view of the illustrations of Pindar's powers of presentation, individualization and concentration, we forgive such expressions as 'quelli che furono precocemente abbruttiti dalla masturbazione intellettuale degli esercizi scolastici.' Much of what Fraccaroli has to say is, of course, common to all studies of Pindar, but he puts the old observations in a new light, and his parallels are drawn from the literature of his own people, and therefore possess a certain freshness for a non-Italian, so that one does not grow over-weary of the perpetual antithesis between the conscious and the unconscious, and is disposed to accept a happy restatement as a satisfactory explanation. To speak of Pindar's 'mixed metaphors' reduces the poet to an unsuccessful rhetorician, whereas 'superposition of figures' produces all the effect of a special charm of style. To the Mezger theory of the 'recurrent word,' Fraccaroli, though an admirer of Mezger's, grants only such play as has been conceded by sober students. The recurrence of the thought brings with it the recurrence of the expression. As a technical device he rejects it utterly, and of Bury's echo theory, which is an exaggeration of Mezger, he repeats the emphatic condemnation he had expressed when Bury's

<sup>1</sup> Rhein. Mus. XLVII, pp. 74-113; cf. A. J. P. XV 383.

*Nemean Odes* first appeared. At the same time, he recognizes Bury's brilliancy and his suggestiveness as a commentator to Pindar, for, as has been said, Fraccaroli is fairness itself, and never loses his temper except with Drachmann, whose denial of the unity of the epinician ode he denounces as absurd and nonsensical. That unity forms the subject of the last section of the chapter on the art of Pindar, which passes in review the various methods of determining wherein the unity of the epinician consists. The unity is not a logical unity, as has been well set forth by Croiset; but Croiset does not satisfy Fraccaroli, who complains that no sooner does Croiset establish his thesis than the logical habit gets the better of him, and he speaks of harmonizing the variety of the necessary elements with the essential unity of inspiration, of harmonizing the multiplicity of the accessories with the predominance of a principal *motif*, as a problem difficult to solve, a problem to be left rather to the taste of the poet than to any law. Fraccaroli will not hear of a problem. There is nothing but unconscious synthesis. Synthesis precedes analysis, and is therefore natural and healthy although unreasoned. Diametrically opposed to the true theory is Disсен's plan of seeking the unity of the Pindaric epinician in a general formula, a manner of title to put at the head of each ode. No general formula, however applicable, gives us the essence of a work of art. Nay, any reduction of a work of art to a type is not a praise but a dispraise. A sonnet is not a syllogism or an epigram. A song of victory is not a sentiment. Nor is Fraccaroli quite content with Boeckh's objective unity which is sought in the praise of the victor. This says too little and has to be supplemented by a subjective unity consisting in the special purpose which the poet has in mind, so that we fall back into the same error of assuming conscious ratiocination in Pindar. The truth, according to Fraccaroli, was intuitively recognized by Hermann, who maintained that the unity of the Pindaric ode is a poetical idea, and this is the thought that has been taken up again by Croiset, who unfolded more clearly what was a hint rather than a statement. Still, Croiset has something to say in defence of Disсен, who, he maintains, in spite of his tiresome schemes and analyses, was right in trying to find a common type of lyric composition. The process is just such a process as we go through in studying living things, and a work of art is a living thing—a ζῷον, as Plato called a λόγος ages ago. But Fraccaroli is not content with this concession to Disсен, and returns again and again to his 'divine madness,' and wages war against everything that savors of conscious analysis, of reduction to formula. How hopeless this reduction to a formula is he illustrates very happily by the lessons which have been drawn from the First Pythian by various commentators, each of whom discovers a different fundamental idea.

But I will not linger either on Fraccaroli's criticisms or on his somewhat elusive theory. For my own part, my studies have led me to give a wider scope to reflection in the art of the Greeks than Fraccaroli would admit, and I see consciousness often where he insists on unconsciousness; but I too have emphasized over and over again the importance of synthetic study, of absorption into the processes of growth as distinguished from the processes of planful thought, and I recognize most heartily the value of the work of our Italian Pindarist, who is as full of magnetism as any of the rings in the Platonic Ion, while he commands the literature of his author in a way that commends him to the worshippers of the great goddess 'Up-to-date'

When we pass from Fraccaroli to Jurenka we find ourselves in another climate, and yet, as we have seen, Jurenka admires the scholar who treats Drachmann with unbounded contempt. Before the appearance of Fraccaroli's book—in fact at the meeting of the Philological Congress in Vienna in 1893—Jurenka read a paper in which he attacked the modern interpretation of Pindar and ranged himself under Drachmann's banner (A. J. P. XV 398), and it may be worth while to produce here some notes made at the time, before Fraccaroli's book arose to plead for the unconscious in art.

"The modern interpretation of Pindar," I said to myself, "is vulnerable enough at the extreme points occupied. To make, for instance, every detail of a Pindaric myth the counterpart of some historical event is a false principle to begin with, and leads to all manner of learned phantasmagories. Restore the historical atmosphere, if you can, but spare the lover of poetry as poetry these facts that are often no facts at all, that are not even the results of ingenious combination, but simply manufactured in the most mechanical way in order to fit a supposed allusion. For the combinations of scattered notices into a semblance of consistent history one may have some respect, but the construction of a poor romance on the 'allusions' in the Ninth Pythian requires no great faculty, literary or other, and shows that the guild of classical scholars cannot compete with the magazine novelist on his own ground. It is going too far to say that the work of a true poet contains in itself all that is necessary for the poetical understanding of it, but it is a safer doctrine to maintain than that Pindar cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of the *chronique scandaleuse* of the Syracusan court or a minute adjustment of the genealogies of Opuntian Lokris. The assumption of an exact correspondence between the character and fortunes of typical god or mythical hero and the character and fortunes of historical victor must necessarily lead to all manner of absurdities, but it was not reserved for Drachmann and Jurenka to show that. Only we must not go to the other extreme and exclude all parallelism. The typical god or mythical hero is to the historical victor as the Homeric lion is to the Homeric warrior. The lion lives his own life and the Pindaric prototype lives his own life, and though the poet might have counted on the good sense of his hearers to keep the mythical and the real apart, he seems himself to have guarded them against the mistakes into which modern commentators have fallen. See how he handles Bellerophon in O. 13, Jason in P. 4, Orestes in P. 11. In like manner a word may be said about the 'lesson' of each ode. I do not believe that any great work of art can be summed up in a formula, such formulae as have been laid down for the complex creations of Shakespeare. The multisignificance of true poetry rebels against such sharp lines. And yet the diversity of view as to the dominant thought in this or that ode is not so serious a matter as might be supposed. The poetical unity is the unity of a cord with many strands. But to criticise Professor Jurenka would be to write an apology for my own treatment of Pindar, and this would be invidious, even if I thought it worth while. In spite of Drachmann, in spite of Jurenka, I do not think that the world will retrograde to the old lawlessness which these scholars wish to put on the throne again. Pindar is not a Chinese puzzle. Granted. But Pindar is not a box of loose beads either, and a plan there must have been. And in the plan I believe, but I believe also in life."

Another paper of Professor Jurenka's presents some forty-five emendations of Pindar's text, and to these I may recur some day, for Professor Jurenka has an edition of Pindar on the stocks, and no doubt these emendations will figure there, although it must be said that throwing out conjectures is one thing, and incorporating them into the text or even into the notes of an edition is another, so that some of these suggestions may be lost, as some of them ought to be lost. So, for instance, Professor Jurenka's reading of P. 4, 251: κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν· σὺν αὐτᾷ, τᾷ Πελλίῳ φόνω κτέ., taking μίγεν in the sense of φιλότῃ μίγεν. I cannot think that σὺν αὐτᾷ 'with her own self' is unpoetical, 'with her aid and her aid alone.' Medea had no tirewoman as Helen has, no Aithra, and the whole opening of the fourth book of Apollonios is ample comment on σὺν αὐτᾷ, if not ample defence of it, and the heroine makes a virtue of her importance in Eur. Med. 483: αὐτῇ δὲ πατέρα καὶ δόμους προδοῦσ' ἐμῷς. In the much-discussed passage O 2, 105 foll. he reads

ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος  
οὐ δίκᾳ συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μαργῶν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν  
τὸ λαλαγεῖν αἱ θέλον κρυφᾷ 'πιθέμεν ἐσλῶν καλοῖς  
ἐργοις.

This is supposed to mean 'if they wished to put prating as a capstone on the fair works of noble poets.' Now, I grant that the passage as it stands, τὸ λαλαγεῖν θέλον κρυφῶν τε θέμεν, lacks smoothness, but it is both clearer and smoother than what Professor Jurenka would put in its place. The articular infinitive prepares us for passion, for contortion, if you will. 'Bent on this thing of prating, bent on this thing of putting a cloud of darkness on the fair deeds of noble men,' is a grim way of telling us how Κόρος assails Αἶνος; but he must have read German philological reviews with his eyes shut who does not recognize the practice of those twin arts 'Fapperei' and 'Todtschweigen,' which are as powerful engines in the hands of μάργοι ἄνδρες to-day as they ever were.

*A propos* of Pindar, the Tenth Pythian, his earliest and not least remarkable poem, has just received fresh light from an article in a recent number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XV, part I. Many pages of this number are taken up with an interesting and instructive article, by A. B. COOK, on *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*, and of this space *The Cult of the Ass* has its due share. The sacrifice of the ass to Apollo, the musical beast to the musical god, becomes quite natural, and the curious passage v. 36 γελᾷ θ' ὄρων ὑβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων, receives an unexpected illustration from the fresco discovered at Mycenae by the Greek Archaeological Society, which represents two asses rampant, with lolling tongues and a most hybriatic expression. In my note to the passage I had protested against making ὀρθίαν refer to sound, precisely because of the word ὄρων, and the fresco is an ample justification. There is a merry cast in the eyes of the asses that might well make Apollo smile.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## REPORTS.

HERMES, Vol. XXVIII (1893).

### I.

F. Studniczka, *Kyrene und Kallimachos*. There are two versions of the myth of the nymph Kyrene. In the older version, which we have in Pindar, P IX (after the 'Hoiai), Kyrene fights with the lion before she is transferred to Libya by Apollo. In the younger version, the combat with the lion follows her transfer to the region that bore her name, and the victory over the lion gives her the right to rule the land. The scene of the struggle is the *δχθος ἀμφίπεδος* or *ἀργινθείς* *μαστός* of Pindar. Both of these versions are found in the hymns of Kallimachos, the earlier in the Artemis hymn, the later in the Apollo hymn. The reason for this change is to be sought in the poet's designed parallelism of Apollo and Ptolemy Euergetes, and the poem belongs to the time when the new king had won back with the hand of Berenike the rule over the Cyrenaica. 'Berenike is our new Kyrene.'

G. Schulze, *Varia*. 1. K 236 *φαινομένων* is equivalent to *ἐθελοντών* 'volunteers.' *φαίνεσθαι* is the German 'sich melden,' the Latin 'profiteri.' 2. In Anthol. Pal. VII 425, for *δόμων φύλακα μελεδήμονα* read *δόμων φυλακᾶν μ.*, the *ν* having been first assimilated and then dropped, ΦΥΛΑΚΑ(Μ)ΜΕΛΕΔΗΜΟΝΑ. This assimilation followed by dropping will account for the discrepancy between the second line in the famous epigram, Paus. V 24 *ἰλαῶ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*, and the second line on the stone, I. G. A. 75, where there is no room for Σ between I and Α. Read ΤΟΙ(Α)ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ. 3. Aischyl. Eum. 352, for *Ζεὺς γὰρ αἱματοσταγὴς* read *Ζεὺς ἑαροσταγὴς*, *ἑαρ* being Kypriote for *αἶμα*. 4. In Hegemon ap. Athen. XV 698 C, supply, with Brandt, *σπελέθους* to *μετεωρίζοντες*, and comp. X. Cyrop. II 3, 17. 5. Theokr. XVI 97, *διασθήσαιντο* is not from *δίστημι*, but from a lost *διαστέομαι* = *διάζομαι* = *ὑφαίνω*. 6. *Μύσκελος* (*μυσκελένδρα* · ἃ ἡμεῖς *μύχοδα*, Hesych.) and *Σκάρειος* (*σκάρ* : *σκόρ* = *τέκμαρ* : *τέκμωρ*) have been counted among the unsavory names like ΚΟΠΠΙΑ in Kaibel 314, but *Μύσκελος* means 'bandy-legged' and *Σκάρειος* comes from the fish *σκάρος*. 7. Strabo, VIII 356 has *τὸν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Ἐνικέα* ENICEA *γράφουσιν*. For ENICEA Meineke would write ΕΑΙΚΕΑ, Schulze ENIKEA. At the same time it is to be noted that Curtius in his Grdz.<sup>5</sup> 461 has made a blunder in saying that the river Ἐνικεύς is called Ἐνικεύς in the scholia to Pindar, Ol. XI 72. The Ἐνικεύς of Ol. XI 72 is not a river, and Osthoff and Meister have calmly followed Curtius into the mire.

Th. Mommsen, *Grabschrift des Kaisers Constantius Chlorus*. Mommsen first gives the text of an epitaph in elegiacs beginning 'Hic decus Italiae tegitur Constantius heros,' printed in Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. I*, p. 265, and Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, p. 78. Who is this 'Constantius heros'?



Rossi identifies him with Constans, consul of the Eastern Empire in 414 A. D. Mommsen proceeds to argue that the subject of the epitaph is Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, and that the epitaph was not composed after the death of Constantius, but was an anticipatory tribute, such as we often find in antiquity.

G. Kaibel, *Sententiarum Liber Sextus*. I. So. Ai. 669, K. defends the traditional τὰ δεινά against Wilamowitz's τὰ θεία. After τὰ θεία the addition of τὰ καρτερώτατα would be flat. In v. 674, δεινῶν τ' ἄημα, no change is to be made. *τε* shows the close connection between the rising of the sun and the falling of the winds, and we are to construe: πόντον στένοντα (τὸ τῶν) δεινῶν πνευμάτων ἄημα (inner object) ἐκοίμισεν, 'lulled to rest the sea that moaned the blasts of fearful winds.' In v. 675, ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρατῆς κτέ., ἐν is adverbial. So. El. 1416, for ἐν γὰρ Διγίσθῳ θ' ὁμοῦ read σοὶ γὰρ Δι. κτέ. II. The Platonic Menexenos is full of poetical diction, and often approaches poetical rhythm; and poetical reminiscences may account for the inconcinnity of 238 C πολιτεία γὰρ τροφή ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν, καλὴ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐναντία κακῶν. We are not to follow Schleiermacher, who restores the balance in obedience to Dionysios, de admiranda vi c. 26. 'Cavendum enim est ne quis integriora apud Dionysium quam in Platonis codicibus scriptoris verba tradita esse arbitretur.' Stob. Floril. 43, 86 has: πολιτεία γὰρ ἀνατροφή ἀνθρώπων ἐστί, καλὴ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, μὴ καλὴ δὲ κακῶν, which agrees partly with the codices, partly with Dionysios. Kaibel thinks that the author had before him a couple of verses of a tragic poet: πολιτεία γὰρ ἀνθρώπων τροφή, καλὴ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δ' ἐναντία κακῶν. μὴ καλὴ δέ is a gloss for ἐναντία δέ. A similar gloss occurs in Hippokrates, Epidem. VI 2, 17, where τὰναντία σημαῖνον is glossed by σημείον κακόν. The puzzling ἡ εὐ (σημείον κακόν) which in Galen, XVII 973 becomes σημαῖνον εὐσημεῖν κακόν, is simply ἡ εἰ, i. e. σημαίνει. ἡ εἰ is the suggestion of the right reading. In Cornutus, c. 14, p. 18, on the other hand, the scribe substitutes for a reading which he does not understand something that he thinks he understands: καὶ ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος αὐτίκα 'εἰ τε τι' φησί 'ζατέϊ σοφόν τις, νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον. εἰ τε τι is naught, and αὐτίκα is for αἰ τι κα (ζατῇ σοφόν τις, νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον). III. Xenophon, On Revenues. A number of small corrections. Further, IV 13, for ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν ἐγωγε ἀφ' ὧν κτέ, read αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν. In like manner ἀπ' αὐτῶν has crept in before ἀφ' ὧν in (Plat.) Hipparch. 227 D. In V 2, for παραγγέλλω σκοποῦσιν read παραγιγνώσκουσιν (παραγεινώσκουσιν). IV 43 read συνήκoi τ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἐν ἑκάστον τῶν τειχῶν. IV. In Apollodor. Com. ap. Stob. Flor. 46, 15, v. 2 read πρὸ τοῦ λόγου μὲν. In v. 7 οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἀποτυχεῖν, the last word is perfectly correct. Your politician is unabashed at failure. V. Anthol. Pal. XIII 5, an epigram by Phalaikos, the dialogue is carried on not by a traveller and four deceased athletes, but by the athletes themselves, who were two in number. In another poem by the same author read ὄφρα Δύκωνος ἀλλ' ἐτ' εἰη, (ὄσας γὰρ καθύπερθε λαμπρὸς ἀνὴρ,) μνᾶμα κτέ. τὸ δὲ καὶ τι κτέ. VI. In Kallimachos, Ep. 5 (ap. Athenaeum, VII 318 B C read μηδὲ μοι ἐν θαλάμῳ . . . τίκται (middle) νοτερῆς' ὤσον δάκνωνις. This epigram gives Kaibel occasion to discuss a chapter in Aelian (Hist. An. VI 58), in which that scribbler rehashes sundry jokes about the phoenix at the expense of Kallimachos. Unfortunately, Aelian does not give his source. VII. Comparison of Kallimachos, Hymn. Del. 79 and Statius,

Silv. I 3, 39. K. thinks that very many of the difficulties in Statius are to be solved by exegesis rather than by criticism. VIII. Herondas, II 60. The point of *δσσα κήμπισσῃ* lies in the inept quoting of a proverb that has nothing to do with the situation. IX. Fragment of Rhianos preserved by Stobaeus (Flor. 4, 34), with a brief commentary. X. Restoration of the Mikythos inscriptions (Roehl, I. G. A. 532, 533). XI. On the Epicharmian and Euripidean fragments in the Flinders Petrie Papyri, VIII, Plate 3, which K. considers mere cobblings.

H. von Arnim, Ein Bruchstück des Alexinos. In Philodemos *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, Lib. II, Col. XLIII 26 (p. 77 Sudhaus), the three greatest authorities of the school, Epikuros, Hermarchos and Metrodoros, are cited in support of the thesis that sophistic rhetoric, so far as it has to do with style and epideictic discourse, is a *τέχνη*, whereas the training for political and forensic oratory cannot be technical in the strictest sense. What Hermarchos has to say grows out of an attack on the doctrines of an opponent, whose views are given in summary by Philodemos. Who is this opponent? von Arnim maintains that it is the Megarian Alexinos, called in jest *ὁ Ἐλεγχίνος*. The treatise is entitled *περὶ ἀγωγῆς* 'de educatione,' and the fragment preserved by Philodemos contains in the first half an enumeration of those parts of rhetorico-sophistic instruction which he considers aimless. He scouts training in *elocutio* (*περὶ λέξεως*), in the technical development of the memory (*περὶ μνήμης*), and in the solution of *ἀπορίαι* that occur in reading the poets, and the only thing that he thinks of value in the whole scheme of rhetorical teaching is the training of the student in framing proofs and refutations. To be sure, these proofs and refutations deal only with probabilities. Scientific certainty is to be gained only by a very different course of study under a very different kind of teacher—Alexinos, to wit. With these views of Alexinos, Hermarchos is by no means agreed, and thinks that Alexinos has been, on the whole, too lenient in his judgment of the rhetoricians.

A. Reuter, Untersuchungen zu den römischen Technographen Fortunatian, Julius Victor, Capella and Sulpitius Victor. A treatise of 62 pages, which does not admit of an abstract. It is a codification, so to speak, of the Latin *artes* of the fourth and fifth centuries, and reproduces the traditional system of the time. In the arrangement of the material Fortunatianus is followed, because he is the strictest in his disposition of the subject and almost always the fullest of matter. The special student of antique rhetoric will find something here and there on these dry bones, but most readers will be satisfied with the impression of an arid systematization borrowed from Hermogenes, with occasional draughts on Cicero and Quintilian in those parts of rhetoric which did not yield so readily to the skeletonizing process.

Alfred Gercke, Varros Satire Andabatae. The Andabatae were gladiators who 'fought on horseback, armed with small, round shield and spear, and a visored helmet without eyeholes, and charged each other in the dark'—fit emblems of the blindness and chance-medley of the human race. Hence the title of Varro's Menippean satire, Andabatae, which is the work of a pessimist, who sneers at the poor reasoning of the learned world and mocks at the wiseacres who repeat the old formula *τέτοκεν ὅτι γάλα ἔχει* and explain thunder and lightning by the bursting of an inflated bladder.

J. Kirchner, *Zwei Athenische Familien aus den drei letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten*. The two families are the family of *Εὐρυκλείδης καὶ Μικίων Κρημαίης* and the family of *Μνησίδεος Ἐχιδήμου Κυνδαθηναίης*.

Miscellen. Zu den Oinotropen bei Kallimachos (Ferdinand Noack). Noack shows the *αἰτρίων* which led to the mention of the Oinotropoi by Kallimachos, the same Oinotropoi who were changed into doves (comp. Ov. Met. XIII 622 foll.; Schol. Verg. Aen. III 80; Lykophr. 581-3).—Coniectanea in Philodemi Rhetorica (H. v. Arnim).—Kandake (U. Wilcken). The *κυρία βασίλισσα* of C. I. G. III 5080 is Kandake.—Zu Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. Conl. 553 (H. Dessau). The Antigonos, son of Philippos mentioned in this epigram occurs in Dio Cassius (77, 8) and belongs to the time of Caracalla.—*Pontarius* (A. Funck). The spelling of this word (I. R. N. 2378 = C. I. L. X 1074) is assured by a gloss *γεφύροβατης* (*γεφυροβάτης*), *pontarius*, and we are not to change it with recent lexicographers into *punctarius*. But what was the business of these *pontarii* in the amphitheatre? Did they jump from a bridge into the water? [or did they push the unfortunate *sexagenarios de ponte*?] We shall never know.—Des Fulgentius Schrift über die Musik (R. Reitzenstein). Sittl reported in 1882 that the MS of this work was lost. It turns up safe and sound in the Codex Ashburnhamiensis, and we are not to sorrow as those who have no hope.

## II.

U. Wilcken, *Ein neuer griechischer Roman*. Under this taking title Wilcken publishes a fragmentary story from a Berlin papyrus MS (P 6926). Upon a long description of the papyrus itself, with an excursus against Birt, follows the text, with Kaibel's readings and restorations. In the first fragment we have the fervid plea of a young man in his seventeenth year, who seeks his cousin in marriage, and will not allow her tender age to be a bar to their union. 'Maidens generally marry at fifteen, some of them, in fact, have children at fourteen. "Wait two years?" No, not he!' The girl who is sought in marriage tried to speak, but never a word did she succeed in uttering, and so she burst into tears and turned first red and then pale. Thereupon Thambe, the mother of the suitor, takes up her parable, begs the girl not to misjudge her son, and folds her in her arms, where the young thing lies, pressing her throbbing heart on the bosom of the future mother-in-law. The second fragment transports us to far different scenes, in which the hero of the romance, Ninus, is marshalling his army for conquest. It is only too evident, therefore, that this new Greek romance is a very old story after the orthodox pattern of the other romances that we know. There is no end of love-making in these stories, no end of marvellous adventures in foreign parts, and this Ninus romance is true to the double movement. The most interesting point in the whole matter is the date of the story. The MS. according to Wilcken, was written at the latest in the middle of the first century after Christ, and may be considerably older. The story itself may go much further back, and the probabilities are that it belongs to the first century B. C. and that it is the oldest extant Greek romance. If this is so, it shows that the romance had even then assumed a fixed type and followed norms that had to be respected.

B. Niese, *Zur Chronologie des Josephus*. A study of the contradictions in the Josephan chronology that are due to the employment of different sources. These contradictions are most important in the period before the Babylonian exile, but in this paper Niese treats of the chronology of the later time, the chronology which is common to the *Bellum Iudaicum* and the *Antiquitates*.

U. Wilcken, *ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ*. These Egyptian *ἀπογραφαί*, first studied by Wilcken in 1883, the writer now divides into two classes: 1. *ἀπογραφαί* proper, or returns of taxable property and persons, and 2. *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*, census returns. The provincial census seems to have been taken every fourteen years. The indication of the age serves to show the limits of the poll-tax, which began in the case of men at fourteen, in the case of women at twelve, and lasted until sixty-five. The poll-tax was called *λαογραφία*, and Wilcken thinks that it was imposed in order to cover the heavy expense of taking the census.

Adolf Busse, *Die neuplatonische Lebensbeschreibung des Aristoteles*. The *Vita Pseudo-Ammoniana* and the *Vita Marciana*, the latter first published in 1861, are evidently closely related. The only question is whether both came from the same source or the one is derived from the other. Rose decides for the common source, but even a hasty examination of the language reveals the later age of the *Vita Pseudo-Ammoniana*, which forces us to depress its time to the Byzantine period, whereas the language of the *Vita Marciana* shows its kinship to the work of the latest Neo-Platonists, and all the statements that are peculiar to the *Vita Pseudo-Ammoniana* are simply combinations from the data of the *Vita Marciana*. The only passage in the *Vita Pseudo-Ammoniana* that cannot have been derived from the other *Vita* pertains to Aristotle's services to logic, and this was evidently inspired by the treatise on logic to which the *Vita* is prefixed. The dependence of the one on the other is therefore sufficiently proved. As to the author of the *Vita Pseudo-Ammoniana*, Busse tries to show that he is Elias, the pupil of Olympiodoros. The *Vita Marciana* consists of detailed excerpts from an older life, with statements from other sources interspersed, regardless of the connection, and Busse maintains that the author of this epitome belongs to the same sphere of thought with Simplicius, to whom he owes a great deal.

Emil Thomas, *Miscellae Quaestiones in L. Annaeum Senecam Philosophum*. Critical notes on Gertz's edition of the *Dialogues* and of the treatises *De beneficiis* and *De clementia* occupy two chapters. In the third various passages of the *Epistulae morales* are taken up in the same way, and the fourth chapter deals with the sixth epigram (Haase) and a few places in the *Tragedies*.

G. Busolt, *Die korinthischen Prytanen*. The change in the constitution of Corinth and the installation of the annual prytanis are generally accepted as historical facts, on the faith of Diodoros, VII, fr. 9. The year of this revolution, however, is put now in 745, now in 747, and the part played by the royal family of Bakchiadae is variously conceived. But a closer examination of the record shows that the dates are manufactured after the familiar fashion of counting by *γεναί* from a fixed point which becomes unfixed in the same way. It makes a considerable difference whether we take 1104 as the year of the

Return of the Herakleidae with Eratosthenes and Apollodoros or 1070 with Ephoros. It makes a considerable difference how many years we give to a generation. The numbers in this account are evidently doctored, and the ninety annual prytaneis are quietly to be struck out of history. Kypselos as *βασιλεύς* replaced the *βασιλεύς* of the oligarchy, and as to the origin of the term *πρύτανις*, it seems natural to suppose that after the fall of the tyrannis in Corinth, the *ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος* was called *πρύτανις*. So we find an eponymous *πρύτανις* in the Corinthian colony Anaktōrion, a title which must be subsequent to the fall of the Kypselidai. And the same is in all likelihood the case in Korkyra. Kypselos would never have introduced a title that belonged to the period of the oligarchy.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. XLVIII.

Pp. 1-40. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landwirthschaft bei den Griechen. III. E. Oder. (Cf. vol. XLV 58 ff. and 212 ff.; A. J. P. XII 373). The Byzantine collection, *αἱ περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί*, was written about 950 and dedicated to Constantinus VII. These eclogues cannot be in their original form; many passages have been omitted, and the order disturbed. The original eclogues upon which this work is based were written at least three hundred years earlier by Cassianus Bassus, and dedicated to his son.

Pp. 41-52. Die Komposition der ersten Satire des Horaz. A. Gercke. The first satire of Horace consists of three parts. The theme of the first (vv. 1-22) is quite different from that of the second (vv. 23-107); the closing part, in spite of the 'ut avarus' of v. 108, corresponds to the first, but has nothing to do with the second. It is unlikely that Horace found these two themes in a single Greek model. Possibly he copied Bion or Ariston in the first part.

Pp. 53-83. Die Lebensgeschichte des Rhetors Aristides. W. Schmid. The dates of the principal events in the life of Aristides are determined by an examination of the *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*. He was born in March or April, 129, and died about 189. His sickness lasted from about Jan. 1, 156, till the end of 172. He began the composition of the *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* in 175. The proconsuls of Asia from 157 to 166 were Julianus (157-162), Glabrio (162-3), Pollio (163-4), Severus (164-5), Quadratus (165-6).

Pp. 84-90. Coniectanea. Fr. Buecheler proposes *ιδών* for *ἰππηδόν*, Aesch., Suppl. 438; *μένει χρέα τίνειν* for *μένει δρεικτείνειν*, ib. 443. In Theokr. I 96 *ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἐχούσα* may be compared with Vergil's 'attollentem iras'; ib. 117 *Θύμβρις* was probably a local name for Mt. Aetna, or for some part of it (from *θυμ-*, *θυμῖαν*, like *γαμβρός* from *γαμ-*). In Plut., Quaest. Rom. 42, p. 275 A B. proposes *εὐρετής* for *ἀρετής*; in Quaest. Conviv. II 7, 2, p. 641 D δ τ' *ἀγνος* for *ἡ ἀγνος*. In De Alex. Fortuna, I 9, p. 331 A the words 'Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγὼ Διδὸς μὲν νῖός form a Phalaecean verse with iambic opening. In Porph. ad Hor. Ep. I 3, 6 *mercede meras* should be read *mercedimeras*, a word which is probably lurking in Nonius' quotation from Lucilius, p. 345 (*meret*). Lucilius seems to have coined the word to imitate the form of *mercedituum* with the meaning of

*μυθορπειν*. In Seneca, Ep. 101, §2, we may read *dum ex illa erepat haeret: iam Senecio*; ib. §8, *sollicita for collecta*; ib. §11, *debilem pede coxo (= claudo, Loewe, Prodr., p. 309; Groeber, Archiv, I, p. 555)*. C. I. L. VIII, Suppl. 14365, is not only an acrostic but also a telestich.

Pp. 91-109. Aratillustrationen. E. Bethe describes forty-three illustrations in the Madrid MS of Germanicus' Aratus.

Pp. 110-40. Zum griechischen Roman. E. Rohde still maintains (1) that the model of the *Μεροπίς γῆ* of Theopompus was Plato's tale of Atlantis (cf. vol. XLVII 378 ff.; A. J. P. XV 385); (2) that the *Μιλησιακά* of Aristides was probably a collection of independent stories. He refutes some of the principal arguments on which K. Bürger has based his confident statement that the *Μιλησιακά* was a single novel (Hermes, XXVII 345 ff.; A. J. P. XV 388-9). (3) The *Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς* whose name appears at the beginning of the history of Chaireas and Kallirrhoe is probably the *Ὀβλίπυς Χαρίτων* of C. I. Gr. 2846.

Pp. 141-6. Die Zahl der Dramen des Aischylos. A. Dieterich. Following the vita in the Medicean MS is a catalogue of 72 titles arranged in four columns. It is possible that a fifth column, also containing 18 titles, has been lost. The whole catalogue would contain 90 titles, the number which Suidas gives (70 tragedies and 20 satyr plays). We know of 79 dramas (66 tragedies and 13 satyr plays).

Pp. 147-51. Die Zeitfolge der rhetorischen Schriften des Dionys von Haliarnass. H. Rabe. The order of composition is (1) ad Ammaeum I; π. συνθέσεως. (2) π. ἀρχαίων ρητόρων (Lys., Isocr., Isaeus; Dem., Aesch., Hyp.). (3) π. μμήσεως αἰβ. (4) ad Pompeium. (5) π. μμήσεως γ. (6) π. Θουκυδίδου. (7) ad Ammaeum II.

Miscellen.—P. 152. O. Crusius comments upon a new fragment of the *Διονυσίακος* of Sophocles.—Pp. 152-4. S. Sudhaus emends a passage of the Rhetoric of Philodemus, I 78, 19 ff.—Pp. 154-7. F. Koepf maintains that Attalus III was the son of Attalus II, not of Eumenes.—Pp. 157-60. J. M. Stahl proposes to read *Celsi praetoris* in Juv. VIII 194, referring to P. Juventius Celsus, who was praetor in 106 or 107, and a man of plebeian stock. With this reading the scholiast's remark has some point, 'ignobilioris quam ipsi sunt.'

Pp. 161-74. Chalkedon oder Karchedon, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kaisers Herakleios. H. Gelzer. In Theophanes, p. 301, 11 de Boor, *Χαλκηδών* should be read for *Καρχηδών*. Jerusalem was taken by the Persians in 614, and the expedition against Chalkedon was made in the following year. The fasti for this period (Pagi, Clinton) need revision.

Pp. 175-95. Der pseudosokratische Dialog über die Seele. V. Ryssel. This Syriac translation of a lost Greek work was made by Sergius, priest and archiatros of Räs'ain, who died at Constantinople soon after 536. Ryssel discusses the text of the Syriac version and gives a translation of it.

Pp. 196-207. Die imperatorischen Acclamationen im vierten Jahrhundert. O. Seeck. Constantine the Great introduced the practice of having an 'acclamatio' on each anniversary of his accession to the throne. From this time on

the numerals found in edicts after the emperor's name denote not the number of his conquests, but the years of his reign.

Pp. 208-39. Zu den Fragmenten der attischen Komiker. Th. Kock (1) replies to some of the criticisms contained in A. Nauck's 'Bemerkungen zu Kock Com. Attic. Fragm.,' and shows that this work must be used with caution; (2) quotes a new comic fragment from the Petrie papyri; (3) discusses the fragments published by Jernstedt in 1891. These were found in three parchments which were discovered in 1850 by Bishop Uspenskij. The back of one parchment gives parts of twenty-five trimeters which belong to Menander's *Φάσμα*. (4) The Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto gives more than twenty fragments. All but one belong to the Old Comedy.

Pp. 240-7. Zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzialverwaltung. A. v. Domaszewski. IV. Dacia. The province was first divided into Dacia Superior and Dacia Inferior. Between 160 and 170 it was divided into three parts, Dacia Porolissensis, Apulensis and Malvensis, and the rank of the governor was changed from praetorian to consular.—V. Cappadocia. The career of Antius Quadratus, C. I. Gr. 3548, and of Atilius Rufinus, C. I. L. X 8291.

Pp. 248-57. Zu Herondas. W. Schulze discusses some of the proper names in Herondas. *Βρυκίνθηρα* (II 57, Buech.) is to be found in the Rhodian inscription C. I. G. 2537.

Pp. 258-74. Der Geograph Claudius Ptolemaeus. W. Schwarz. Ptolemy's great work on geography contains many serious errors in the statements of positions and distances.

Pp. 275-83. Ueber eine Scene der aristophanischen Wolken. A. Dieterich. The passage in the Clouds, 250-275, is a parody on the Orphic rites and hymns.

Pp. 284-9. Zur Ueberlieferung der Elegien des Maximianus. L. Traube. The Latin MS 2832 in the National Library at Paris contains the first six lines of the Elegies of Maximianus. This MS is assigned to the second half of the ninth century.

Pp. 290-8. Lescheos-Lesches. O. Immisch justifies the nominative form *Λέσχεως* for Pausanias, X 25, 6.

Miscellen.—P. 299. J. Zingerle proposes to restore [*πανουργ*]ίαν in the speech of Hypereides *Κατὰ Ἀθηνογόνους*, Col. I Z. 12.—P. 299. O. Crusius. Note to Fr. Rühl's article, vol. XLVII, p. 460, with a parallel from Herod. VIII 55.—Pp. 299-303. J. Wackernagel. Notes on Greek epigraphy. (1) On *ναῖσσαν* and the ancient 'sampi.' (2) In some inscriptions the lower of two lines must have been written before the upper. (3) FOTI in I. G. A. 322 is for EOTI, to be read as ἡ ἐστ.—Pp. 303-7. F. Skutsch finds traces of the Iambic Law in Lucilius.—Pp. 307-11. E. Riess. Note to H. Düntzer's paper on the Canidia poems of Horace, Jahrb. f. Philol., 1892, 577 ff. For the magic rites mentioned in these poems D. has not made sufficient use of the striking parallels furnished by the Paris papyri.—Pp. 311-12. G. Karo. Textual notes on Caes., B. C. I 5; 25; 32.—Pp. 312-13. Ed. Wölfflin. The title of the Germania of Tacitus in the Codex Leidensis is 'de origine situ moribus ac populis Germanorum.' That this was the original title is made

probable by the title of Cassiodorus' *Historia Gothica*, 'origo eorum et loca moresque.'—Pp. 313-20. M. Manitius. On Lupus of Ferrières, a humanist of the ninth century, and the importance of his letters for the history of philology.—P. 320. F. B. The spelling *pedicare* is supported by *pdicavit*, C. I. L. V, Suppl. 670.

Pp. 321-41, Nausiphanes; pp. 552-64, Aristoteles bei Epicur und Philodem. S. Sudhaus publishes two passages from the Rhetoric of Philodemus. The first gives some information in regard to Nausiphanes, the teacher of Epicurus; the second bears upon the rivalry between Aristotle and Isocrates, and their schools of rhetoric.

Pp. 342-7. *Britannische Legionsinschriften*. A. v. Domaszewski. There were two legions stationed at Chester, at least in Vespasian's time, perhaps even in the days of Claudius and Nero.

Pp. 348-54 and 529-51. *Varroniana*. E. Norden. I. *Ad libros antiquitatum divinarum*. The influence of Varro is found in Cic. *Tusc.* I 12, 28 sq.; Minucius Felix, 21, 3; Augustin. VIII 5. II. *Ad Varronis libros de scaenicis originibus*, Scaurum *logistoricum*, et de L. Accio *grammatico*. III. *De satura* *ἐχω σε, περὶ τύχης* et de *logistorico* 'Marius de fortuna.' IV. *De genere quodam dicendi* Varroniano (a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*).

Pp. 355-79 and p. 484. *Zwei Iliashandschriften des Escorial*. E. Bethe.

Pp. 380-97. *Lucan und seine Quellen*. C. Hosius. Lucan's principal source was Livy. In the treatment of his subject he seems to have freely imitated not only Vergil, Ovid and Seneca, but also Curtius Rufus and Manilius.

Pp. 398-419. *Zu dem Traumbuche des Artemidoros*. H. Lewy maintains that Artemidorus derived much of the material for his *Ὀνειροκριτικά* from the Jews.

Pp. 420-32. *Helena bei Vergil*. F. Noack defends the passage *Aen.* II 567-88. In *Aen.* VI 515-30 Deiphobus is laboring under a delusion.

Pp. 433-47. *Zur pseudhippokratischen Schrift περὶ ἐβδουμάδων*. Ch. Harder.

Pp. 448-71. *Die Befreiung Thebens*. E. Fabricius. The narrative of Xenophon may be supplemented and corrected from the accounts of Diodorus, Deinarchus and Plutarch. Xenophon purposely conceals the proceedings of the Athenians in regard to this revolution.

Miscellen.—P. 472. L. K. Enthoven. *Zu Herodian's Kaisergeschichte* (V 1, 3; V 5, 1).—Pp. 472-4. H. Lewy. *Zu Martial. Epigr.* XI 94 (per Anchialum).—Pp. 474-9. M. Manitius. I. *Zur Anthologia Latina* (Florus, Symphosius, the *Carmina duodecim sapientum*, and poems 730 and 897). II. *Zu Rutilius Namatianus* (his fondness for polysyllables, and his indebtedness to earlier Roman poets). III. *Zu Plinius dem Aelteren und Orosius*.—Pp. 479-82. M. Ihm. *Excerpte aus Columella in einer Pariser Handschrift*.—Pp. 482-3. G. Schepss. *Zu Grillius*.

Pp. 485-511. *Ein Problem der griechischen Geschichte*. F. Koepp. The historical reality of the treaty of Callias (erroneously called the treaty of Cimon) must be regarded as not proven.



Pp. 512-28. Ein sophocleischer Vers und das Urtheil über Clitarchs Stil in der Schrift vom Erhabenen. O. Immisch. The two Greek verses quoted by Cicero, Att. II 16, 2, cannot be assigned to Sophocles on the strength of the treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, III 2. In the latter passage the *μικροὶ αὐλισκοὶ* denote the *κομμάτια* of the Asiatic style. In Cic. Or. 69, 230, Immisch proposes to read *in quoddam genus abiectum incidant dithyramborum simillimum*.

Pp. 565-78. Die Tyrische Königsliste des Menander von Ephesos. F. Rühl.

Pp. 579-91. Komiker-Fragmente im Lexicon Sabbaiticum. Th. Kock. The Lexicon Sabbaiticum published by Papadopulos-Kerameus in 1892 gives about thirty new fragments of Attic comedy (Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Plato, Archippus, Strattis, Nicochares, Sannyrion, Apollonophanes, Philetaerus, Menander and nameless fragments).

Pp. 592-601. Dämonen der Unterwelt. O. Rossbach. Notes on the 'ianitor,' who is not Cerberus but a domesticated Briareus, and on 'Οκνος.

Pp. 602-21. Die Zusammensetzung der Kaiserlegionen. O. Seeck. The usual means of keeping the legions up to their proper strength was the recruiting system, but the emperors found it more and more difficult to secure suitable volunteers. Under the Julian Caesars the legions were made up almost exclusively of Italians, but under Claudius and Nero provincials were accepted. From this time onwards the number of provincial legionaries steadily increased, and by the time of Trajan and Hadrian the percentage of Italians was very small. Antoninus Pius did not hesitate to fill up vacancies in a legion in the province where it happened to be stationed, and Marcus Aurelius was glad to accept foreigners.

Miscellen.—Pp. 622-6. L. Radermacher. Textual notes to Eurip. Androm. 929; 537 ff.; 24 ff.; Iph. Aul. 345; Plat. Sophist. 243 B; Charm. 165 D; Xen. Memorab. II 1, 23; Dion. Halic. de Demosth., p. 1072 R; 982 R; de Lys. 459, 8; Diodor. Sicul. V 43, 3; XV 47, 2; XII 42, 2.—Pp. 626-8. W. Schmid suggests that the false nominative form *Δέσχεως* in Pausanias is derived from an Ionic source, possibly from Hellanicus of Mytilene.—Pp. 628-31. E. Bruhn. Euripidea. Textual notes to Suppl. 557; Troad. 960; Iph. Taur. 1135; Helena, 921; Ion, 714; Rhesus, 912.—Pp. 631-2. F. B. quotes two Attic inscriptions to show that *pareutactoe* is the right reading in Nonius, p. 67, 11 M., not *parectactoe*.—Pp. 632-4. G. Knaack. In Aen. II 567 ff. and VI 517 ff. Vergil has followed two different traditions.—Pp. 634-5. M. Krascheninnikoff. Zur lateinischen epigraphischen Anthologie.—Pp. 635-6. M. Ihm. On two magic formulae, one given in one of Poggio's stories, the other in Ps. Apul. CXX 2.

HAVENFORD COLLEGE.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

## BRIEF MENTION.

In his *Inaugural Lecture on the Fables of Phaedrus*, Professor ROBINSON ELLIS returns from his excursions to outlying authors and occupies a domain which is indisputably worthy of his rare erudition and his acute criticism. For him Phaedrus is a natural sequence to Avianus, but while the importance of Avianus for the history of the fable, for the study of form, is not to be underrated, it may be pardonable to say that the average student reads Ellis's Avianus for Ellis rather than for Avianus; whereas the problems suggested by Phaedrus have much greater piquancy than the tradition of the fable and the variations of Latin quantity. If, as Professor Ellis maintains with Schwabe, against Wölfflin, Phaedrus was a Greek by birth, not merely by culture, we may well seek in his poems the evidence of that rebellious spirit which the *Graeculus esuriens* of the Empire must have cherished in his heart of hearts. If this be so, we should have in Phaedrus a forerunner of the hireling philosopher, the domestic chaplain, whose woes are set forth by Lucian in his famous tract. The fable has always been the vehicle of the opposition from Aesop's time down, and we are not surprised to find that the freedman of Augustus became a literary *frondeur* in the reign of Tiberius, and that Sejanus read into or read out of the fables of Phaedrus a satire on his domination. The various fables that have been picked out as the cause of the prosecution of Phaedrus by the omnipotent favorite are discussed by Professor Ellis, but the fact is that it would have been hard to write anything under the Empire that might not be brought under the dread rubric of *maiestas*, and if scholars have elicited all manner of sly allusions from the crabbed verses of Persius, one can readily understand that the first two books of Phaedrus contained matters enough to enrage Sejanus. Fables such as 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' 'The Frogs seeking a King' and 'The Frogs protesting against the Marriage of the Sun' may well have been counted flat treason.

But apart from references to current politics and contemporary politicians, there is a strong personal note in everything Phaedrus has written that rings through Aesopic fable and mischievous anecdote, and it is to be hoped that this Inaugural Lecture is only an introduction to an edition which shall delight us by a new revelation of Phaedrus the man.

The sketch of Phaedrus's life and the characteristic of the different books are followed by an account of the MSS and editions, in which Professor Ellis shows, as is his wont, his fellow-feeling with the great scholars of the past, and the lecture concludes with a discussion of the Perottine fables, under which head the author takes up the literary characteristics of Phaedrus, whom he counts among the best writers of Rome, adding emphatically: 'The Latin of the fables is the pure, undebased Latin of the best period of the golden, not the silver, age.' As to the thirty-one new fables in Perotti's Codex,

Professor Ellis admits their general resemblance to the genuine collection in style, language and metre, but sides with Heyne and Riese in pronouncing them to be a work of antiquity 'assignable to some rival of Phaedrus, but greatly inferior to Phaedrus in genius and purity of diction.'

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The variation between *τρόπῳ* and *τρόπον* is not a bad illustration of the effacement of original differences between adverbial cases. The two forms are indistinguishable in meaning and may serve as a warning against metaphysical distinctions between other uses of the accusative and dative. But still more interesting is the gradual disappearance of *τρόπῳ* before *τρόπον*, in obedience to the tyrannous sway of euphonic fashion. As soon as the hiatus was tabooed, *τρόπῳ* began to retire, first when it would make hiatus, then on general principles as an hiatus-breeder. This phenomenon is exactly what one would expect from the principles of what Mr. Mahaffy humorously calls 'Benseler's tract,' and is doubtless familiar to those who watch such things, but I cannot put my hand on any definite statement about it, and so, having read a foolish and inconclusive note somewhere about the use of adverbial *τρόπον* and *τρόπῳ*, I suggested to a club of young investigators that it might be well to look this matter up; and in conformity with that suggestion, one of my students, Mr. E. B. T. SPENCER, has examined, partly by indexes where indexes seemed trustworthy, partly personally, the usage of Homer and Hesiod, in whom the word is not found, the Lyric Poets, the Tragic Poets, Aristophanes, Herodotos, Thukydides and the Orators. The word *τρόπος*, it seems, came into use first with the Lyric Poets—it was a musical term—and soon after its appearance began to yield adverbial expressions. In the Lyric Poets it is used 8 times as a noun and 4 times adverbially. As early as Aischylos the proportion is reversed, for Aischylos uses it 8 times as a simple noun and 16 times adverbially. The proportion between adverbial and substantive uses, however, fluctuates considerably. Isokrates uses it but once substantively, 73 times adverbially; while in Aischines the adverbial use is found 19 times, the substantive use as many as 18 times. But this is a point that must not be pressed. Enough that the adverbial tendency is clearly marked. The plural is so little used adverbially that it may be neglected, and we may confine our attention to *τρόπῳ* and *τρόπον*. In the authors designated Mr. SPENCER has counted 228 examples of *τρόπῳ*, of which 213 antedate Isokrates; 334 examples of *τρόπον*, of which 283 belong to Isokrates and those that come after him. This tells the story, even if a wide margin be left for possible oversights. Isokrates has only two datives against 47 accusatives; Deinarchos, Lykurgos and Hypereides have none. Mr. SPENCER has not gone into the question of genuineness, and I may add that of the seven examples of *τρόπῳ* in the Demosthenean corpus against 189 examples of *τρόπον*, only two are in the genuine orations (20, 87 and 21, 105), neither of them making hiatus; whereas of the remaining five, two (40, 15 and 47, 33) bring about a portentous double σύγκρουσις φωνηέντων. And so ὡς *τρόπῳ*, open at both ends, gives way to *δν* *τρόπον*, with one end safely closed, and *δν* *τρόπον* becomes a favorite for all time.

In his *Selections from Strabo* (Macmillan & Co.), Mr. TOZER, whose competence in matters geographical is beyond a question, has brought together a number of the most interesting passages to be found in an author whose work few but professed students of ancient geography have the courage to read, from cover to cover. There is an introduction treating of Strabo's life and works, and the notes give the most recent results of geographical and historical research. The selections, though judiciously made, are nearly all very short, and the scrappiness is tiresome in the long run, but this defect seems to be inevitable. There is no stretch of Strabo that could be called interesting for an outsider, and unless such a book is interesting, it has no right to be at all. As it is, the book will do good service. Not only will it 'open to view here and there a wider field of study than what is contained in the more familiar classical authors,' but it will serve to show how many conceptions of the connection between history and geography which we sometimes find paraded with an air of originality have long been the common property of those scholars who care to read something outside of the ordinary round of the schools. And then again it may help to rouse a human interest in Strabo, whose personality comes out in his love of letters and literary people, of art and artists. He who called Sappho θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα is a man to whom our hearts may well warm—though, by the way, Lesbos is not in Mr. Tozer's extracts. Unfortunately, Strabo's style is not calculated to fascinate the reader. A duller level is hardly to be found, and yet even this dull level has its rights, and no post-classical author should be edited for young Grecians without due indication of the leading departures from model speech. But Mr. Tozer has not conceived his task in this spirit, and there are very few notes on Strabo's language.

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The second volume of the *Studi italiani di filologia classica* (1894), following hard upon the first volume (1893), is a sharp reminder that earlier notice should have been taken of this new exemplification of the way in which Italian scholars are coming to the front and reclaiming their old position. The contents of both volumes show a wide range. Phonology, dialectology, criticism, exegesis are all represented, and there are valuable indexes of Greek codices not elsewhere recorded.

Of fresh interest, in view of Professor SMYTH's comprehensive work on the *Ionic Dialect* (Macmillan), noticed elsewhere in this number, is an article in the second volume by FUOCHI, *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto*. The paper on the *Birds of Aristophanes* in the first volume, by the well-known scholar PICCOLOMINI (*Nuove osservazioni sopra gli Uccelli di Aristofane*) has been utilized to some extent by KOCK in his new (third) ed. (1894) of the *Birds* (Weidmann), which has just come to hand (Nov. 16, 1894).

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Special attention is called to the appearance of the first fascicle of the highly important *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, compiled by O. GRADENWITZ, B. KUEBLER and E. T. SCHULZE (Berlin, Reimer). The work is to be completed in ten years, the price is 80 marks, and there are to be fifteen fascicles. The first fascicle extends from *a*, *ab*, *abs* to *accipio*.

As I understand that some scholars have been puzzled by my brief remonstrance in the last number of the Journal (p. 399) against Professor HALE's use of 'anticipatory' in the sense of 'prospective,' I venture to reproduce the words I employed in an article contained in the Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc., 1876, p. 7: "In the Anticipatory conditional sentence the action is anticipated. For this form of the condition we want a word that will harmonize present and future. Anticipation is not expectation, though it is loosely used for expectation and may be made to cover it. Anticipation treats the future as if it were present; and as we find a useful parallel for the Logical condition in the simple indicative question, so we can best illustrate the Anticipatory conditional by the imperative, as Curtius and others have done." (See also A. J. P. III 435.) To use 'anticipatory' of the Latin subjunctive, which on any theory is so largely pure optative and potential optative, is a popular use of a word which, in strictness, applies only to the *éav*-condition in Greek, and Professor HALE's unscientific application of it is the more to be deplored because it occurs in a specimen chapter of a treatise before which 'much that stands in our grammars will disappear.' For my own part, I cannot suffer the merging of 'anticipatory' into 'prospective,' and the consequent effacement of a useful distinction, without at least a mild protest.

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In *Brief Mention* I often find myself adverting to the importance of typographical exactness. A man who makes remarks of that kind ought to abstain from article-writing and proof-reading. 'Un jour,' records that frivolous person, Jules Janin, *Histoire de la littérature dramatique*, III 172, 'on demandait à Geoffroy, pourquoi il ne faisait pas de comédies, lui qui les jugeait si bien? "Quand on donne le fouet aux autres, disait-il, il ne faut pas montrer son derrière."'" And *Brief Mention*, as Nemesis will have it, is a veritable *nidus* of typographical errors. So p. 258, l. 15 from bottom, for *Frogs* read *Clouds*; p. 398, l. 4 from top, for *et* read *e*, and p. 399, l. 6 from top, for *Antiquity* read *Antiquities*. E. E.

While I am on this recurrent subject of *Corrigenda* it may be as well to add that Mr. L. HORTON-SMITH has just called my attention to three misprints in his article, due to the not unfamiliar confusion of *δ* with the *dele*-mark. So p. 215, ll. 3, 4, read *ἐλ-δο-μαι*, \**ελ-δο-* and *μει-δά-ω*.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Bartlett (J.) *A New and Complete Concordance; or, Verbal Index to the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare; with a Supplementary Concordance to the Poems.* New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 1900 pp. 4to, hf. mor., net \$14.

Bridges (Rob.) *Nero. Pt. 2. From the Death of Burrus to the Death of Seneca, comprising the Conspiracy of Piso.* New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 4to, pap., net \$1.25.

Century Cyclopaedia of Names: a pronouncing and etymological dictionary of names in geography, biography, mythology, history, ethnology, art, archaeology, fiction, etc.; ed. by B. E. Smith. New York, *The Century Co.* [1894]. 6 + 1085 pp. Fol., subs., cl., \$10.

Collar (W. C.) and Daniell (M. Grant). *The First Latin Book.* Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1894. 7 + 286 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.10.

Davidson (J. L. Strachan). *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic.* New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1894. 7 + 446 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.50.

Dyer (L.) *Studies of the Gods in Greece: being eight lectures given in 1890 at the Lowell Institute.* New, cheaper ed. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 8vo, cl., \$2.

Horace. *The Odes of Horace; translated into English by W. E. Gladstone.* New York, *C. Scribner's Sons*, 1894. 12 + 154 pp. 8vo, cl., \$1.50.

Nepos (Cornelius). *The Lives of Cornelius Nepos; with notes, exercises and vocabulary by J. C. Rolfe.* Boston, *Allyn & Bacon*, 1894. 392 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.10.

Pausanias. *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens; being a translation of a portion of the Attica of Pausanias, by Margaret De G. Verrall; with introd. essay and archaeological commentary by Jane E. Harrison.* New, cheaper ed. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. Il. 12mo, cl., \$4.

Plato. *The Phaedo of Plato; ed. with introd. notes and appendices by R. D. Archer-Hind.* 2d ed. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 169 pp. 8vo, cl., net \$2.25.

Pliny. *Selections from the Letters of the Younger Pliny; ed. with notes and introd. by S. Ball Platner.* Boston, *Leach, Shewell & Sanborn*, 1894. 6 + 92 pp. (Student's Series of Latin Classics.) 16mo, pap., 25 cts.

Smyth (Herbert Weir). *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects. V. I. Ionic.* New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 8vo, cl., net \$6.

Tacitus (Caius Cornelius). *Dialogus de oratoribus*; ed. with introd., notes and indexes by C. Edwin Bennett. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1894. 28 + 87 pp. 12mo, cl., 80 cts.

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Books 1-6; ed. with introd. and notes by T. E. Page. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1894. 506 pp. 16mo, cl., net \$1.25.

Walker (J. B. R.) *The Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*; with an introd. by M. C. Hazard. Boston, *Congregational S. S. and Pub. Soc.* [1894]. 922 pp. 8vo, cl., \$2.

## ENGLISH.

Americanisms, Old and New : a dictionary of words and colloquialisms. Ed. by J. S. Farmer. 4to. *Reeves & Turner*. Net 12s. 6d.

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Ramsay (William). *Manual of Roman Antiquities*. Revised and partly rewritten by Rodolfo Lanciani. 13th ed. Cr. 8vo, 580 pp. *C. Griffin & Co.* 10s. 6d.

Tyconius, *The Book of Rules of: text and studies*. Vol. 3, No. 1. By F. C. Burkitt. 8vo, sd. *Cambridge University Press*. Net 5s.

## FRENCH.

Blanchet (Adrien). Les monnaies grecques. In-18 avec 12 pl. *Leroux*. 3 fr. 50.—Forme le tome XVI de la Petite bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie.

Cagnat (R.) et Goyau (G.) Lexique des antiquités romaines rédigé sous la direction de R. Cagnat par G. Goyau avec la collaboration de plusieurs élèves de l'école normale supérieure. Gr. in-8 avec pl. *Thorin*. 7 fr.

Ridder (A. de). Catalogue des bronzes de la Société archéologique d'Athènes. Gr. in-8 avec 5 pl. et 13 grav. *Thorin*. 8 fr.—Forme le 69e fascicule de la Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.

## GERMAN.

Abhandlungen, Breslauer philologische. Hrsg. v. Rich. Förster. 7. Bd. 2. u. 3. Hft. gr. 8. Breslau, *W. Koebner*.—2. Quaestiones Choricianae, scripsit Curtius Kirsten. 60 S. m. 2.50.—3. De Callimachi hymnis quaestiones chronologicae, scripsit Bruno Ehrlich. 70 S. m. 3.

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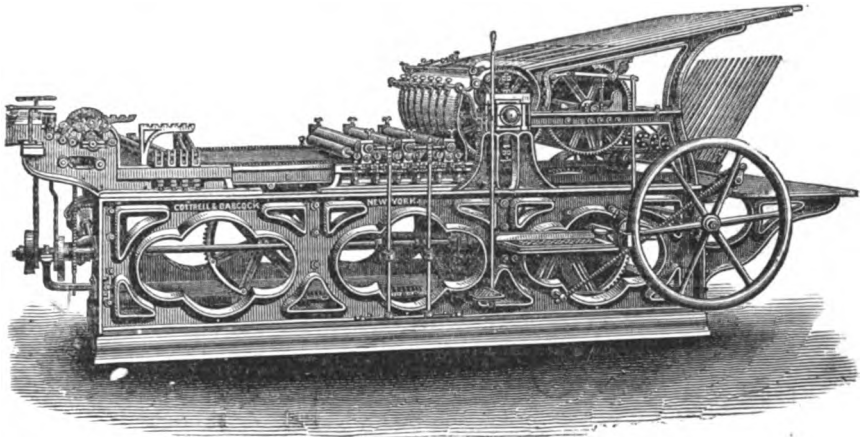
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